

The Star

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Forging a new front

THE EMERGENCE of a patriotic front, along the lines of the one forged between Zanu and Zapu during their war against Ian Smith's Rhodesian administration, seems imminent following the summit meeting in Harare between the national executives of the ANC and the PAC. Hopefully, however, the South African front will co-ordinate political forces rather than guerilla armies.

Its immediate programme, judging from the joint communique issued after the two-day summit, is political. Agreement was forged around three interrelated points: to campaign for the election of a constituent assembly; to hold a conference of "patriotic forces" in August; and to isolate elements in ANC and PAC ranks who refuse to acknowledge the right of rival bodies to exist and compete for support.

Many whites may lament the pending birth of the patriotic front in the belief that it will strengthen the "enemy". But it should be welcomed for at least two cogent reasons. It will eliminate or reduce a potential friction point in the black community. There is quite enough violence in the townships already. Greater unity in black ranks will have another advantage: the fewer discordant voices there are in the liberation movements, the easier it will be for the De Klerk administration to conclude a deal.

South Africans of all colours can take heart from another aspect of the embryonic patriotic front. Its progenitors, Nelson Mandela of the ANC and Clarence Makwetu of the PAC, are men who measure their words and actions carefully. They are dignified prison graduates, schooled in the skills of rational debate and the give and take of hard bargaining.

But we must express the hope that the ANC's pro-negotiation stand, however qualified it may be at present because of the township violence, will prevail over the PAC's anti-negotiation stance.

COMMENT**Scare tactics**

SANCTIONS were once thought to be the ANC's main bargaining chip in negotiations with government. But political leverage in that area is clearly diminishing as international barriers to economic, sporting and cultural links fall. The question that arises is what strategy the organisation should be adopting to ensure its will is to the fore when the country's future is shaped.

ANC leaders will have noticed that the "moderate" whites who form the National Party's core support get uneasy at the prospect of the peace process being derailed. So does the business community. Real concern, and often indignation, greet any apparent threat to dialogue. Each pronouncement by Nelson Mandela and his colleagues is scrutinised and thoroughly analysed. People, including members of government, are constantly looking for signals of hope. In a sense, a willingness or unwillingness to be accommodating of white aspirations has become political currency.

Mandela's ultimatum on violence and his rejection of a "summit" with government and Mangosuthu Buthelezi show he is not averse to playing the scare tactic. The alarm and dismay that greeted his pronouncements prove it has some effect. But will government bow to threats? And how often can the same card be played? The returns will diminish and the bluff will eventually be called.

For everyone, there is no realistic alternative to talks, and the longer they are put off the less hope there will be for a satisfactory solution to our plethora of social, economic and political problems. Levels of violence can only rise in a climate of impasse and frustration. The prospect of an escalation in killing and the possibility of it spreading beyond the townships are factors that all parties will need to address very carefully. To try to manipulate fears of this order would be a very dangerous game to play.

The ANC needs to come up with something new and imaginative to wrest back the initiative it admits it has lost to government. It needs to be seen to be leading the way out of the wretched quagmire of apartheid, to be formulating realistic plans to give people a better lifestyle and a stake in their land. It might not have the means, but it should have the ideas. After all, it does claim to represent the aspirations of the masses.

Government bears an enormous responsibility for righting wrongs, and many would say it could be moving faster in getting rid of the injustices of old. It is certainly arguable that there should be a more thorough and determined bid to suppress violence. But for the ANC to get sulky and say it won't play ball whenever the regime falls short of meeting its demands is sadly negative and will ultimately be counter-productive.

16/11/14

Stop trials: ANC-PAC Front

A demand for a Constituent Assembly (CA) is likely to grow as the result of this week's meeting in Harare to form a patriotic front between the ANC and PAC.

The two organisations have agreed to convene a patriotic front congress in Cape Town in August. All political organisations who subscribe to the CA concept will be invited.

The organisations also said the CA, which is the only forum in which to draw up a new constitution for South Africa, is likely to form the basis for participation in the envisaged alliance.

As a build-up towards the August event, the organisations said they would go "all out" to discuss the idea of a CA with parties who have rejected it and try to

reach common understanding on the issue.

PAC publicity secretary Barney Desai explained this week that the August conference would be open to all organisations of the "oppressed", but the basis for taking part in the Patriotic Front would be common agreement on the CA.

The two parties also agreed that an All-Party Congress (APC) was going to be held, probably after the patriotic front conference.

ANC's head of information and publicity, Pallo Jordan, said their meeting had rejected the government's multi-party conference, saying that the regime intended to get the new constitution drawn up by this forum. "The APC will limit its agenda to the modalities of the CA," he said.

The two organisations

called for a "verifiable" disbandment of the system's special units, such as the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB), Askaris, Koevoet, and Buffalo Battalion, among others - as a means to curb the violence sweeping the country.

Sanctions

A joint committee on sanctions was formed under the collective leadership of the heads of international affairs of the two organisations - Thabo Mbeki for the ANC and Gora Ibrahim for the PAC.

The committee would soon be discussing the sanctions issue with several governments, said Desai.

The meeting decided there should be no negotiations with the government on the CA.



ANC and PAC delegates after arriving at Jan Smuts Airport from a conference in Harare where they adopted a resolution to establish a patriotic front in Cape Town in August. From left to right: Barney Desai, (PAC), Pallo Jordan, (ANC) and Dikgang Moseneke (PAC)

admission
19/04/91

16/1/11

Mini-bus evidence 'casts doubt' on Winnie Mandela's alibi

JOHANNESBURG—Evidence that a mini-bus belonging to Mrs Winnie Mandela was in two different places at the same time casts doubt on her alibi defence of the kidnap and assault charges she faces. It was suggested in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Mrs Mandela's alibi is that she was being transported in the mini-bus to Brandfort in the Orange Free State on the evening of December 29, 1988 — about the same time she is alleged to have initiated and participated in a vicious sjambok assault on child activist Stompie Seipei and

three men at her Diepkloof, Soweto home.

Her co-accused and driver, Mr John Morgan, in a statement to police, however, said he had used the same mini-bus to transport another co-accused in the kidnap and assault trial, Miss Xoliswa Falati, and her daughter Nompumelelo to the Orlando West Methodist Church manse on the same night.

Mrs Mandela on Thursday told the Court she left Soweto for Brandfort about 7 p m, but according to Mr Morgan's statement, he was driving the mini-bus in Soweto later that

same evening.

He said he parked the bus at the manse for the night and washed it the following morning, when, according to Mrs Mandela, the vehicle was in Brandfort.

The admissibility of Mr Morgan's statement was contested but accepted as evidence in a legal wrangle lasting several days during a trial-within-a-trial about two weeks ago.

Mrs Mandela, Miss Falati and Mr Morgan have pleaded not guilty to the kidnap and assault charges.

Mrs Mandela and State advocate Mr Swanepoel frequently locked horns yesterday. In a session of verbal sparring he accused her of 'beating about the bush' and suggested she was being evasive when she repeatedly answered 'it's possible', 'that may be' and 'I don't remember'.

The State advocate hammered at Mrs Mandela's apparent inability to remember specific details presented as fact in a statement attributed to her and submitted as evidence at the start of the trial.

The trial proceeds today. — (Sapa)

WEEKLY MAIL 19 April 1991

A 33-year-old feud comes to an end

By ANDREW MELDRUM: Harare

THE Patriotic Front planned by the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress in Harare this week is envisioned as a broadly-based anti-apartheid coalition to undertake mass action campaigns to press for a popularly-elected constituent assembly.

The proposed alliance, due to be launched following a conference in Cape Town in August, is seen by some as a strategy to isolate Inkatha from other anti-apartheid groups. ANC and PAC officials deny this, saying they hope the Inkatha Freedom Party will participate.

In their two-day meeting in Harare, the ANC and the PAC agreed to set aside their 33-year-old bitter rivalry to work together to form the Patriotic Front. They see it as an umbrella organisation to group together all organisations in favour of one-person/one-vote elections to select representatives to a constituent assembly which will draw up a new constitution.

"The Patriotic Front will be formed by the participants at the Cape Town conference," said PAC deputy president Ernest Moseneke. "We anticipate that it will be made up of all those groups which subscribe to the demand of holding a constituent assembly such as the PAC, the ANC, Azapo and conceivably a large number of groups that reach right through the society of our country."

The proposed alliance between the ANC and PAC has ended years of bitter rivalry — but is seen by some as a bid to isolate Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

By ANDREW MELDRUM in Harare



Isolated? ... Mangosuthu Buthelezi

"It is a historical trend that in liberation struggles there comes a particular time, when the goal of liberation draws near, when all groups decide they must work together to achieve victory," said ANC security chief Ja-

cob Zuma. "We have decided that time has come for South Africa and that we must work together."

The co-operation of the ANC and PAC in forming a united front is similar to the 1976 agreement by Robert Mugabe's Zanu and Joshua Nkomo's Zapu to form their Patriotic Front against Rhodesian minority rule. The Zimbabwean front proved effective in marginalising Bishop Abel Muzorewa's United African National Congress which had collaborated with Ian Smith's Rhodesian Front. Because Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has already stated his opposition to a constituent assembly, the new PAC/ANC co-operation is viewed by some observers as an attempt to isolate Buthelezi much as Zimbabwe's Patriotic Front separated Muzorewa from the nationalist movement. Participants at the Harare conference deny this is an aim of the planned Patriotic Front.

"We are not plotting against Buthelezi, we are hoping we can bring him in with us," said PAC administrative secretary Joe Mkwanazi. "The beauty of this agreement is that it does not end with just the PAC and ANC, it will bring together all the organisations of the oppressed in a Patriotic Front. The Cape Town conference is an open door. We want everybody to come who accepts a constituent assembly."

Mkwanazi said both the PAC and the ANC hope to have private meetings to encourage Buthelezi to participate.

ANC Bill of fare more palatable than the rest

Weekly Mail 19/4/91

THE African National Congress' constitutional proposals, like motherhood and apple pie, have won widespread public support. Criticism has been muted, and the general impression is that Pretoria could not have hoped for a better deal on which to negotiate.

But there is also the view that it is couched in such general terms that potential difficulties are hidden and a close analysis is not yet possible.

For example, the preamble to the proposals notes that constitutional barriers to detention without trial must be secured. Does this mean that detention will be unlawful, or that it will be lawful under certain conditions — in which case, what conditions? After generations have suffered through the practice of detention, it is important for a proper debate on the proposals that the public know the exact circumstances under which such detention would be allowed.

Similarly, paragraph 15 provides that a State of Emergency may be declared, during which fundamental rights will be protected "as far as possible". This leaves open several questions including whether arbitrary arrest and detention will be allowed during an Emergency.

Even though it is an initial document — describing itself as "principles and structures" — there are other instances where significant information is not contained in the outline. It does, however, contain interesting and important indications of the general thinking among members of the ANC's constitutional committee.

In essence, the proposals outline a two chamber legislative structure, elected under a proportional representation system which attempts to balance national and regional interests, with free and fair elections guaranteed by an independent electoral commission.

The document also proposes an independent judiciary, a constitutional court and a Bill of Rights against which the courts will test legislation and official practice.

A three-tier government is suggested, along with universal suffrage and a common and equal citizenship.

All languages will have equal status, although the government may declare one or more languages as, for example, "the language of administrative communication or judicial record".

While all discriminatory laws will be outlawed by the Bill of Rights, all other legislation will remain in force unless repealed by

The ANC's constitutional proposals were released a week ago to widespread public support. **CARMEL RICKARD** takes a look at their strengths and weaknesses



Oscar Dhlomo ... 'democratic direction'

parliament or set aside by a court.

It is also proposed that the constitution may be changed only by a two-thirds majority in the national assembly or by a two-thirds majority in a national referendum.

Political commentator Oscar Dhlomo found much in the proposals to his liking, particularly the unambiguous commitment to proportional representation, and said the guidelines pointed strongly in a "democratic direction". However, he found several "seeds" which aroused concern that the implementation of the proposals could turn out to be quite different from the way they looked on paper.

"For example, take the need to reconcile centralism and the devolution of power to second tier government. This is a burning issue and one can predict it will feature prominently in a debate about the new constitution. The ANC says the regions should have similar powers to those entrusted to the present provinces. But the trouble is the present provinces do not enjoy any real power. Their powers were taken away and centralised by the tri-cameral parliament."

Dhlomo said the issue of centralism versus the devolution of power was a crucial

issue for democratic local government and the ANC's proposals on this relationship would be contentious — a view shared by most commentators. "If you have an all-powerful, highly centralised government, it ends up being autocratic, loses touch with people and ignores with impunity the aspirations of the people in the region."

Dhlomo also asked what had become of the ANC's undertaking to provide a role for chiefs and traditional leaders in local government.

Professor of law at the University of the Witwatersrand, Dennis Davis, predicted the major area of dispute with the government would be over the upper house, which Pretoria would want to use to bring in minority protections. This could be possible even without a racial voters' roll, given the present Group Areas-induced pattern of residential areas in the country.

A number of commentators including Davis were complimentary about the proposal which uses regional weighting to the system of proportional representation, ensuring that parties with a regional rather than a national following can still win seats in parliament. This could work in the ANC's favour in regions such as Transkei but could favour other parties elsewhere.

Davis also foresees serious negotiation over the question of an executive president. The problem is that such a president can lose a sense of being accountable to parliament.

Clauses 11 and 13 are also sure to spark serious negotiation. These refer to affirmative action, including promotions in the civil service. Given the government's refusal up to now to apologise for past policies — as the land reform bills make clear — it is hardly likely to approve an aggressive affirmative action programme.

In addition, of course, it will want to protect its own clients in the state bureaucracy.

These questions and the criticism about content aside, there can be no doubt that, in its broad strokes, the document places the proposed constitution in the mainstream of modern human rights culture.

Finally, in releasing its draft Bill of Rights and constitutional proposals, the ANC has stolen a march on the government. The Law Commission's final draft Bill has still not been issued, although officials say this could happen very soon, and the ANC's constitutional proposals are far clearer, more concrete and, like apple pie, more generally palatable, than anything we have so far seen from the government.

19 April 1991

The
Natal Witness

ANC's policies

Govan Mbeki is a member of the ANC's national executive and a member of the SA Communist Party. His public pronouncements carry great weight — especially when they deal with the ANC's economic policies.

On Wednesday, in a significant speech in Britain, he said only substantial foreign investment would restore this country's economic well-being, by stimulating economic growth. This view has been interpreted as being in stark contrast with those of his ANC colleagues, who travelled to Europe in an attempt to persuade the members of the European Community not to lift sanctions on South Africa. Their mission was a failure because, on Monday, the EC members agreed to a partial lifting of sanctions — a signal that South Africa was being welcomed back, economically, into yet another important trading area.

The ANC has defended this apparent contradiction of simultaneously pleading for foreign investment on the one hand and, on the other, urging countries to continue with the imposition of sanctions. Indeed, it is unlikely that the ANC has done a fundamental "economic re-think" but there are grounds for real optimism. Any attempt by the ANC leadership to elicit investment — and so produce a favourable economic climate — should be encouraged as it has the potential to create better opportunities for everyone in South Africa.

Background to the news

Sampling the ANC apple pie

CARMEL RICKARD reports on what political commentators have to say on the ANC's constitutional proposals.

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But there is also the view that it is couched in such general terms that potential difficulties are hidden and a close analysis is not yet possible.

For example, the preamble to the proposals notes that constitutional barriers to detention without trial must be secured. Does this mean that detention will be unlawful, or that it will be lawful under certain conditions — in which case what are these conditions?

After generations have suffered through the practice of detention, it is important for a proper debate on the proposals that the public should know the exact circumstances under which such detention will be allowed.

Similarly, paragraph 15 provides that a state of emergency may be declared, during which fundamental rights will be protected "as far as possible". This leaves open several questions, including whether arbitrary arrest and detention will be allowed during an emergency.

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In essence, the proposals outline a two-chamber legislative structure, elected under a proportional representation system which attempts to balance national and regional interests, with free and fair elections guaranteed by an independent electoral commission.

The document also proposes an independent judiciary, a constitutional court and a bill of rights against which the courts will test legislation and official practice. A three-tier government is suggested, along with universal suffrage and a common and equal citizenship. All languages will have equal status, although the Government may declare one or more languages as, for example, "the language of administrative communication or judicial record".

There is provision for affirmative action in society generally and in particular in the public service. While all discriminatory laws will be outlawed by the bill of rights, all other legislation will remain in force unless repealed by parliament or set aside by a court.

It is also proposed that the constitution may be changed only by a two-thirds majority in the national assembly or by a two thirds majority in a national referendum.

Political commentator Oscar Dhlomo found much in the proposals to his liking, particularly the unambiguous commitment to proportional representation, and said the guidelines pointed strongly in a "democratic direction". However, he found several "seeds" which aroused a concern that the implementation of the proposals could turn out to be quite different from how they looked on paper.

"Because many issues are not spelt out clearly, you end up either trying to deduce the outcome in practice, or suspect that the outcome might not be what was intended. For example, take the need to reconcile centralism and the devolution of power to second tier government.

"The ANC says the regions should have similar powers to those entrusted to the present provinces. But the trouble is the present provinces do not enjoy any real power. Their powers were taken away and centralised by the tri-cameral Parliament."

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Another constitutional lawyer, Unisa's law professor Dawid van Wyk, said he detected a Namibian influence in the proposals — which is hardly sur-

prising since that was the most recent constitution to have been drawn in the region.

One example is the fact that as with Namibia and unlike the U.S., the proposed senate would not have a right of veto over new legislation, and could delay it at best. Van Wyk believes the ANC has come a long way from the Freedom Charter, via the constitutional guidelines of 1988 to the present proposals.

Like several other commentators van Wyk believes the door has been left open for a possible formal federation, although this is clearly not the first choice for the ANC.

These questions and the criticism about content aside, there can be no doubt that in its broad strokes, the document places the proposed constitution in the mainstream of modern human rights culture.

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THE Soviet Union today is torn between anarchy and apathy. Its peoples have lost faith in their past, but they have yet to find any hope in their future.

Material life for ordinary citizens is miserable. The position of President Mikhail Gorbachev looks ever less tenable; he is now more unpopular at home than it is imaginable for any western politician to be. The country is increasingly both ungoverned, and ungovernable.

Indeed, Gorbachev's very unpopularity is one of the few things still uniting the nation. What little respect he enjoyed last year has evaporated as he has fallen back on the support of the rump of his once all-embracing Communist Party, and on those pillars of the old establishment, the military and the KGB.

His great rival, Boris Yeltsin, can boast much more. As chairman of the Russian parliament, he has won for himself powers comparable — on paper — to those of Gorbachev. If he is directly elected on June 12 as Russian president, his popular mandate will be unchallengable.

Yet he remains an equivocal figure, offering simultaneously more democracy, and more discipline; more devolution of power, and more nationalism; more radical economic reform, and yet somehow less pain for the people. His support is based on the negative, not the positive. Even close supporters admit he lacks a real political programme, a real vision of the future.

Objectively, the condition of the Soviet Union today could scarcely seem more gloomy. Gorbachev's economic adviser Oleg Ozherelev, forecasts a production slump of no less than 40% to 50% this year if no remedial action is taken. The finance minister and chairman of the state bank say the economy is "on the brink of a catastrophe".

Not only are at least a quarter of the nation's coal miners on strike, rapidly bringing the massive steel industry to a standstill; the rest of

The Soviet nation finds itself impaled on a rusting sickle

BUSINESS DAY 19/4/91

QUENTIN PEEL in Moscow

the energy sector is in crisis. The oil industry is collapsing. And oil accounts for 60% of export revenues.

At the same time, the nation's infrastructure is cracking up. The railways are incapable of handling freight requirements.

The telecommunications system is also incapable of handling increased demand. While the reformers talk blithely of the transition to a market economy, the infrastructure is simply not there to accommodate it.

On top of the economic reality comes the political confusion, the chaotic battle for power. On the one hand, it is a battle to remove the Communist Party from power. That is overlaid and often confused by the struggle of the myriad small nationalities of the Soviet empire to regain their independence from Moscow. And it is compounded by the apparent determination of the Russians, led by Yeltsin, to dismantle the empire of their own making.

Gorbachev's problem is that his union remains identified with the Communist Party and the whole structure of centralised control. A new union treaty will not be a voluntary union of sovereign states, and therefore will be more likely to split

the country than to unite it.

It was almost certainly Gorbachev's fear that the union would disintegrate, added to his conviction that he is the one man who can keep it together, which prompted his retreat from radical reform last year. At that moment he made a fundamental choice to stay on the side of the old establishment. There is little doubt it was a mistake.

Maverick market economist Stanislav Shatalin, who was Gorbachev's confidant and adviser, in January begged the president to abandon the post of communist leader and allow the party to disintegrate. Gorbachev could carry out no reform with the enemies of reform as his allies, Shatalin said.

The professor has since quit the party. He says he finally lost faith in Gorbachev when the Soviet leader deployed troops with dogs on the streets of Moscow to confront the March 28 demonstration for Yeltsin.

So is the picture totally bleak, with economic collapse matched by political stalemate, and disintegration

the only possible outcome? Is perestroika truly dead or is this merely a tactical retreat? And if it is another Gorbachev manoeuvre, can he stay in power long enough to get back on track?

The answer is that perestroika is dead, and that is no bad thing. It was always doomed. It was an attempt to make the old system work better, to give Soviet socialism an efficient, human face. But the old system was so flawed that it could not be simply "restructured". It had to be dismantled. That is what is happening today.

Until last year it seemed Gorbachev himself realised the need to pull down the temple. Yet when the Shatalin report — the famous 500-day programme — was finally put on the table last September, and it became clear that a rapid and radical transition to a market economy meant demolition of the old order, Gorbachev balked.

He was under huge pressure from the party bureaucracy, above all from the defence industry and the military establishment, and even from the communist barons of agriculture — the directors of the largely bankrupt state and collective farms. They may even have threatened to

remove him from power. Prof Nikolai Petrakov, then his economic adviser, says they gave him an ultimatum and, unlike the unruly democratic demonstrators, "they had men with guns" behind them.

Whatever the reason, the pillars on which Gorbachev fell back for support are no longer firm. The party is in terminal decline. The military and the KGB are themselves divided. The middle ranks of the military deeply resent the swathe of generals above them, while the mass of conscripts are increasingly a law unto themselves.

The KGB is increasingly an imperial guard without a cause. It is seeking a new role in the prosecution of what it calls "economic crime", unable to see that felonies such as "speculation" are essential parts of a future market economy. The only force holding the KGB together seems to be a fear of retribution once it falls apart.

When Gorbachev opted for retreat he did so in the conviction that the population was also fed up with reform and the chaos it had caused, and to an extent he was right.

On the other hand Yeltsin, a politician who has not lost touch with the grassroots, is convinced ordinary people do want change. But they want to do it without plunging into the economic unknown.

The two leaders are exploiting one aspect each of the dilemma: that people are sick of the old system (Yeltsin) and terrified of the new (Gorbachev). Neither offers an answer.

The challenge today is how to manage the process of disintegration of the Soviet empire so as to cause as little human suffering as possible. It is a challenge which the West faces, as much as any leadership which may emerge in Moscow. There is a terrible vacuum of ideas and vision of the future in the Soviet Union today, and people are crying out for advice. They want models. They want prescriptions. They do not want the West simply to react when it is all too late. — Financial Times.

Hani tours US as guest of American Reds

UMKHONTO We Sizwe chief Chris Hani has begun a two-week, 10-city tour of the US this week as the guest of the American Communist Party.

The CPUSA's newspaper, the People's Weekly World (PWW) — which used to be the People's Daily World — is using his visit to raise badly needed funds and to recruit new supporters for its 'World-builder' programme.

US officials — who are scheduled to meet Mr Hani at the State Department next week — are aghast that Mr Hani should have agreed to associate himself with the CPUSA and believe the connection can only damage the ANC's credibility.

The issue may well be raised on the floor of the Senate and further lessens the chances of the ANC seeing any of the \$3 730 000 the Administration proposed to give it last year as part the congressionally-mandated Transition to Democ-

racy Project. It may also undercut congressional opposition to lifting sanctions.

One congressional staff member commented that 'perhaps there should be a hall of fame for stupid ANC ideas'.

In its March 16 issue, the PWW urged readers to 'help build the World and smash apartheid' with generous contributions 'to help defray the cost of this historic tour and also help sustain our publication'.

Through the PWW, the CPUSA is coordinating a series of 'rallies, banquets, university appearances and media interviews' for Mr Hani, who is described by the paper as a 'major leader of the ANC and the SACP'.

In addition to visiting the State Department while he is in Washington next week, Mr Hani will also have private meetings with congressmen and is scheduled to address the National Press Club,

the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and students at Howard University.

Other cities on his tour include New York, where he is scheduled to participate in May Day celebrations, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Boston.

The WPP is inviting readers to buy advertising space to 'greet' Mr Hani for \$10 a column centimetre. Those who attend Hani 'events' will 'not only be experiencing history in the making, but will help boost our fund drive and also come away with treasured mementos'.

T-shirts and buttons are being made to commemorate Mr Hani's tour. In an accompanying article to introduce himself, Mr Hani said he had become a Communist because 'I realised that national liberation, though essential, would not bring total liberation'. — (Mercury Correspondent)

Mercury
19/04/91

16/1/11

The indaba between the ANC and PAC was vital, writes Tos Wentzel

STAR 1949/1

Chapter closes on bitter rift in black politics

THE decision by the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress to form a patriotic front is one of the most significant political developments since the unbanning of liberation movements.

Bitter rivalry between the two organisations appears at last to be coming to an end.

A conference in Harare this week at which this decision was taken was the first get-together between the two movements since a rift in the ANC which led to the formation of the PAC in 1959.

Enmity of more than 30 years was put aside with the decision to form a front of all those who are in favour of a constituent assembly to decide on a new constitutional system.

A "patriotic conference" will now be held in Cape Town in August and joint structures will be set up to achieve a transfer of power and to deal with the question of violence.

The Government is strongly opposed to the idea of a constituent assembly. Instead it wants to have a multiparty conference to prepare for a negotiation forum to draw up a new constitution.

The rift in the ANC which led to the formation of the PAC started in 1957.

Differences arose between those who were to form the PAC and those who remained with the ANC about the preamble to the Freedom Charter which stated that South Africa belonged to all those who lived in it, black and white together.

The Charter also stated that no government could justly claim authority unless it was based on the will of all of the people.

Those who supported these ideas were an alliance of the ANC, the SA Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Congress, the Congress of Democrats and the Congress of Trade Unions.

With its attitude of "Africa for the Africans", the PAC saw the situation in South Africa in very stark racial terms. In its ranks there was also concern about the

involvement of whites in the liberation movements.

On the other hand the attitude of the ANC was that, while blacks were the most oppressed group, the help of other groups was needed to achieve liberation.

The break-away PAC was started on April 6 1959 and from then on there was a vying between the two movements for support among blacks.

At an ANC conference in December 1959 it was decided to embark on an anti-passbook campaign on March 30 1960.

The PAC in turn announced that it would start such a campaign on March 21 and this led to the Sharpeville shootings and afterwards the banning of the movements.

While operating underground they both formed armed wings, Poqo in the case of the PAC and Umkhonto we Sizwe in the case of the ANC.

After the unbanning of the two movements last year the feeling grew that it was time to set aside the enmity and unite.

Speaking in Tanzania last March, deputy leader of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, expressed the hope that the two would start talking and for the first time he mentioned the possibility of a patriotic front.

At an OAU conference in August the then leader of the PAC, the late Zeph Mothopeng, also raised the idea. The ANC consultative congress in December had a resolution dealing with the idea and its anniversary statement early in January also supported it.

According to ANC sources the idea is not to have an amalgamation but to establish a common platform of action.

While they agree on the idea of a constituent assembly, the ANC and the PAC still differ on some other crucial issues.

The PAC has taken a hard line on negotiations while the ANC, in spite of misgivings, supports them.

The two sides have nevertheless described the Harare meeting, the first bilateral one, as an "outstanding success". □

Winnie 'minibus alibi' attacked

By Stephane Bothma

MRS WINNIE Mandela's evidence that she had used her only minibus to travel to Brandfort on the early evening of December 29, was challenged in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday when the prosecution pointed out that her personal driver and co-accused claimed he had used the minibus later the same evening in Soweto.

Mr John Morgan (61) a co-accused in the trial in which Mrs Mandela and two others pleaded not guilty to kidnapping and assaulting four youths on December 29, 1988, said in a statement to the police that late on the evening of the alleged crimes, he had used the minibus to drive a co-accused, Mrs Xoliswa Falati, home.

Mr Morgan, who had acted as Mrs Mandela's personal driver, further said in his statement that on the following day, December 30, he had also used the minibus to transport Mrs Falati, Mrs Mandela and her daughter to Mrs Mandela's offices.

Mrs Mandela's defence in the trial is one of an alibi — that she had left her Diepkloof, Soweto, home for the Free State town of Brandfort in her only minibus early on the evening of December 29. She had only returned during the late afternoon of December 31, 1988.

Allegation

The State advocate, Mr Jan Swanepoel, SC, pointed Mr Morgan's claim out to Mrs Mandela, who replied that Mr Morgan's allegation could not be true, as she only possessed one minibus.

The admissibility of Mr Morgan's statement was contested earlier in the

trial, which resulted in a lengthy trial-within-a-trial.

At the time, Mr Justice M S Stegmann ruled that the statement was admissible.

Mr Swanepoel claimed that Mrs Mandela's defence on paper — in the form of a signed statement made by her in terms of Section 115 of the Criminal Procedure Act — which was handed in at the start of the trial as part of her plea, contradicted her verbal evidence in court.

He referred to a paragraph in the written plea in which Mrs Mandela had stated that she had been approached by Mrs Falati during the end of December 1988, who informed her (Mrs Mandela) that the Soweto Methodist Reverend, Mr Paul Verryn — in charge of the manse where several youths had taken refuge — had been sexually abusing a number of the youths.

Disturbed

Mrs Mandela had further stated as fact in her written plea that Mrs Falati had also informed her that some of the youths had been following Mr Verryn's example in indulging in homosexual practices; that one of the youths, Katiza Cebekhulu, had become "mentally disturbed" as a result of an indecent assault on him by Mr Verryn; and that Mr Verryn had gone away and that Mrs Falati required assistance from Mrs Mandela.

In cross-examination yesterday, Mrs Mandela said she could not state as a fact exactly when Mrs Falati had conveyed the allegations to her and that it could have been on two separate occasions.

Mrs Mandela denied that there was any contradiction in her evidence and her written plea.

In her evidence, Mrs

Falati testified she had, on December 31, told Mrs Mandela that the "coach" of the Mandela United Football Club, Jerry Richardson, had assaulted one of the youths, Mr Kenneth Kgase, who had been brought from the Methodist manse.

Mrs Mandela claimed she had "no recollection" of the incident, but it was possible that Mrs Falati could have drawn her attention to the assault.

Funeral

She was also cross-examined about an incident on January 4, 1989, in which three of the alleged kidnap and assault victims, Mr Kgase, Mr Pelo Mekgwe and Mr Thabiso Mono, had accompanied her and others, including Richardson, to a funeral in Soweto. All the men that accompanied Mrs Mandela had been dressed in the track-suits of the Mandela United Football Club.

Mrs Mandela explained to the court that she had usually, when attending funerals or political meetings, informed Richardson.

Richardson had then taken the initiative to round up the youths who lived in the back rooms of her premises, dressed them in the Mandela Football Club track-suits and accompanied her.

She could not remember seeing any "serious" injuries on any of them.

Previously, Mrs Mandela denied that the Mandela United Football Club had acted as her bodyguard.

Mr Swanepoel questioned Mrs Mandela on why, as a social worker, she had not personally investigated the allegations made by several people that youths had been kidnapped and assaulted and kept at her house against their will.

He also asked why, if allegations had been going around that the youths had been severely assaulted, had she not taken the youths to a medical doctor for examination or treatment.

"I was so outraged that such allegations were made against me, that I wanted nothing to do with the boys who lived at the back of my house," she replied.

Victims

She also said that she had learnt the names of the four alleged victims, including that of the 14-year-old Stompie Moeketsi Seipei, only after the allegations against her had been published in the Press during the last week of January 1989 or the first week in February that year.

"I did not kidnap any children and I did not assault any children," Mrs Mandela said, adding that she had believed that Mrs Falati had brought the children to her house to be looked after by Richardson for their own protection against the sexual abuse by Mr Verryn.

She believed the youths had stayed at her house voluntarily.

Mrs Mandela's cross-examination continues today.

They let Tutu down

ARCHBISHOP Tutu's speech, urging Black leaders to stop all this talk about the armed struggle was commendable. It certainly brought me closer to liking the man. I feel now that it is possible he did not foresee, when he called for sanctions, that a person with an empty belly cannot be appeased by the promises of "liberation".

When one stares death by starvation in the face daily, it matters little how one meets one's end; the fear of being killed by police fire or a fray with members of another faction is dissipated.

It has been relatively easy to blame the ill-effects of sanctions on apartheid. the unsophisticated person knows little of complicated issues such as disinvestment and sanctions, but all have heard of apartheid.

Whenever I get the opportunity to set people straight on this score, I do so, for even if one more person understands the

cruel implications of sanctions on those who have no assets to fall back on, it will be one more person who will oppose them.

Towards the end of the 70s, things had already started to look up for the Black man. Unemployment figures were much lower, wages were improving, overseas companies were allocating money for housing and education of their employees, but all that was swept aside in the bid to hasten the change and move the ANC into the forefront.

It will take us another 20 years (if ever) to get back to the position we were at before disinvestment came into being, which I estimate is about the same time it would have taken us to bring about the same improvement, without the loss of so many lives.

Mr Buthelezi was the only leader who had the good sense to realise this, and he will certainly get my vote if ever he is in the

running for State President.

The plan to make the country ungovernable has taken a turn in the wrong direction. Some people are actually enjoying the chance to do a little bloodletting, and they haven't been too fussy about the colour of the container.

After his impassioned plea for people to stop the killing, I felt a twang of pity for the man. He must be feeling extremely embarrassed by his own race. In good faith, he went to the Western world to assure them that the Black people of South Africa were ready for majority rule and they have let him down horribly by behaving like savages.

What are his chances in the future of calling off sanctions and disinvestment when he feels the government has been punished enough? Virtually nil!

MARILYN G
Germiston

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

19 April 1991

Good luck

STATE President De Klerk leaves today on his visit to Britain, Ireland and Denmark.

Unlike his other travels, he will not be accompanied by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, because of the tragic accident that has placed Mrs Botha in hospital with partial paralysis.

Although Mr Botha's undoubted diplomatic skills will be missed, Mr De Klerk has gained sufficient experience to be able to handle the trip with great success.

Indeed, if South Africa's future were to depend on its State President being able to swing international opinion to his side, the battle would be won.

The truth is that our future remains in our own hands, and with the ANC adopting an increasingly intransigent attitude, the uncertainties remain.

Nevertheless, creating a favourable international climate is vital — and in this, Mr De Klerk's travels have played a major role.

First, he had to demonstrate to mostly sceptical international leaders that his reforms were irreversible.

That he was able to do so in the face of a campaign by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and other ANC leaders to prove that they were not irreversible says much for both Mr De Klerk's reforms and the manner in which he has sold them.

Much to the chagrin of the ANC, Mr De Klerk has broken the sanctions net surrounding South Africa, has placed South Africa back on the road to international sport, and has punctured the cultural boycott.

The decision of the European Community to lift the curbs on Krugerrands, iron and steel imports, against the wishes of the ANC, was a further triumph for Mr De Klerk.

The easing of sanctions does not mean a great deal if it does not encourage investment and if it does not bring South Africa the foreign capital without which the economy cannot get moving.

The lifting of the EC ban on new investment did not bring a flood of investment — and there will not be any great interest in South Africa by foreign investors until the violence here ends and the political uncertainties are removed.

But we can improve our trading and finances in the meantime — and it is significant that Mr De Klerk will be meeting chairmen of banks and financial institutions in Britain, will address the annual convention of the Institute of Directors and will give an informal address to the Confederation of British Industries.

The key meeting will, of course, be with Prime Minister John Major, Mrs Margaret Thatcher's successor, but Mr Major has already shown that he is for the total abolition of sanctions, having had a major hand in the EC's decision to lift more curbs.

We are sure that with Mr De Klerk ending apartheid and occupying the moral high ground, and always being one step ahead of Mr Mandela, he will continue to gain the international support he needs not only for his reforms, but for ending South Africa's isolation.

Mr Mandela, whose spoiling role after Mr De Klerk's previous trips failed to halt Mr De Klerk's successes, will be seeing Mr Major a couple of days after Mr De Klerk.

But he will not be able to persuade Mr Major to change his favourable stance.

We should not forget another ANC threat in the background.

The ANC is trying to create the impression that the government is not willing or able to end violence and is part of it. Consequently, we are not surprised that Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda is calling for international intervention to end the violence.

The idea may well be to have an Untag force here, as in Namibia before that country's pre-independence poll.

The ANC is also campaigning for the election of a constituent assembly, on Namibian lines, and is seeking United Nations support.

The more Mr De Klerk wins friends and influences international leaders, the greater his chance of achieving a negotiated constitution and settlement on the lines he favours.

We wish him great success on his visit abroad.

POLITICS

Ameen Akhalwaya



ANC making its bed with white sheets

WHEN the African National Congress issued its ultimatum calling on the government to meet certain conditions by next month, the establishment media reacted as if it had set off a nuclear bomb.

A shaken ANC retreated and said it had not issued an ultimatum. It was an inept display by an organisation which seems unable to grasp that it is a government in preparation.

There was no reason for it to be apologetic. It was correct to set conditions for continuing talks with the Nats, however questionable its deadline for the resignation of the ministers of defence and law and order might have been. On the Reef, anyone will tell you township residents are becoming disillusioned with what they perceive as the ANC's all-too-accommodating posture. They see the ANC bending over backwards to appease the Nats, and to attract the support of whites and neo-liberal groups of all hues. They'll tell you the ANC announced the suspension of the armed struggle far too soon, giving an impression that it is weak, leaving them defenceless and opening the way for reactionaries to wreak havoc among black people.

If government forces and supporters are behind the violence, they ask, why is the ANC not succeeding in doing something about it? What guarantees do they have that if an ANC or any other black-led organisation comes to power democratically, these forces would not increase the level of our civil war?

If the government has failed to keep its side of the bargain on various issues, they argue, why does the ANC appear powerless to do anything about it?

A few weeks ago, *Sunday Star* columnist Jon Qwelane urged the ANC to pull out of talks with the government. He was reflecting the views of most black journalists and township residents we know.

Yet once the establishment media's hysteria exploded, the ANC reacted as if it had been hit by a bomb. The same happened after its unbanning last year when it reiterated its policy of nationalising mines and certain financial institutions. The ANC went on the defensive, behaving as if what it had stood for — and been supported for — over the past 35 years wasn't exactly what it appeared to be.

It is learning that South Africa has no fury like the white establishment scorned. Those few black journalists who supported South Africa's sports isolation in the 1970s were similarly attacked and intimidated. Fortunately, leaders such as Hassan Howa, Norman Middleton, and the late MN Pather and Morgan Naidoo hit back fearlessly and gave us the incentive to carry on writing as we did. And the *Rand Daily Mail* went out of its way to give their points of view, even if it did not agree with them.

Not so now. The ANC is appalled by the fact that it has been denounced by the white media, that even an editorial in a major newspaper aimed at black readers was written by a white journalist.

It looked around in vain for support from people who would have given it a fair hearing and generally supported its conditions: black journalists, people who know what is being said in their communities. But where were they? Why, basking in the ANC's discomfort. Or lost in newsrooms of media which won't give them a chance to reflect black thinking.

Most senior black journalists are disillusioned with the ANC — not with its policies, which most support broadly, but with its attitude towards them. That is an attitude that smacks of contempt or, at the very least, indifference. Unless they're part of an inner-circle, they are no longer taken into the ANC's confidence, or given briefings or interviews.

To me, the ANC's policies are by and large better, more advanced and far more representative than those of "system" groups such as the National Party. The ANC doubtlessly speaks for the majority.

It needs to learn from Howa and company, who were rubbished by the white media. At one stage, Howa's supporters were preparing to ditch him because they regarded his attitude as being dictatorial.

Then a Sunday paper started to campaign against him with such one-sided venom that his supporters closed ranks solidly behind him. That is why the current establishment attacks on the ANC will also be counter-productive.

But then the ANC must get rid of the growing perception — not least among black journalists — that it is far more interested in bending over backwards to accommodate all sorts of minorities who will find all sorts of excuses not to support it.

It needs to get out of the bed of white sheets it is making.

●Ameen Akhalwaya is editor of *The Indicator*.

■ NEXT WEEK: Steven Friedman's Worm's Eye

INSIDE OUT

Arthur Maimane: Parliament



FW comes up smelling of roses

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha was cock-a-hoop — in his own heavy style — the morning after his European Community counterparts agreed in principle to lift the trade sanctions imposed in 1985. Everything was coming up roses days before he and FW de Klerk were due to fly north of the equator to meet the Community heads of government, Irish and Danish, that FW hadn't yet met since he launched his anti-sanctions roadshow last May, following his "rubicon speech".

And this May their anti-sanctions champion, Margaret Thatcher, flies south for her rewards, which include the Freedom of the City of Johannesburg; but that's a side-show now that she's no longer British prime minister.

The important thing, according to Pik, is that the Community's decision has "paved the way" for this weekend's trip. He told a media briefing that "international isolation is over" as far as he's concerned and that "momentum is irreversible" — America and Japan will follow suit — because FW "has a way of personally persuading" other heads of government that his own reforms are irreversible, whatever the African National Congress might claim.

And thus FW holds "the moral high ground" — despite what the Conservative Party says — and he's won the support of foreign governments and their media because "they accept his integrity". The European Community did not ask the ANC for permission to impose sanctions, and decided to lift them without acquiring the nod of approval from Nelson Mandela — who, a few days after FW, will be holding talks in London with John Major, who elbowed Maggie Thatcher out of 10 Downing Street but has now followed her anti-sanctions policy with the rest of the Community.

According to Pik, the ANC makes the tactical mistake of still "seeing sanctions as a bargaining card" while even Mandela realises the country is desperate for foreign investment to create jobs and help the economy grow. But for investments to flow back into South Africa, there must be political stability and an end to factional violence.

Asked for the theme of the latest mission to Europe, Pik told us it was "participation in the reconstruction of a new South Africa". And that's no longer a mission impossible now FW has the smell of roses after taking the moral high ground away from Mandela.

■THERE's a popular chant by impatient English football fans: "Why are we waiting!" Just beyond the security gates that make the southern end of Parliament Street a no-go zone for the unauthorised, I heard impatience expressed differently by a group of women walking past: "When is this New South Africa going to start in there?" one asked, glaring through the gates at a parliament in which she's not represented.

The House of Delegates MP walking ahead of me laughed, turned round and remarked: "That's the voice of the real people — and they're right!"

It's over a year since FW heralded the dawn of the new era, but the waiting continues. It looks like there won't even be an all-party preparatory conference until after the ANC meets in June to mandate its leaders within the country for the first time in 30 years. If, that is, a deal can be struck over the "flexibility" offered by the ANC over its ultimatum.

While we wait, the ANC has unveiled its discussion document on a constitution for the new era. The document strikes the right notes except for a proposal on an issue I've already wailed about which, in the ANC version, will multiply bureaucracy. Parliamentary debates are in two languages at present — and the ANC wants that number multiplied by five. It proposes 10, declaring that "the institutions of government should not be restricted to any language".

When I expressed amazement during the briefing, we were told it was the obligation of government to maintain communication in this new-era Tower of Babel by providing instantaneous translations. That means many more well-paid public servants: interpreters, engineers to maintain equipment and, the press gallery hopes, 10 times as many of the elegant young ladies called Hansard reporters we threw a party for this week.

Where will the new, enlarged parliament hold its multi-lingual debates? The joint chamber built for the colour-coded joint sessions of a tri-cameral system will not be large enough. But they could take over the visitors' gallery in that casino-like structure since the babble of "interpellations" in 10 different languages will discourage even more spectators than two languages do at present.

THE INDEPENDENT PAPER FOR
A CHANGING SOUTH AFRICA

THE WEEKLY MAIL

Volume 7, Number 15. April 19 to 25 1991

Arms and the policeman

ADRIAAN Vlok's partial ban on dangerous weapons carried in "conflict situations" is good — in part. The announcement should have come months ago, was only made under extreme pressure, and was accompanied by a vitriolic attack on the ANC which can only serve to heighten suspicions of police bias. When the minister of law and order makes the absurd statement that despite police efforts "the violence continues, apparently with the ANC in every case the catalyst", it certainly does not inspire public confidence that the policemen who serve under him will be any less partial.

The measures are half-hearted. Pangas, axes and bush knives are now banned in "conflict situations", but spears, assegais, battle axes and knobkieries (which have all been widely used in political violence) are okay — even in conflict situations.

What, one might ask, is a "conflict situation"? Presumably that is a question the police on the spot will be called to decide on.

It is possible, for example, that an Inkatha "peace rally", such as those in Alexandra and Soweto recently which left scores dead, may be assumed to be something other than a "conflict situation", in which case the participants can add pangas, axes and bush knives to their collection of spears, assegais, battle axes and knobkieries.

Or does it mean that when such a situation becomes tense, the police have to go through the crowd and separate the spears and pangas (illegal) from the assegais (legal); the axes (illegal) from the battle axes (legal)?

Both the ANC and Inkatha have tentatively welcomed the measures, which is heartening.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi argues that "sophisticated weaponry" should also be confiscated. It's a perfectly valid point, but we hope he bears in mind that it is not only the ANC which has wide access to AK-47s. Weapons of this nature have also been widely used by his own followers — and have been fired into the air at recent Inkatha peace rallies without police intervention.

In the end the best way to deal with the issue is to place a blanket ban on all weapons at public gatherings — "traditional", "cultural" or otherwise.

The obstructionists

SOUTH Africans returning home after long years in exile might be inclined to expect that FW de Klerk's brave new world begins on the other side of the passport turnstiles at Jan Smuts Airport.

In fact what they find at the airport is a police force that still runs its domain by the old rules.

Returning exiles, with their indemnity documents tucked safely in their pockets, are picked up, arrested, delayed, by a police force intent on applying the absolute letter of the law.

On Thursday they went one step further. Penuel Maduna, one of the ANC's top negotiators, was arrested at the international arrivals hall while meeting a plane-load of returning exiles.

The reason? "Obstruction," say the police. Airport authorities had instructed them not to allow anyone linked to the returnees' arrival into the hall.

How long will junior white police officers and civil aviation authorities continue to treat black politicians — including potential cabinet ministers — with such flagrant disrespect?

Maduna's arrest is not the worst thing that this government has done. But it is yet another in a long line of incidents of aggravation and obstruction by state officials of the implementation of the Pretoria Minute.

State employees, many of whom owe their jobs to the old order, have been less than enthusiastic in their approach to the spirit of reconciliation that this country desperately needs.

Small wonder that with less than two weeks to go before the Pretoria Minute's April 30 deadline only a fraction of political prisoners have been released and exiles returned, and issues of indemnity have still not been resolved.

A government that is prepared to lock up key negotiating partners like Penuel Maduna for doing no more than standing in the arrivals hall at the airport can't really be serious about negotiations.

Mandela steps in with MK

By GAYE DAVIS: Cape Town

NELSON MANDELA visited Robben Island last Friday to persuade 25 cadres of the African National Congress' military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe, to sign indemnity forms.

The ANC deputy president made an impassioned appeal to the 25, who had consistently refused to apply for indemnity.

His "decisive" intervention was confirmed this week by Umkhonto weSizwe chief of staff Chris Hani, who was present when 41 prisoners — the largest group so far — were released from Robben Island.

None of the 25 were among those released. Their stand created serious problems for an ANC leadership already under fire from supporters for becoming involved in a cumbersome indemnity process.

Underpinning the prisoners' refusal was the conviction that ANC negotiators erred badly by compromising on the Harare Declaration-linked

demand for a blanket, unconditional amnesty covering political prisoners and the return of exiles, and allowing the release and return processes to be governed by the Indemnity Act. In their view, this accorded the government a legitimacy they rejected.

One of the prisoners explained his stand: "I have been fighting against apartheid all my life and now I have to ask for a pardon from the very same system. That removes the very moral base that has been sustaining me through the hardest times of struggle." But after Mandela's intervention last Friday, the prisoner — along with his 24 comrades — decided to sign the indemnity forms.

● Among the 41 released on Tuesday was Anthony Tsotsobe (35), one of the three so-called "Sasol bombers" whose death sentences, imposed in 1981, were later commuted to life imprisonment. His co-accused, David Moise and Johannes Shabangu, are still on the island.

... and expose a
gun-running ring
supplying rifles
and pistols to
Inkatha
supporters

Weekly Mail Investigations Team

THE *Weekly Mail* has bought an AK-47 and exposed an extensive and sophisticated arms sales network supplying Inkatha members on the East Rand.

The network runs from Komatipoort to East Rand townships and hostels and supplies AK-47s, shotguns, Makarov pistols and Scorpion sub-machine pistols.

It's easy to get an AK-47 in the townships

●To PAGE 2

The Weekly Mail buys an AK-47

19-28 April 1991

●From PAGE 1

as long as you've got money, *The Weekly Mail* was told as this deadly weapon was handed over to us this week.

The AK-47 was bought for R1 500. The only condition was that the purchaser had to prove that he was not a "comrade" and would not use it against Inkatha. The seller is happy to give it to any person antagonistic to the African National Congress — including bank robbers.

The deal involved training by a Mozambican expert, an ordinary suitcase to carry the gun and 30 bullets, although many of them were old and rusty.

"As long as you've got money, there's really no problem. We have plenty of weapons," the seller said.

According to our source, the original purchase took place in an East Rand township house. Among those involved were a hostel dweller and a firm and vociferous supporter of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The Inkatha supporter, originally from Natal, appeared to be a coordinator for prospective buyers in the township, with strong links to hostel dwellers. He was not shy of his Inkatha links: he was prepared to challenge the rent boycott and angrily reject the resignation of councillors even in a shebeen surrounded by people expressing anti-Inkatha sentiments.

The hostel dweller was quieter, but shared his friend's beliefs. "We must seriously fight those people who force us not to pay rent," he said.

To start the deal, the purchaser had to say that he wanted the gun for a robbery and to avenge himself against com-

rades who had killed his father.

The agent from the hostel responded: "You see, if you can't protect yourselves against the comrades, you'll die. It is good that you have approached us. We have AK-47s, but money is important."

He then said that there were "Mozambican Shangaans" who supplied them with weapons and this purchaser would definitely be considered. The suppliers, he was told, were ex-Mozambican soldiers who had once held positions of authority in the army. No indication was given of which army they had belonged to in Mozambique,

Fire power from Mozambique with love ... It's dangerous but you too can buy an AK-47 in the East Rand townships if you have enough money — and are not a 'comrade'



SA police have 'also exposed' gun smugglers

Weekly Mail Reporter

POLICE last night reacted to *The Weekly Mail's* gun-running exposé by announcing that, since January, they have themselves exposed "several weapon smuggling networks".

In a statement released after hearing of *The Weekly Mail's* story, the Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, said the SAP had seized large numbers of illegal firearms and made several arrests.

Further arrests were expected shortly and suspects will be tried in open court as soon as possible, the minister said.

but they were said to be experienced in using weapons of war.

Some of them had medals to their credit for outstanding service.

It was also confirmed that when the situation of conflict warranted it, these men could act as field commanders, personally directing battles.

They said there were "others" (Mozambicans) who supplied arms to the "comrades". There is no love lost between the two groups of suppliers.

Although the "Mozambicans" did arrive to deliver the weapon, our source was not able to sit down and discuss it

with them because of their tight schedule around the East Rand townships.

As the AK-47 rifle was handed over to the original purchaser, a stern warning was issued: "Take this and be careful about how you handle and use it. If you are arrested and identify us to the police, that will be your last day in this world."

"Some people take weapons and go around the shebeens scaring people. That is not the purpose of selling this to you."

The purchaser was then wished the best of luck in his "missions".

On sale for
only R1 500
... the *Weekly
Mail's* AK-47,
well-used but
in excellent
condition
Photograph:
KEVIN CARTER

We buy an

Weekly Mail
19-25 April 1991

AK

47