09tJalqr Press Briefing 9 December 1991

ANI THREATENS THE South African 5 Communist Party, - in alliance with the African National Congress and Cosatu, will use mass action in support of its demands for an interim government ; within the next six ' months and a constituent assembly within two years. This is the view of Mr Chris Hani, who was t speaking yesterday in his first interview since his appointment as the new SACP general secretary at the party,s eighth national congress, outside Johannesburg. Mr Hani said the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) would be called upon to instruct the South African Government to legislate tor an interim govemment so that the decisions of Codesa would have legal force. iiWithout that force of law, this government will be free to delay the processes of an interim govt ernment, " Mr Hani said. tiThe SACP. together with the ANC and Cosatu. must gain the strategic initiative. uWe must determine the parameters of negotiations because we are the people who initiated negotiations. and between us we represent the majority of the people of South Africa. uThe Nationalist Party has got a history of authoritarian rule. and we are the people who must influence as many forces as possible to work very quickly to a democratic solution of the problems of our country." itMy immediate task as the new general secretary of the SACP is to convene an extra-ordinary and urgent meeting of the newly-elected central committee so that we can begin to elect a politburo which must be in charge of day-to-day running of the party between the meetings of the central committee."

The politburo would number between 10 and 12 members. Mr Hani said.

ttSecondly, the central committee must look at the whole process of negotiations. The party is playing a role in the negotiation process so the central committee has got to decide on a negotiating team and our negotiations strategy.

uOf course. the party's negotiating strategy must be discussed with our allies, the ANC and Cosatu. in the tripartite alliance."

Mr Hani insisted the SACP was seriously committed to negotiation: ttThe SACP is very serious about negotiations because, from the very beginning. the SACP, together with the ANC, initiated the processes of negotiations.

itAs long as thereis space for peaceful negotiations. the SACP will explore that space fully and totally, but we are not going to stop short of the bottom line.

"And the bottom line is

"And the bottom line is that this government, which is illegitimate and unrepresentative. has no right to rule us even for a day. and our demands are for one person one vote in MASS ACTION

a democratic South Africa."

The 25-member central committee would also have to decide how to strengthen the party. Mr Hani said. uThis congress has come out clearly about the need to build a strong vanguard and mass party."

Mass action would play a key role in the tripartite alliance's negotiating strategy. Mr Hani said. The SACP would discuss with the ANC and Cosatu about the most effective forms of mass action.

uMass action is a key and important weapon of those who don't have political power, who are not represented in Parliament." ttWelve got to he careful not to indulge just in the rhetoric of mass action. When we embark on mass action we must be sure that it's going to be effective, and we must be sure that it's going to be understood by our people."

The tripartite alliance would therefore have to educate people about mass action because they would be required to make sacrifices.

An interim government had to be one of the most important issues on the agenda of Codesa later this month. Mr Hani said, ubecause the government of De Klerk is completely discredited."

nlt is a government which is even losing support to the Conservative Party.

i'That sort of govemment cannot play the role of player and referee. and thats why we want an interim government.

thur demands for an interim government are immediate." Mr Hani said. the dont want to be delaying for another six months.

uWe feel that at Codesa there must be a commit-ment. a declaration of intent, that theres going to be an interim government.

"And De Klerk's government must accept that Codesa will actually call upon it to go to Parliament and to legislate for an interim government so that the decisions of Codesa have got the force of law.

"Immediately the interim government is in place we expect that interim government to begin the processes of preparing for a constituent assembly, by registering all the voters in this country so that they can begin to elect their own representatives to a constituent assembly. tiWe want this process to be taking place within the next 18 months or two years." - Sapa.

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Hani likely to step down as MK By Esme van der Merwe Political Reporter Newly elected SACP general-secretary Chris Hani indicated yesterday that he would step down as chief of staff of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), to work fulltime for the SACP. Mr Hani said the ANC would soon be requested to "phase out" his MK duties since he clearly could not do justice to both positions. However, ANC president Nel-

However, ANC president Nelson Mandela gave the green light.

Asked whether he would resign as MK chief of staff, he said: "Well, I will be working iull-time for the SACP. As soon as possible we will sit down with the ANC leadership, where 1 think the request will be made that I be phased out." Mr Hanits availability for the johcameasasurpriseashe had indicated earlier that he would not be available. The ANC, which had earlier turned down an SACP request to relieve him of his MK duties to build up the SACP. has not yet officially responded to Mr Hunt's unanimous election. ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu said on Saturday the ANC would have to accept Mr Hani's election and that it would not cause friction between the two as.

"It is true that the ANC wanted Mr Hani. They did not want him to take other positions. chief

"But once the congress of the Communist Party meets, it is its prerogative to appoint a man theytve got confidence in, and we granted them that," he said.

At its first legal congress in South Africa in more than three decades, the SACP elected a new leadership of 30 people. Outgoing general-secretary Joe Slovo was elected national chairman, former journalist Charles Ngakula was elected deputy general-secretary and Robben Island stalwart Raymond Mhlaha was elected as deputy national chairman The position of treasurer went to former SA Congress of : Trade Unions president Kay: Moonsamy. ,

Other members of the SACP's ' central committee, in order of the number of votes attracted in the secret ballot conducted among 413 delegates, were: Jeremy Cronin (407), Ronnie Kasrils (400), Chris Dlamini (392), Sydney Mufamadi (387), John Gomomo (385). John Nkadixneng (365), Billy Nair (361), Moses Mayekiso (350), Blade Nzimande (339), Harry Gwala-(332), Sizakele Sigxashe (329), , Essop Pahad (329). Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi (324). Raymond Suttner (321), Jenny Schreiner ' (291), Sam Shilowa (285), Tony; Yeageni (283). January Masilela (276), Garth Strachan (267), Thenjiwe Mthintso (268). Stan Nkosi (258), Brian Bunting (258), Govan Mbeki (252), Matthew Makhalima (251) and Nozizwe Madlalama). 0 Who speaks for SA's workers? - Page 10; SACP delegates score major coup - Page 11 310% 11mm

H.714 v.1. .' t n .. , L't'. . .._ .4. SACP, s plan on eenmooy 'By IKE MOTSAPI THE South African Communist Party favours a mixed economy in which the capitalist sector will continue to occupy a significant place, according to a document released yesterday at its historic conference. In the Manifesto of the SACP, released to the Press. the party resolved that the post-apanheid society must not just be a political democracy. "It must also see a widening of economic democracy in which there is a growing popular control I over economic planning, t production and distribution." The party, however, warned that a mixed economy in which the private sector effectively has unlestn'cted power to determine the way wealth is distributed was a recipe for the continuation of racism and "the worst features of capitalism." 'l'heevenLatNasrecnear Soweto. was the SACP's first national congress inside the country in 40 years. In a joint statement. Mr Chn's Hani, new general secretary of the SACP. and chairman Mr Joe Slovo said: "The emerging situation in South Africa is one in which the working people can make a number of important gains. "These gains could improve their own immediate situation, and they could be of great significance in laying the basis for a future socialist South Africa. "These gains are, however, not inevitable. "They will only be achieved through successful struggle now in the period of national revolution." The statement continued: "A growth strategy to answer the needs of our people will also have to ensure that our industries become more effective in export trade. South Africa

needs to become a more significant exporter of GIVING THE SALUTE . . . Chrls Hunt at the SACP's national congress. manufactured goods, especially as our minerals are a wasting asset. "A successful export strategy will only be possible if productivity is signilicantly raised and our industries are able to be more competitive intcmationally." Hani and Slovo encouraged workers to panicipate in this economic restmcturing. Restructuring uThe bosses have failed dismally in the past and they cannot be trusted in leading the restructuring of the economy. "Workers will need to take more of the initiative in planning and implementing a new growth strategy. They need to do this. not only to defend their own immediate interests. but also to guarantee that the process takes place in the broader national interest.' i SomE'TA'N 'WlH-Ht

SACP slams lack of consultation in alliance SACP delegates yesterday sharply criticised a "lack of consultation" within the SACP/ANC/Cosatu alliance and resolved to develop the party's independence within the alliance.

After four days of discussions. the SACP congress committed itself to abide by the result of free and fair elections, to support the continued participation in Codesa and to provide support for Cuba.

Newly elected SACP general secretary Chris/Hani said after the congress that he would have to be phased out of his job as Unkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff as he Vwoul_d_ be working full time for the party. SACP

name of the party unchanged, dropped the from the

"democratic socialism"

draft constitution. arguing that socialism
word udeu'xocratic"

in the SACPls

In his closing adores. Hani criticised capitalism as ua danger to humanity'. In its resolution on negotiations, the SACP noted it had not adequately consulted its membership in working out its positions and participation in the pm It slammed the N? for attempting to delay the adoption of a democratic constitution by proposing unacceptably long mterim arrangements. It said Codesa should establish an interim government to govern for no longer than 18 months and all its decisions should have the force of law. The SACP decided to call on the inaugural meeting of Codaa to ensure the release of all political prisoners before Christmas. In a resolution on the tripartite alliance. the oongrm noted there had not been adequate consultation on major initiatives of common concern, and decisive leadership had not always been forthcoming. It therefore malved to strengthen the alliance. The resolution also committed the SACP to "ensure that the VSACP develops its independence within the alliance and . ; . advances the cause of socialism". The congress. which decided to leave the Cl From Page 1

phrase was intrinsically democratic.

involve property ownership being spread as a method of redistribution He did not elaborate. Property ownership' is explicitly ruled out under Marxist/Leninism.

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The party decided to be guided by "Marxist/Leninism" rather than merely Marxism.

DARIUS SANAI that Hani said on SABC's Agenda programme last night the problems of SA ucannot be solved by a democratic government alone". He said the Marxism/Leninism 'the SACP would introduce would be different from the "distortions" of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and that it would msendZSdoctodbvm.

 ${\tt Thohvohmnmoarom,mm.}$

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25mm,hotdorofmovotumoyw.anz
Jovomv Cronin. Ronnie Kim. Chris Dhmini Sidney
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Lack of consultation 1n tripartite alliance: SACP THE South Atncan Communist Party's eighth national congress ended yesterday with a string of resolutions, from pledging material support to Cuba, demanding the release of all political prisoners by Christmas. to criticism of a lack of constructive consultation within the ANC/ SACP/Cosatu alliance. The 413 delegates, meeting outside Johannesburg for the past four days. also demanded the State return the ashes of former SACP chairman Braam Fischer to his family. It was the first legal SACP congress inside South Africa since the party was banned in 1950. The party's serious lack of funds was also dealt with in a resolution. Noting the absence of an adequate SACP policy on finances and fundraising, and the absence -. of a national fundraising effort. and that insuffitalent funds were being .generated through subguy and strengthened at all levels; 0 A national fund-' hraising campaign be launched; , 0 Regions and 5 scriptions, the congress resolved that: 5 'Ojnanoe .and fuhd- _ ii; committees be set : branches be trained to a implement the policy; and t O Subscriptions be re- i -viewed by the SACP's 25- 1 member central commit- p tee hfrom time to time". Another resolution which noted that the possibility of democratic elections now existed in - the country - that the SAC? would "abide scrupulously by the democratic process and the result thereofll. demanded that: 0 Such elections be conducted "in a manner that is independently verified as totally free and fair"; 0 All participants in the negotiations and election process commit

themselves to abide by the result; and 0 FW de Klerk and the National Party retract their statement that they would never hand over power to the ANC. .The resolution which criticised a lack of consultation between the ANC, SACP and Cosatu, called for the alliance to be strengthened at all levels. It noted that there had not been adequate consultation on major initiatives of common concern. 5 There had not been enough constructive consultation because of organisational weaknesses, it added. The resolution there.fore called for a common programme of action for well," mass campaigns tiations process. It also called for the SACP to develop its inde- 7 pendence within the alli- y ance. general secretary. conference at the close of the congress, denied the i resolution showed a .lfair- ' ly high level of discontent" within the SACP and between the SACP and its alliance partners. "Not at all. We are criticising ourselves as Mr Hani said. ltWhen we say there's not been adequate consultation we are not attacking _ the ANC. ttWe are saying that even at the level of the party there's been no deepening of the processes of consultation with the branches, with the grassroots, and we feel that this is not just a problem of the ANC. its a problem of the entire althe alliance, including liance.-Sapa. C 1 T 1 ZEN T l t1 Hi Newly-elected SACP Chris Hani. at a media ' strengthen it in the nego- 2

' (Cltlun Reporter THE election of the 'hardline Chris Hani, as the new general secratary Of the South African Community Party (SAC?) reflected a rejection of the moderate line being pursued by the outgoing general secretary, Mr Joe Slovo, according to government sources. The sources said this. rejection of Mr Slovo?s moderate line could also be- seen in subtle decie radial, Mr . sions of the conference;. such as the rejection of; , Rejection of moderate .ISlovo line reflected the word "transformation" in a Slov0ssponsored resolution and its replacement by the word "revolution". The sources said Mr Hanils election was a matter of considerable political importance because it gave him the status to become a factor in the negotiations in - ' his own right. tilt has given Mr Hani I. a distinct political plat? form' from which he can . play a role in the negw -' t tiations," a source said. O_f equal importance, . " NC PWV chairman, 'nto the: position, or ltematively Mr Sidney Ql TILtir-I (il'ch V tion of who would suc-. try to get his close ally, however, was the quesceed Mr Hani as chiefof-staff of the military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto We Sizwe. With the commander of Umkhonto, Mr Joe Modise, considered a spent force and no more than a 6gurehead, the position of.'chief.of-staff is held to be the most important post in MK. Intelligence. sou'rees think that Mr Hani will Mr Tokyo Sekwale, Mufamadi, who is - in charge of MK's .underground structures .in South Africa, and who has the added advantage of being a member of-Ithe SACP central 5

committee. 'Other names have 1' also been mentioned, 'such as Mr SiphiWe 5 Nyanda, who was the ,mastermind behind u0-peration Vula".

i fSACP delegates score major coup ' HE SOUTH African . " Communist Party gave notice at its congress in h. Johannesburg at the .weekend that it would. where .neceseary. pursue an indepen-. dent course rather than serve as .23 mere ancillary to the ANC. . - The election of Chris Rani. a - senior member of the ANC and chief of staff of Umkhonto we ,Sizwe. as SACP general-secre Z tary is a clear manifestation of the independent-minded mood . of the 400 delegates who attended the congress. It is common knowledge. as ' Mr Hani acknowledged at a news conference after his election. that the ANC was loath to release him to serve as a full-' time officer of the SACP. Yet the delegates, who occupy leadership positions at local branch level and who reflect grassroots opinion in the SACP. insisted that he make himself available to succeed Joe Slovo as genenl-secretary and take over the single most important position in the party. They simply refused to take "no" for an answer. either from Mr Rani. who spoke jokingly of their insistent "friendly persuasion", or from the ANC leadership. Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu. ANC president and vicepreeident respectively, were informed of the mood of the congras and raised no objections, Mr-Slovo. who was unanimously elected as SACP chairman. told journalists. One wonders, however. whether they had any option but to concur. ; By persuading Mr Rani to stand and the ANC to release him. the SAC? delegates scored a major coup for the party. Mr Bani, a charismatic man with . popular support, can only jstrengthen the SACP's appeal in . the black community where. in large measure, the ideological jbattles of the future will be won , or lost It is true that there are fraternal relations between the j SAC? and the ANC. It is true. 'too,asMrHaniwasquickto 'point out. that he will not be the 'first man to hold top posts in Both the ANC and SACP. Two of the best-known black commu-' 'tiists from an earlier era -Moses Kotane and Moses Mab-. hida - held senior positions in

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: -ANC.
. But these are different times
and, to quote Mr Hani, "the po-
sition of general-secretary in
the SACP is a fulltime job".
.The SAC? will thus he the pri-
Jnary beneficiary of his talents.
energy and popularity.
A measure of Mr Haniis popu-
larity was given in July at the
ANC's conference when he
ped the list of successful
t .mdidatee tor the 50 seats on
, the national executive chosen
' by popular vote after the elec-
PATRICK LAURENCE appraises the signlficance of the
SA Communist Party's historic eighth congress.
Chris Ham . . . ANC was loathe
to release hlm to serve as a
full time omeer of the SACP.
Harry Gwala
argued for the relnsenlon of
the phrase Marxism-Lenlnlsm.
. . . old hardllner
tion of the six major office
bearers.
Another indication of the
SACP's independent role
emerged during the news con-
ference after Mr Hani's elec-
tion: Mr Hani will almost cer-
tainly lead the SACP team at
the pending Codeea negotia-
tions, with the seasoned Mr
Slovo at his side.
In recording the emergence
of a mood favouring a higher
profile and a more independent
role for the SACP. one should
not over-emphasise the point.
The SAC? is not about to part
company with the ANC. It re-
mains a key partner in the tri-
partite alliance with the ANC
and the Congress of South Airi-
can Trade Union.
"Each of the organisations in
the alliance discusses the nego-
tiating process." Mr Slovo said
Joe Slovo . . . congress opted
against hls wishes and chose
to speak of "socialism".
Jeremy Cronin . . . protagonist
of Indlssoluhle Ilnks between
communism and democracy.
in reply to a question on wheth-
er - and it so, how - the posi-
tions of the SAC? differed from
thou of the ANC.
"They don't always start off'
with the same points of view on
every detail. But a mechanism
has been established - a spe-
cial joint negotiating forum
which meets once a week -
where whatever differences
that exist are ironed out to
reach sufficient consensus.
"But there is no guarantee
that we will go into the nego-
tiating process with an under-
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taking by each organisation that we will necessarily follow one another on every single issue."

The independent mood of the congress was manifest against the SAC? leadership itself in debate at the weekend. Congress overwhelmingly rejected the use of the phrase udemocratic socialism", opting instead. against the wishes of Mr Slovo and Mr Hani. to speak of "socialism" in the newly adopted party constitution. lt chose. too. to reject a move to describe the SAC? as a Marxist party - and thus downplay the role of Lenin - rather than a Marxist-Leninist Party. These decisions were interpreted by some observers as a rejection of Mr Slovois attempts to reassert the importance of democracy and a resurgence of pre-Gorbachev communism in the SACP. Mr Slovo. however. disagreed when that interpretation was put to him. "There was no rejection of the concept of democratic socialism; there was only rejec-

id in the context in which it was used" he said. "It you look at the balance of the constitution - which was adopted unanimously - you will see that the delegates unanimously tied themselves to multiparty democracy and to respect for the right of all political and social organisations to "What they were doing in removing the adjective was to state their belief that socialism incorporated democracy." Against that, however. when Harry Gwala argued for the reinsertion of the phrase "Marxism-Leninism", he was

tion of the adjective 'democrat-

"Marxism-Leninism", he was cheered widely. Mr Gwala. an old-style hardliner. is the chairman of the region which sent a congratulatory message to the men who tried to oust Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and restore the old Brezhnev regime in the Soviet Union in August.

Mr Slovo is on record, too. as arguing that what passes for Leninism is often no more than disguised Stalinism.

The SAC? congress was. however. true to the post-Brezhnev concept of glasnost or openness; it fulfilled a promise - made by its leaders more than a year ago - to discard the secrecy which had characterised the SAC? underground existence and led to its being accused of clandestine manipulation of the ANC.

Elections to its central committee - the highest policymaking body after the congress itself - were held during the congress. with independent organisers ensuring that everyone knew who the candidates were and that all delegate could exercise a secret vote. The names of the central committee were published at the congress and released to the press. They were headed by Jeremy Cronin. with 407 votes. Mr Cronin is a strong protagonist of retorging strong and indissoluble links between communism and democracy. :1 STm Tl 'K'l

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SACP to go own route,
but strengthen alliance
By Esmare van der Merwe
Political Reporter
The South African Commu-
nist Party intends develop-
ing into an independent po-
litical force while. on the
other hand, strengthening its
alliance with the ANC and
Cosatu.
At the conclusion of its
eighth annual congress -
the first legal congress to be
held in South Africa in more
than 30 years - the SACP
said it remained a revolu-
tionary party committed to
a radical transformation of
the country into a socialist
state.
Newly elected general
secretary Chris Hani - who
indxcated that he would step
down as chief of staff of the
ANCts military wing Umk-
honto we Sizwe - told the
congress that the advance to
socialism had become un-
stoppable.
"Surely the National
STAK
QWLVH
Party, which is trying to de-
stroy us, must feel uncom-
fortable to see us united and
invigorated to continue the
struggle. They must be petri-
fied to see that we are pre-
pared to continue until we
get a socialist South Africa,"
he said to loud applause
from more than 400 dele-
gates representing the
party's 25 000 members.
Mr Bani said that assert-
ing the SACPls independence
did not mean it would neces-
sarily clash with the ANC or
Cosatu.
Prisoners
The alliance partners
would continue to pursue
common strategies. How-
ever, if the SACP did not usit
eye to eye,' with the ANC on
certain issues, it would not
hesitate to say so. he told a
press conference after the
congress at Nasrec outside
Johannesburg.
Mr Hani added that the
party would devise its own
strategies for constitutional
negotiations.
The SACP said it intended
to use the upcoming Conveno
tion for a Democratic South
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Africa (Codesa) to demand the release of all remaining

political prisoners before Christmas. Congress resolved that its negotiating team should demand that all decisions taken at Codaa on December 20/21 should have the force of law. New SACP national chairman Joe Slovo, who stepped down as general secretary because of heavy ANC workload and ill health, said Codesa's decisions could only be legally enforced if entrenched by the existing Parliament. There were no other legal channels available, he told the press conference. Congress also passed a resolution demanding that an interim government be given the power to convene a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution. This process should be concluded within 18 months. It rejected National Party 0 To Page 3 t 1SACP to go own route, keep ties O From Page 1 attempts to "delay the adoption of a new constitution by proposing that interim arrangements should last for an unacceptably long time". The SACP also demanded that President de Klerk and the NP retract their statements that they would never hand over power to the ANC. In a resolution on the tri-partite alliance, the SACP noted that consultations between the parties on major initiatives particularly on negotiations were inadequate. The alliance had often failed to give decisive leadership at national, regional, and local levels. . Congress resolved that alli- ' ance structures should be strengthened at all levels. and that a common pro e of action should be developed. in- 3 eluding mass campaigns to strengthen the alliance in the negotiation process. The SACP would debate constructive criticism from other members of the alliance. It would ensure that the SACP developed an indepen-1 deuce within the alliance and,. through its participation. ad- , vance Congress also criticised the lack of co-ordination within the alliance regarding negotiations .

on national and regional levels, and decided to develop a comprehensive strategy to co-ordinate those efforts. 'Expressing its commitment - to multiparty talks. the SACP a said Codesa had to create a climate for negotiations and the acceleration of the process to release all political prisoners - and bring an end to political violence.

Mike Siluma reflects on the SACP conference which ended yesterday Who speaks for SAis workers? HE weekend conference of the SACP once more brought into focus the need for the unions to carve a niche for themselves. The need was first articulated after the ANC conference, and again recently when Cosatu demanded representation at the multiparty talks. After nearly 40 years as an underground party. the SACP tormally re-launched itself into. a South Africa where its mantle as the defender of the interests of the working class has, in practice, been usurped by the union move-

ment, rimarily Cosatu. Whi e SACP membership currently stands at a claimed 25 000, its ideological allies, the unions, command far greater visible support among workers. Cosatu, for instance, claims a membership of more than a million, while the National Council of Trade Unions boasts more than 300 000. In addition, a new survey of the political views of Cosatu shop stewards has shown that ii an election were called today, an overwhelming 94 percent would vote for the ANC. A paltry three percent would vote for the SACP. The survey, commissioned by Cosatu and carried out in September by the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE), also showed that of the 860 shopstewards interviewed, 70 percent believed Cosatu was the body best a able to represent workers' interests during the constitutional ne

Senior CASE researcher Sipho
Pityana, who co-ordinated the survey. ascribed the low support for
the SACP to two main factors the party's lack of an inde ndent
political profile as a resu t of its
participation in the ANC/Cosatu
alliance, and Cosatuis prominent
political role in recent years.
"Until the unbanning of the
ANC and SACP, Cosatu played the
STPK

gotiations, against nine percent for the SACP and 21 percent for

the ANC.

role of representing workers' interests both politically and on the shopfioor, and won the workers' confidence."

SACP executive member Charles Nqakula was dismissive of the findings. "We do not place a lot of emphasis on such surveys. The fact that our membership has grown from 5 000 at the beginning

of the year to 25000 shows that there is a lot of interest among the

working masses in the SACP."
He points out that many Cosatu
shop stewards are also active as
party activists at branch level.
Also. key Cosatu leaders hold
party executive posts.

'"The party is the political home of the working class. The labour movement largely concerns itself with the situation at the factory floor. The main objective of the party in the short term is to work with the ANC to achieve national liberation for all our people. In the longer term our aim is to introduce socialism in SA."

Quilzlal

But what common ground is there between Mr Nqakula's views and those of union leaders? Plenty, it seems, in the case of Nactu assistant general secretary Mahlomola Skhosana: "We see the SACP as an important organisation. We believe that a strong communist party in SA can help to fight the economic imbalances in the country.

"Unions are reformist by the nature of their work, whereas the party is a revolutionary body which is a necessary complement to the unions' struggle." Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo agreed there was a convergence of objectives in as far the party and Cosatu wanted "a democratic socialist SA", but added that, while Cosatu's primary role was to look after workers' interests such as wages, employment and economic issues in general, the federation remained a major political player. a

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Haniis role

THE Communist Party of South Africa has chosen Umkonto we Sizwe Chief of Staff, Chris Hani, as its general secretary. We know Mr Hani as a hardliner, a man who has threatened to reactivate the armed struggle if a settlement is not to the ANC-SACP allianceis liking.

He has been reportedly training MK cadres in Transkei, although he and Transkei leader, General Bantu Holomisa. have denied this. He had repeatedly stated he would not be available as general secretary after Mr Joe Slovo announced he could not continue in that post, mainly because of ill health. But the SACPls conference at the weekend nominated Mr Hani unopposed _ and surprise, surprise, he accepted, with Mr Slovo becoming the national chairman.

Mr Hani is now not just leader of the SACP, but has also strengthened his position in the ANC, where Communists dominate the top echelons.

This is of great significance.

Mr Hani. as chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, was regarded by the young Comrades in Natal and on the Witwatersrand as the most popular ANC leader and he also had the support of ANC militants.

This explains why he headed the ANC poll for national executive committee members, getting a 94 percent vote.

When the time comes to choose a successor to Mr Mandela, it will probably not be the moderate Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANCls foreign affairs secretary, but the radical Mr Hani. While the ANC is committed to negotiation, a large section of the organisation is either against the talks, or is worried there might be a usell-out".

This is one of the reasons Mr Mandela wants a quick solution to the constitutional issue. The longer the talksigo on, the more he seeks conciliation, the greater the murmurings in the ANC, especially among the rank and file. If the talks end in deadlock, the militants will take over and Mr Hani will be the chosen leader.

His election unopposed also confirms the militancy that was evident at the SACP congress. By three to one, the congress dropped the word ttdemocrutic" from the expression, udemocratic socialist society", in its constitution.

This means a page and a bit on democratic socialism had to be scrapped at the last minute in a draft manifesto and the word ttdemocratic" before "socialism" had to be dropped wherever it was mentioned.

Delegates argued that socialism was inherently democratic despite the way it was abused in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

But in this day and age, with former Communist countries emphasising their switch from Communism to democracy - and with Mr Mandela himself spouting democracy wherever he goes - one would have thought that democratic was not a word to expunge, however much the congress believed in its

democratic intentions.

In the event. the partyis new constitution calls for an end to ucapitalist exploitation" and for the establishment of a socialist society, not a democratic socialist society.

Which is a very big difference.

This must also be read in relation to a subsequent decision in support of Marxist-Leninist policies.

The party, speakers emphasised. was not prepared to apologise for the ttdistortions11 and collapse of Communist rule in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

The world should note that the ANC is in alliance with an unrepentant Communist Party that still insists on outmoded Communism. This must inevitably cast some doubt about the ANCis intentions, whatever placatory noises Mr Mandela makes in the United States. -

The question is: Does the world place its faith in an organisation which is in tandem with an out-and-out Communist Party, or does it prefer to place its faith in an out-and-out reformist and free enterprise supporter like State President De Klerk?

The answer should be olwiomm -..- ww- ----- mmnnmeumesmm 4' t . . somETM millet:

Telephone (011)474-0128 T he SACPts renewed commitment to socialism puts the spotlight on . the ANC, which must now say what its broad economic policy is. Arguments that the SACP is an independent organisation do not hold water, given the relationship between these two organisations. Some of the leaders of the ANC also lead the SACP. V The country is now at its crossroads and, in the words of Cyril Ramaphosa, in its last mile to a democratic settlement. Furthermore, the ANC could be tomorrows Government or, if statements by the Government and the ANC itself are anything to go by, will be in an interim government in the new year. This, more than anything, weighs heavily on the ANC to give us its economic quidelines. Admittedly, it has been banned for more than 30 years and economic policies do not, like rabbits, come out of magicianst hats. The organisation still has to continue its study of the environment, looking at tomorrowls needs. However, it must at this stage be able to tell the country, its membership and investors if it is also going the socialist way; or distance itself from such talk. Coming back to the SACP, its fixation on socialism is astonishing. Yes, there has to be redistribution. In addition, the tthaves, will have to bleed a lot for the social restructuring that must set this country to a new future. i However, socialism as a means of redistributing wealth is a non-starter. Ask the people in Russia, Poland, Mozambique, Tanzania or Angola.

SOLUETVQ-N (H'z-V'u

('FW Wonit achieve much in Russia says Mandela HOUSTON. - African National Congress leader , Mr Nelson Mandela said on Saturday that President De Klerk's trip to Moscow next week would accomplish little. The ANC leader. who arrived in Houston on Saturday during a tour to promote investment in a post-apartheid South Africa. gave as a reason the South African Governmentls history of racial oppression. He also said he has not formally accepted an invitation to visit Isruel due to procedural requirements by the ANC organisation. "We (the ANC) have no objection to the visit." Mr Mandela said about the Moscow visit at a news conference. thhether he (De Klerk) goes to a country or not makes no difference to us, because nothing can advance his cause. Nothing can advance the cause __-t..:.. . .-r-_ C4 7' ZIZAI clltLtex, of racial oppression in our country or in the world." Mr Mandela said he also has been invited to visit Moscow and that Mr De Klerk uhas nothing to sell and we have something to sell" regarding future investments in South Africa. He said the ANC's department of international affairs will consider the invitation to visit Israel and reaffirmed the view that the ANC recognises the existence of Israel. but not its occupied terri- x tnries. Mr Mandela said he has received ' several invitations to visit countries around the world and that the Israeli invitation , would be handled no dif- 1 ferently than others. US Jewish groups said earlier this week that Mr Mandela plans to accept the invitation and that he wants to develop closer;

ties with Jews.
Relations between the
ANC leader and Jewish
groups worldwide have
been strained since his
I990 meeting with Palestine Liberation Organisation chairman Yasser Arafat. - Sapa-Reuter.

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk would meet Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Russian President Boris Yeltsin during his trip to Moscow this week, government sources confirmed. However. ANC president Nelson Mandela predicted at the weekend that the visit, confirmed by the Soviet government on Friday, would accomplish little. The Soviet Union will be the 20th country De Klerk has visited since April last year and. in the light of the traditional animosltles between the two countries. his most historic to date. Government sources said De Klerk would definitely meet the Soviet Union's two most powerful leaders during his visit. although a spokesman for De Klerk's office said yesterday his itinerary had not yet been finalised. i Sapa-Reuter reports Soviet foreign ministry spokesman Vitaly Churkln told a news briefing in Moscow the visit was are ranged on Pretoria's initiative. It follows a similar visit by Foreign Minister Plk Botha last month during which the two countries signed an accord restoring consular relations. a Kimmy Business Day loponor However, Churkln was cautious about whether the restoration of full diplomatic llnks would even be discussed during De Klerk's ground-breaking visit. He was careful to mention Moscow's traditional links with the ANC. Ironically, De Klerk will visit the Soviet Union before Mandela, whose organisation received extensive backing from Moscow during the period of his imprisonment. The announcement that the trip was on came only a day after the attack on Gorba-Climax De Klerk will accomplish little on his Moscow Visit, says Mandela chev by SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo. Slovo accused the Soviet leader of issuing a Stalinist decreee by dissolving the Soviet Communist Party which, Slovo said, Gorbachev treated like his personal property. Mandela, who arrived in Houston on Saturday on a tour to promote investment in a post-apartheid SA, said De Klerk's visit would accomplish llttle because of government's history of racial oppression. "We (the ANC) have no objection to the visit, " Mandela said. "Whether he (De Kierk) goes to a country or not makes no difference to us, because nothing can advance his cause. Nothing can advance the cause of racial oppression in our country or in the world." Mandela said he also had been invited to visit Moscow. He said De Klerk "has nothing to sell and we have something to sell" regarding future investments in SA. Mandela was invited to the Soviet Union this week, but could not make the tri

because of his visit to the US and the U . Earlier this year, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Niko Lynako travelled to SA for

talks with government and other leaders.

iANVC to tackle economics CAPE TOWN - The ANC is organising a macroeconomic policy workshop in January involving 50 academics, many of theprominent intellectuals from overseas. ANC economist Max Sisulu said at the weekend.

Sisulu said the organisation hoped to hold 10 workshops on macroeconomic issues by June next year. one of them on southern African regional development and regional economic integration
Sisulu said the workshops formed part of a pm of creating the capacity within the ANC to formulate economic policy, an admitted weakness caused by decade of exclusion from the organs of government. The lack of such capacity had been identified by the Canadian government mission sent to investigate the needs of the antiapartheid movo-ont -

Economics

succeed or fail. Political and constitutional change will remain meaningless without economic mtructuring."

Priorities of the ANC's economic policy would be job creation. raising real incomes, addressing racial and gender inequalities, land reform, poverty, housing and infrastructural needs and the economic growth of small and medium businesses. Sisulu admitted that maintaining a balance between growth and redistribution would be a "daunting task" and proposed a mixed economy underpinned by political legitimacy and consensus. The need to transform the industrial sector, which had only created 1% more jobs over the last ten years, into an engine of economic growth was stressed.

The restructuring could be funded by reallocating mom previously allocat. ed to apartheid priorities. Taxation would LINDA ENSOII

Universities such as Witwatersrand, Durban-Westville and Western Cape were also assisting with formulating policies on issues such as mining and administration, tax and finance and markets.

"There is an urgent need for the ANC, and the democratic movement as a whole. to form viable economic policies which will simultaneously addrus the needs of the majority of the people on the one hand and foster sustainable economic growth on the other. It is critical that the democratic movement begin to prepare strategies for governing the future economic development of SA," Sisulu said.

"Economic justice is the key area on which the process of transition will either DTo Page $2\,$

D From Page 1

be used to encourage job creation and existing resources of capital would have to be used in a more productive way.

He said the ANC had been invited and had agreed to join the Southern African Developing and Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC) secretariat and numerous of its standing commissions.

Our political staff reports from Cape Town that ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said Codesa could complete its work in six months and there was ttno reason" why the countris first nonracial election should not be held within 12 months.

The ANC remained committed to the demand for an elected constituent assembly and would mist any attempts by government to turn Codua into a de facto interim government. Economic policy was not on the agenda for the talks.

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The other view ELSON MANDELA created a stir last week when he told Washington journalists the ANC was reviewing its nationalisation policy. But before that generates any great excitement back home, it is worth wondering whether Mandela or the ANC can deliver a major shift. Mandela and his senior colleagues might well realise that South Africa needs to step back from overtly socialist policies if it is to attract investment or loans from abroad. But that might be irrelevant if it ignores opinion on the . grouan Many blacks, conceivably a substantial majority, resent what they see as the perpetuation of ' white wealth and privilege. Nationalisation and wealth taxes are seen as two means of redressing perceived imbalances. E This might well seem irrational to the economists or businessmen who have watched the inevitable collapse of communism and socialism worldwide. Here, however, the I debate over nationalisation and ' wealth still lends itself to subjective rather than objective argument. The lessons to be drawn from Zambia and Zimbabwe are that governments must plan ahead for their economies. Kaunda did not, and popular resentment at deepening poverty eventually ousted him. Mugabe was given the same message by urban voters in Zimbabweis last election. There is little long-term economic point in introducing papulist strategies if they lead to an exodus of foreign investors and employers or if they deter foreign banks from granting loans. But to the masses of prospective voters, South African politics are more about psychology than economics. From a conventional economist's logical viewpoint, the ANC needs to be thinking about the policies it must have in place to attract foreign capital. Nationalisation and expropriation, clearly, would not belong there. But the ANC's political leadership is in peril if it ignores popular Opinion which demands that something be seen to be done; what will be crucial is how it responds to these demands. Five or ten years down the line the effects of nationalisation might be intolerable. That, though, is probably of little relevance to a black South African who wants to see whites suffer or the commanding heights of the economy transferred

to "the people". And it is this perception which needs to be addressed, rather than a simple repetition of the economic shiboleths of free choice and free markets. We know that the socialist policies inflicted on the people of Eastern Europe were an unmitigated disaster and waste. But how do you explain that to an unemployed black man whose own experience: convinces him that apartheid and. capitalism led to the same result in South Africa? Persuading him. otherwise calls for innovation - a. visible shift from our normal wayst of running the economy and husi-nesses. The debate will not end with: agreement on an interim govern-ment or even the installation of al majority government. RWW CWHCH

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ference later this month
will have no role to play '
other than to act as ob- 1
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This was stated yes- I
terday by Dr Zach de '
Beer, leader of the :
Democratic Pnny and
chairman of the steering :
committee of the Con- '
vention for a Democrat-;
ic South Africa (Code-
sa). under whose aus- ;
pices the talks schedtil- 4
ed to take place on De- '
cember 20 and 21 will be
(held. .' WT" .
A weekend report
containing leaks from
the initial secret estab-
lishment meeting of Co-
desa said that the Unit-
ed Nations. the Organi-
sation of African Unity
and the Commonwealth
and European Com-
munity had been accept-
ed as observers to the
talks without debate.
It had alsq bee'n
agreed that the Non-
aligned Movement
could send , observers,
after considerable
"sparring" between the
ANC' and .the govern-
ment._ - '
Dr De .Beer said the
reason why the organic
sations were being ask-
ed to send observers
was an obviods one:
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tural claim to be-therefl.
He had no'enmment
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WTBTFZEL fMdndayr: QlBecember: 1991 132qu teams, or I wonlt attend talks - Buthelezi g INKATHA Freedom a Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi threatened yesterday to stay away from forthcoming South African democracy talks unless his demand for three separate Zulu delegations was met. He wants his party, the lnkatha Freedom Party, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and his tribal homeland of KwaZulu to have separate delegations at the talks. uThere is no doubt that a delegation of the WP e should perhaps attend the talks and maybe without me being present," he said to cheers at a rally of his stick and spear-wielding supporters. Two people were killed in violence which erupted after the rally in Soweto township outside Johannesburg. A police spokesman said one was shot and one was stabbed with a spear as armed lnkatha supporters walked back to their migrant workers' hostels. He declined to say who was responsible. lnkatha supporters and those of Mr Nelson Man- ' dela's African National Congress are involved in , a bloody war for political control in Natal and Transvaal townships. Each side blarhes the other for the bloodshed which has claimed more than 11000 lives since I-1984 and has spiralled out I of control since President ' De Klerk lifted restric-; -tions on Black political a activity in February last year. Mr Buthelezi and lnkatha fear being sidelined following disclosures that Mr De Klerk's govemment had helped to finance the party. The government and 19 other groups are due to open full-scale constitutional talks on December

20. They include governments of the Black tribal homelands. The preparatory committee of the constitutional conference, to be (known as the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), resolved last week that only lnkatha should be represented at the talks. While appealing for support for his threat to stay away personally from i the forthcoming talks, Mr Buthelezi has nevertheless fully endorsed constitutional negotiations. -Sapa-Reuter. Merit in both unitary and federal states: IFP ULUNDI. - The lnkatha Freedom Party yesterday released its draft constitution, saying recent history in Africa and elsewhere had compelled the party to examine the mertts or otherwise of a unitary State. The IFP - in a preface to the draft constitution by party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said there was much to be said for both a unitary as well as a federal State. The IFPls constitutional proposals. Mr Buthelezi said, "will be capable of adaption to either the unitary or federal structure of government". Under the heading, Basic ideas on a democratic. non-racial multiparty constitution for South Africa, the IFP proposes that the South African State ushall comprise all the territories that formed part of South c-lTVLEN d(11'1-V'M Africa as at 1910". ult is envisaged that the constitution shall have jurisdiction over the whole of South Africa and that a way will be found through negotiation, to enable Transkei, Ciskei. Bophuthatswana and Venda to're-accede to the new united Republic of South Africa." On the functioning of the Executive, Mr Buthelezi said the IFP proposals Tt . . . envisage a division

of executive power between the State President and 3 Prime Minister who heads a Cabinet". "The powers of the State President will be carefully defined. Some powers the President will exercise in accordance with his own deliberate judgment and others will be exercised in accordance with the advice and consent of the Prime Ministerf' On the legislature, the IFP proposes a lower house - or National Assembly - "elected by universal adult suffrage by means of proportional representation". The Prime Minister would be chosen from the majority party or coalition in the lower house. A second house - or Senate - ushould represent the regions or states as well as any special interests which it is felt should be represented in the legislature". Laws will urequire to be passed by majorities in both houses . . and assented to by the State President to be valid". On ufundamental rights and freedoms", the IFP said their proposals included a detailed Bill of Rights, the text of which "is virtually identical to that which was included in the KwaZulu-Natal lndaba proposals for State Govemment". On the "disciplined forces." the IFP "is in favour of impartial. professional services owing allegiance to the constitution onlyTK " the armed services should be the responsibility of the State President assisted by the State Security Council. - Sapa.

BUSINESS DAV, Monday, Decanter 9 1991 3 iInclude KwaZulu in talksi KWAZULU Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned yesterday that Zulus would not allow a new constitution to be drawn up without KwaZulu participation. Addressing a meeting of more than 5 000 Zulus in Soweto yesterday, Buthelezi drew strongly on Zulu history to prove KwaZulu was a "sovereign, independent" state and to press his demand that the homeland government, the Zulu king and Inhatha send separate delegations to the constitutional negotiations.

"There will never be a new SA which we have not helped to emerge. . . . There will not be a new constitution which KwaZulu has not helped shape." he said. He said the question of KwaZulu representation at the Codeea meeting later this month had not been accepted at the preparatory meeting and that it had been deferred to tomorrow's meeting. Buthelezi said the dispute should not detract from the urgent need to negotiate a new constitution.

Sapa reports from Ulundi that Inkatha released its draft constitution yaterday. Its proposals, Buthelezi said, would be "capable of adaption to either the unitary or federal structure of government". Inkatha proposed that the SA state "comprise all the territories that formed part of SA as at 1910", and that a way be found through negotiation to reincorporate the TBVC states.

Buthelezi said the proposals uenvisage a division of executive power between the State President and a Prime Minister who heads a Cabinet".

On the legislature Inltatha proposed a lower House "elected by universal adult suffrage by means of proportional representation". The Prime Minister. chosen . from the majority party or coalition in the lower House, would appoint the Cabinet. A second House "should represent the regions or states as well as any special interests which it is felt should be represented in the legislature". Laws would be passed by majorities in both Houses and assented to by the President. On the "disciplined forces," Inkatha "is in favour of impartial, professional services owing allegiance to the constitution

sponsible to the Prime Minister. $\ensuremath{\mathsf{MW}}$ T $1\ensuremath{\mathsf{mm}}$

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only". The "National Police" should be re-

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IFP releases flexible W
draft constitution
ULUNDI - The Inkatha
Freedom Party yesterday
released its draft constitu-
tion, saying recent history in
Africa and elsewhere had
compelled the party to ex-
amine the merits or other-
wise of a unitary state.
The IFP - in a preface to the
draft constitution by party lead-
er Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi
- said there was much to be
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ideas on a democratic, non-
racial multiparty constitution
for South Africa", the IFP pro-
poses that the South African
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territories that formed part of
South Africa at 1910.
"It is envisaged that the con-
stitution shall have jurisdiction
over the whole of South Africa
and that a way will be found,
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"The powers of the state
president will be carefully de-
fined. Some powers the presi-
dent will exercise in accor-
dance with his own deliberate
judgment and others will be ex-
ercised in accordance with the
advice and consent of the prime
minister. The effect will be sim-
ilar to the so-called cohabita-
tion system of the French con-
stitution."
On the legislature, a lower
House or national assembly,
"elected by universal suffrage
by means of proportional repre
sentation", was proposed.
The prime minister would be
chosen from the majority party
or coalition in the lower House.
The prime minister would ap-
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A second House nshould rep-
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well as any special interests which it is felt should be represented in the legislature". \$1kakl MILH, Laws would urequire to be passed by majorities in both Houses and assented to by the state president to be valid". On "fundamental rights and freedoms", the IFP said its proposals included a detailed bill of rights, the text of which uis virtually identical to that which was included in the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba proposals for State government". The IFP was in favour of impartial, professional services owing allegiance to the constitution only. "In accordance with the usual provisions in most constitutions. the armed services should be the responsibili-

"But the national police should be the responsibility of the prime minister. Provision should be made for State and local police operating under the jurisdiction of the State governments."

ty of the state president assisted by the State Security Coun-

cil.

The IFP did not consider constitutional negotiations a single one-ofi event in which the perfect constitution would be pro-; duced. - Sapa.

' Why exclude FIDA? THE rapidly growing membership of ACl'SA (Action Save South Africa) is increasingly alarmed by the agenda of the bodies which go to make up Codesa. The exclusion of the multiracial, non-violent politically constituted pany, FIDA, from the negotiating process came about as the direct result of objections raised by the ANC -- a non-political participating body. FIDA, with an acrossthe-board membership of close on half a million pziid-up members. is deemed unacceptable, while the SACP, with a confessed membership of a mere 20 000 odd, is welcomed with open arms by the ruling party . . . as evidenced by the handshake between Jo Slovo and the NP Minister of Defence, Roelf Meyer. To add to the growing, and increasingly apparent irregularities attendant to the formation of Codesa, (we now have the chairman of the steering committee. dr Zach de Beer. inviting five (no less!) international organisations to attend. Why? The negotiating of a new constitution for South Africa is an internal affair . . . or are we mistaken? Meantime Codesa appears desperate to have **QtTlleN** QII'LN) the Right participate. and ' has reportedly yet again issued invitations for them to attend. Could it be that they need their rubber-stamp on the pro- . cess in order that the final result can truly be perceived as udemocratic consensus", when it's 5 pretty obvious from the F PAC experience that they will be out-voted and their views ignored?! Come on, South Africa, wake-up to precisely what is happening! Start , asking yourselves exactly what is going on. 5 A L FORBES 7 Infonnation Committeei - ACTSA .



STAQ
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Rocky againfails
By Mckeed Kotlolo
Pretoria Bureau

The leader of the abortive Bophuthatswana coup and ANC executive member, Rocky Malebane-Metsing, yesterday failed for the second time to show up at an ANC rally in the homelandts Odi district. Mr Malebane-Metslng. who for security reasons failed to. appear at the Hammanskraal 1 rally to deliver an address three weeks ago, did not turn up at yesterday's Mabopane rally scheduled for the Soshanguve Giant Stadium at 1 pm. Metstng's arrival by 4pm and the rally had not started even after the arrival of some speakers - including the leader of the former opposition National Seopasengwe Party in Bophuthatswana, Victor Sefora to attend Bop rally newly elected Mabopane ANC committee, Malose Lehobye, said Mr Malebane-Metslng had confirmed he was coming. Rain sent the estimated 500 sup orters who waited patiently or Mr Malebane-Metslng About 500 supporters were I' still waiting for_Mr Malebane- . FORMER BophuthatSwana hunger-strikerv Mr _ 'Bushy Molefe made a sur- . prise appearance at the . Soshanguve Stadium near Pretoria during an African National Congress rally yesterday. Mr. Molefe had asked . special permission from the Garankuwa Hospital to attend the rally which was to be addressed by Bophuthatswana coup leader Mr Rocky MalebaneeMetsing. at about 3 pm. The vtce-chatrman of the Mr Molefe was stilt too weak after his fast of more than 60 days to ade dress the several hundred ANC supporters front -' neighbouring Mabopane in Bophuthatswana. He was recently released from prison by the Bophuthatswana Govern: ment. He was jailed for his part in a coup attempt in the homeland in 1988. Mr Metsing did not

turn up at the rally and E HungEr-striker , attends an AN C rally at SoShanguve the crowd was: addressed by Ieadct oft the Opposij tion Party "in Bop'huthatswana, Mr Victor Sefora. Mr Sefora, who is also an executive member of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Cotralesa), told the crowd there were , chiefs in Bophuthatswana who previously had supported President Lucas Mangope, but who had since crossed the floor to join Contralesa. __ Sapa. scuttling for shelter. Others left the open football field for home when rain started to fall shortly after 4 pm. The rally had not started at the time of going to press. Other members of the new Mabopane committee elected yesterday at Dithabaneng Primary School at Soshanguve are: James Mogapi (chairman), Pule Motingoe (secretary general) and Jethro Pooe (treasurer).

Bop coup prisoners to? be released: Mangope MMABATHO. - All prisoners _ except one currently serving time for their part in the abortive coup in Bophuthatswana in 1988 will be released today. This was announced on Saturday by Bophuthae tswana President Dr Lucas Mangope in his address to Parliament after his inauguration as president for a third term. The one who will not be released is Timothy Phiri, the military leader of the coup whose case. Dr Mangope said, ttwas still under consideration and a decision on him would be taken in due course." Dr Mangope also annouced a general amnesty for certain prisoners. ttln commemoration of my apointment as Head of State for a third term, and in contribution toward a favourable climate for the future, I have decided to grant amnesty in the form of special categories of sentenced prisoners in custody today.n Dr Mungope said. The periods of remission of sentence will vary from three months to twelve months. depending on the period of imprisonment being served." Dr Mangope said. uPrisoners who qualify for this special amnesty will be released as from Monday, but all will not be released at the same' time, to avoid a release of, a large number of prisoners simultaneously." ' Dr Mangope said the release of the remaining coup prisoners was a sequel to his speech on Sep- tember 12 when he announced the release of 19 on Christian and humani-. tarian grounds following: representations by church and humanitarian groups. : He said he was also tak- ' ing into account the rela- f tive youth of the coup _ prisoners at the time of: their actions and the fact that they were extensively

influenced and misled by .
Phiri and the politicali
leader of the coup,.
ttRoclty" Malebang-Metsing. -Sapa. ,
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Кеу Вор enemy to remain in pdson_ COUP leader and No 2 enemy of the Bophuthatswana government, Sergeant-Major Timothy Phiri. will remain behind bars when politital prisoners in the homeland are freed today. Homeland leader Chief Lucas Mangope announced at the weekend during his inauguration as president for a third term that Phiri would not be released with other prisoners. Phiri, who is serving an 18-year jail term for taking part in an aborted coup in 1988, was earlier this year accused by prison authorities of leading homeland prisoners on a hunger strike. He was later placed in isolation. Mangope announced the release of Bophuthatswana prisoners in parliament. "Malebane-Metsingls right-hand man will not be released with the rest of the By KENOSI MODISANE prisoners." he said, referring to coup leader Mr Rocky Malebane-Metsing. ('His case is still under consideration and a decision on him would be taken in due course! Mangope said he had taken into account the "relative youth of the coup prisoners who were misled by Malebane-Metsing and Phiri at the time of their actions". He also announced that Malebane-Metsing would be arrested if he "set foot inmycountry". / . The release of/the former soldiers follows that of 19 others who had been on hunger strike. They included the prisoner who has been on hunger strike the longest in the homeland, Mr Bushy Molefe. and Mr Johannes Simelane. They refused food for 67 and 61 days respectively. i Ι

i s moan 9N OH'Kldli QwaQwa chief slams sanctions

QWAQWA chief minister Dr TK Mopcli yesterday said continued economic sanctions against South Africa could destroy the economy and reduce job opportunitics.

Addressing the 17th annual conference of his Dik-wankwetla part) in Vosloorus on the East Rand Mopeli said a free market economy was not negotiable to his organisation.

Refenting to the upcoming Convention for a Democratic South Africa, the QwaQwa leader said it was no small task to bring the leaders of such a variety of political parties together. - Sapa.

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PropOSed SAP unrest unit I tneeds-careful planning9 By Brouwyu Wilkinson Without careful investigation, consultation and planning, the to s ial unrest division P posed pec _-ihlsproposal." V '_ of the South African Police could become a "political and law-and-order fiasco", criminal justice experts have warned. The proposed Internal Stabili-' ty force was announced at the Transvaal National Party congress last month by Minister of Law and Order Hemus Kriel. Professor Anthony Mathews, director of the University of Natal's Centre for Criminal Justice in Maritzburg, said in a statement that the creation of a specialised mt unit was not objectionable in itself. "Everything will depend on a number of key questions on which the minister was apparently silent when launching The questions had been raised when the centre consulted with its counterparts at Harvard and 1 Reading universities. They included the issue of selection and recruitment of the 17 500 men for the unit, the type of training they would receive and the legal constraints the unit would operate under. "Transferring to a special unrest unit the existing members of riot squads. many of whom MMH 1 lmm have an appalling reputation. . would be disastrous. "Recruitment must reflect a decisive break with old attitude towards unrest control," Professor Mathews said. Careful planning would be needed to divide regular police and internal security services. "If not properly checked and controlled, 3 special political or .unrest unit presents a clear threat to political and individual freedom." Ministry of Law and Order spokaman Captain Craig Kotze said the ministry was studying all the implications of the proposed unit.

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Muq.
FOUR people were killed in
Soweto and two others injured
when violence broke out after an
lnkatha rally in the township yes-
terday.
Soweto police spokesman Colonel
Tienie Halgryn yesterday said three men
were shot and stabbed to death in Zondi.
Another man was hacked and stabbed to
Four die after
lnkatha rally
Cebekhulu (22) of Zondi. The names of other victims
could not be established last night.
Witnesses at the scene said one of the men was an inmate
at Jabulani Hostel.
The Ministry of Law and Order yesterday declared
Soweto. Alexandla, Vosloorus, Thokoza and Kallehong as
unrest areas for the next three months.
The ministry could not specify what regulations will be
applied in those areas.
Halgryn said the attacks in Soweto took place while
about 12 000 IFP members were walking back from a rally
at Jabulani Amphitheatre.
"Police arrested one of the lnkatha members following
the stabbing at Crossroads." Halgryn said.
Gang-raped
In a separate incident at Alexandra, yesterday, a man
was shot dead and his girlfriend gang-raped when armed
men believed to be from Madala Hostel attacked squatters
at a nearby camp.
Eight other people were injured in the 6.45am attack.
The attack follows a bomb blast last Thursday night in
the township metres from the scene where yesterdayls
shootings occurred.
A police unrest report released yesterday said the
explosion took place about 9pm on Thursday.
"There was shooting in the vicinity of 1st Avenue where
the explosions took place. It is reported that men riding in
a truck fired shots at shacks about the same time as the
explosion," Captain Piet van Deventer said.
A spokeswoman at the Alexandra Clinic yesterday said
many people from around the area of the explosion were
treated at the clinic.
Semi? A'H
iil-Llat
death in Crossroads.
One of the victims, 20-year-old Mr Mxoleleni
Mdlalose. was shot dead at the gate of his home.
He was returning from church.
A second victim was identified as Mr Fanafuthi
Buthelezl
Shots
fired
at IFP
rally
THERE was panic yester-
day at the end of an lnkatha
Freedom Party prayer rally
in Soweto when repeated
gunshots fired in the air
sent most of the audience
dashing for cover.
Gunshols had earlier
nmg out at irregular inter.
vals while IFP president
Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha
Buthelezi was addressing
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thousands of his supporters at Jabulani Amphitheatre.

At one stage Buthelezi admonished pan of the audienee that shouted "Zulu" as gunshots rang out. He said they should not be proud of those responsible for such an action. ' Discipline The shooting. by some excited supporters. angered many of those attending. who repeatedly called for discipline. In his lengthy address, which he did not finish because of rain, Buthelezi reiterated his stance that KwaZulu will have to be represented at the forthcoming Convention for Democratic South Africa on December 20 and 21. HearguedthatKwaZulu . was notacreation ofapart: . :heid which could be erossed out of political exmm ,1 1,." , r hem; __c

8 reported hurt in attack in Alex At least eight people were reportedly injured and one woman raped on Saturday night after a group of unidentified men unleashed a terror attack on a squatter camp in Alexandra, near Sandton, said Alexandra Civic Organisation mem ber Paul Tshahalala. Police spokesman Major Arno Vogel yesterday morning said the incident had not been reported to the police. Unconfirmed reports said one resident was killed in the attack. The camp, said Mr Tshabalala. was situated near a migrant workers' hostel. The injured were taken to Alexandra clinic for treatment early ya-. terday morning. A staff : member at the clinic : said yesterday that the injured received stab i and hack wounds. E During the attack, one I woman was raped, said i Mr Tshabalala. The clini to staff member confirmed a rape victim was receiving treatment at the institution. The residents were believed to have lost property during the attack. The motive for the attack was unknown. Mr Tshahalala claimed five men were arrested by police after residents reported the incident. Seem of families reportedly fled the camp and sought refuge at the clinic later yesterday morning, apparently fearing further attacks. 0 On Saturday evening, a group of about 60 threw stones at SAP vehicles at Oudtshoorn township, near Brixton. One SAP member was slightly injured. No damage was _ caused to the vehicles. 00n Saturday at about 11 am at Daveyton, near Benoni, about 50 men set fire to a private motor vehicle, causing damage estimated at R50 000. No arrests were made. - . Sapt Q 'T I 2.11M

J ustice on Wheels could be more than seasonal drive HE THOUGHT of driving to Ladysmith from Johannesburg just to argue in court against a speeding fine acquired in the district two months earlier while travelling to Durban has undoubtedly driven thousands of motorists to pay their fines even if they feel the penalty is outrageous.

Having to take a day off work, pay for the petrol to get there and wait hours for a hearing - the outcome of which may not be favourable - simply makes justice too inconvenient for most motorists.

This holiday season, however, justice will be brought straight to the motorist's car door in the form of mobile courts, which-will be set up along the four main routes (N1, N2, N3 and N4) for the purpose of hearing a motoristis defence at any hour of the day or night (except Sundays).

This project, a revolutionary concept in the judicial system, is due to begin in a few days and will last until the end of the school holidays. Judicial officers in almost every magisterial district have been called on to render overtime services, and an independent public defender will be available at at least one of the mobile-court sites. Motorists pulled over for traffic offences need not make use of this system, however. They can still make use of the ordinary traffic offence procedure (paying the fine later or appearing in court later).

Traffic offences will probably form the bulk of the workload of mobile courts for the duration of the holidays

Moblle courts may he adopted for a longer period than expected, depending on how well this unique new judicial back-up system succeeds. HELEN GRANGE reports.

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- but their duties are to extend to other forms of crime as well. dealing primarily with unrest-related plea proceedings and hail applica-

tions.

The first three mobile courts - buses suitably furnished as courtrooms - will be seen in the unrest-hit townships of Vosloorus and Tokoza on the East Band and in Port Shepstone in Natal within a few days. These areas are in dire need of court facilities, and speedy adjudication at the mobile courts will help reduce the workload at local regional courts.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said last week there was a delay of up to six months for court appearances in connection with unrest oifences in some regions. In Natal, where more judicial staff were appointed and advocates, attorneys, police and presiding officers cooperated to speed up court hearings. the delay had been reduced to a couple of weeks in some cases, he said. Mr Coetsee plans to monitor the mobile courts in operation to determine the extent that they address the current court backlog and how the public responds.

T'V-VQ HIM?)

"If they deliver the goods and the results are positive and practical - and depending on the funding - we may extend the project," he said. Association of Law Societies president Ed Southey. in welcoming the introduction of mobile courts, has cautioned against undue haste in disposing of matters in such; courts.!

"I hope presiding officers will ensure that normal and proper court procedures are followed and that accused persons are afforded every opportunity to obtain legal advice and representation. "Because of the unusual nature of the proceedings. the accused should be reminded of his rights to legal representation," he said. Mobile courts, he added, were in the public interest, as circumstances in South Africa dictated that for certain kinds of conduct, a speedy adjudication process was necessary. This related especially to bail applications, traffic offences and offences arising from mt situations. In the

case of traffic cases. the new courts would be an important step forward in the fight against the unacceptably high accident rate.

The project is costing nslightly over RI million" and is a measure in line with the National Peace Accord ideal of promoting speedier adjudication.

Mobile courts are not to be confused with the uspecial courts" visualised by the Peace Accord, which would be aimed at shortening criminal procedure and rules of evidence - a move which would necessitate a change in the law. CI

Rightwingers call off attack A BLACK family that moved into the conservative Northern Transvaal town of Louis Trichardt has had peaceful nights lately as stones that have been raining on their roof have stopped. Mr Ducksy Mukhondo. who moved into a white Louis Trichardt suburb in October. said the attacks stopped last week after a report in the Sowetan highlighting his plight. His family had been a victim of rightwing attackers who: O Threw stones on his roof every night without I fail since October 4; O Fired nine rounds of high-calibre rifle shots at the house, missing Mukhondo by inches; and O lnvaded his yard and SWMAM By MATHATHA TSEDU when confronted. told him they owned the town and could walk anywhere they wanted. The Sowemn reported that after the last incident Mukhondo was allegedly expelled from the police station where he reported the matter. Police allegedly told him that the white prowler had the right of movement in the town and if Mukhondo did not like that, he could go back to his village. Mukhondo yesterday said he met the station commander to complain. "The station commander appeared very upset by the matter and said it was still being investigated. He however told me that the white man's wife and children had made statements that the man had been outside my ' yard and not inside. "I told Captain Pretorius. the station commander. that I knew my yard and its boundaries well enough. The man was inside my yard. He said he would see to it that 1 am safe here and since that day we have had peaceful sleep.

uWe now wonder what

it is that was donexby the police that could'not have been done when we were complaining about the stones since October."

Mukhondo said.

Police comment could not be obtained at the weekend.

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Vlln. . _ V
e _M._-v
-' SOWETAN..MbME/iUeddmbgtV,f991
A WHITE manager who _ Ullman told three young
told three job-seeking By ISAAC MOLEOI men who were looking for
Soweto youths to ask jobs at his company to go
, ' Ullman appealed to .
ANC leader Mr Nelson S ow etan to intervene as to Mandela and ask \mathop{\text{\rm him}}
Mandela for employment .. - . instead 10 give them
1 genuinely apologised employment. The men
has received a m ste
letter wanting him tgat hri); to those WTg men about were Mr S im on
house wouldbebombed. maremztrks i , Molefabangwe, Mr Wil- -
Mr Roodie Ullman. a i 5"" W 1 did not liam Radebe and MrBald-
manager at Fox & mean anything when I win Mphahlele.
Ullman. received the letter mld "me mac young Ullman later apolo-
last week it rtedl men F0 go to Mr Mandela gised for the remark.
^{\prime} p rpo . y for obs And when 1 . .
from the Pretona- J ^{\prime} . ANC regional media
Witwatersrand-Vaal phoned you i? apologiseJ officer Mr Ronnie
region of the ANC. retitly meant 1,1' Mamoepa said his
The ANC has denied s_0 1 (ion I understand organisation did not en-
sending any letter to the intention of whoever courage its members to in-
Ullman. 'tvrote. (his letter. I repeat timidate people. The contents of the I et- it: I dld net mean anything He said: uh could not .
1", written in broken about telling those people have been done by mem-
to go to Mr Mandela for bers of our organisation.
En lish, threatened .
g jobs," Ullman said. "Our office remains
Ullman that his house .
"will be burnt to ash & A fortnight ago. OPe" ff" anyone. mm a
bomb (sic)". Sowetan reported that complaint." he said.
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" Cops
sued
^{\prime}4^{\prime} for R3-m
THE Minister of Law and Order is facing claims
of damages totalling about R3 million from 150
Mamelodi residents after losing a test court case.
Mr Justice van Zyl on Friday awarded R105
158 to Mr Jeremiah Tlou, who was injured at a
public meeting in Mantelodi last year. Van Zyl
found that police acted negligently in dispersing
the meeting.
Tlou (35) initially claimed damages from both
the Minister of Law and Order and the Minister
1101: submitted that both the police and mem-
bers of the SADF had blocked the main gate.
S okQE-TAN
By MONK NKOMO
which was the only enhance and exit, preventing
people from having.
The judge however ruled that the police, and
not the SADF, were liable for negligence at the
HM Pitje Stadium in Mamelodi on July 8 last
He found that police "were grossly ncgligent' '
in filing a substmtial quantity of tear smoke into '
, 1L! yew.
Cops sued for R3-th
From page 1
the crowd and said po-
Mr Allen Lephoko, a !
spokesman for attorneys '
representing Tlou. yester-
lice must have f oreseen the day confirmed that they had
stampede that resulted. now tiled 150 similar law-
Nearly 300 people were suits in the Pretoria Magis-
injured after scaling the trate's C0011.
4,5-metre-high wall.
Tlou sustained a com-
"In the light of Friday's l
successful test case in the
pound fracture and disloca- Prtlnn'a Squme Coun. a
tion of his left ankle when strong possibility exists that
he scaled the wan; we may soon be engaged in
The defendant denied
that police blocked the
main gate or fired tear
smoke into the crowd. Po-
lice claim the public meet-
ing was unlawful and that
the crowd was warned to
disperse.
talks with State lawyers to
discuss proposals for out-
of-court settlements."
Lephoko said.
"If agreement is not
reached, the 150 cases will
proceed through the normal
course," he said. i
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/SADF confirms Greg; released in Botswana cmunnepomr THE South African Defence Force yesterday confirmed that three SADF members ' who were captured during a cross-border raid into 80 tswana during 1988, were freed- by the Botswana authorities on Thursday. The three, 'Mr Johannes Basson (28), Mr Theodore Hermansen (33). and Mr Enos Zitha (age unknown) were captured on June 20, 1988. They later told the Botswana authorities that they had been part of a force of eight South African soldiers who had orders to mpture or kill an ANC member in Gabo-' rone. The rest Of the force managed to escape after the mission went wrong but Mr Bassun, Mr Hermnnsen and Mr Zithu were cornered by the Botswana police at a missibn station six kilometres outside Gaborone. V In the short fireEght that ensued, three' Botswana policemen were wounded and the three men were captured. V A spokesman for the SADF, Major Charl dc Klerk, yesterday confirmed the release of the three but refused to give any more details. He said they were euptured in 1988 during an authorised cross-border operation but in the interest of their own safety and that of their families, the SADF would not release any more details of the Six months after their capture, Mr Hennansen and Mr Basson were sentenced to 10 yearsl imprisonment on charges of Ct TI'ZEF'

Sugar)
assault with the intent to
cause serious harm.
Another South African, Mr Barry Jean Vivier, who was initially arrested on suspicion that
he had.aided in the raid.
was sentenced to 18
months' imprisonment on

a charge of being in possession of an SADF uniform.

A South African couple, Mrs Elsabe and Mr Ivar Bergh. who were also arrested at the time but later released. claimed at the time that Mr Basson and Mr Hermansen had been subjected to serious abuse and even tenure at the time of their eapture. Maj De Klerk yesterday continued that all three were 'still regarded as members of the SADF and would be treated as such.

: Monday :9 Decemberw1r991 - Page .- 5 By Fred de Lange Arms smuggling: Govt could oppose extradition dition of a number of Armscor officials allegedly involved in arms smuggling within the borders of America, would most likely be opposed on the grounds that the alleged acts were political in nature. The American Justice Department last week started proceedings for the extradition of seven Armscor and subsidiary officials to stand trial in the US for one of the biggest arms smuggling and fraud cases in American history. Named by the Americans as having been involved in the smuggling are Mr William Randy Metelerkamp, Mr Vern Davis, Mr Brian Scott. Mr Bert Quinn, Mr Johan Lombard, Mr Jaco Bu,dricks and Mr Gerrit Pretorius. The Americans claim that the men, acting for Armscor; an Armscor subsidiary. Kentron; and Fuchs Electronics, were involved in US \$1 billion fraudulent contracts. money laundering and the ' illegal export of American weapons which were later sold to Iraq and used against the American forces in the Gulf War. When approached at the weekend, Armscor said the matter was sub judice and that it was not prepared to comment on the matter. Government sources, however, .yesterday said it the men were indeed involved in illegal acts in America, such acts could be regarded as political in nature. The reason for this was that the alleged actions ol Armscor centered around circumventing both the US and the United Nations arms embargoes against South Africa. In terms of South African extradition procedures, no person may

be extradited to stand trial in another country if he is wanted for offences which sire political in nature.

Department of Justice , sources yesterday said as far as could be ascertained, no official extradition requests had as yet been received by the South African Government.

Should such a request he received. a special QATVLISN Man,

court would be set up in which a judge or a magistrate would have to be convinced that the US indeed had good enough reason to have the men extradited. .

For at least one of the seven South Africans, Mr Metelerkamp, it is the second time that a foreign government attempts to put him on trial for alleged arms smuggling. In 1984 Mr Metelerkamp and three other Armscor officials were arrested in Britain on charges of smuggling utilitary equipment to South Africa.

At the time the South African Government paid R200 000 bail each for the four men, and despite promises to the British government, brought them back to South Africa and refused to send them back to stand trial.

THE Azanian People's Organisationls student wing yesterday confirmed the organisationls call for a consumer boycott over Christmas. "This action (the boycott) will ensure that the State and the White business community cannot be exonerated of the. crimes they have committed against people," said Azanian Student (Azasco) president Mr Sipho Maseko in the sharplyrworded statement. Executive Yesterday was the last day of Azascois week-Black : Convention long national executive meeting at the Medical University of South Africa near Pretoria, at which a national student conference was mooted. uThis should be de-Azasco wants a Christmas boycott ; fort of wining and dining with White people". Change lay gtin the meeting of our people's demands without deals and compromise". -Sapa. void of all posturing and i _, opportunism which would i t make it suffer the same .1 fate as the Patriotic i Front." said Mr Maseko. On the latest preliminary multi-party talks (Codesa), it was decided that "real change in our country does not lie in conferences of rarefied ' atmosphere, shuttling in and out of the country in private jets nor the com-13′′

sehool af1ter transfer

1 TRANSVAAL Education Department taxpayen' money?

;ch0tl)ll f2): Johannesburg's whites, which By PHANGISILE MTSHA'LI The JEC is seeking leg al advice to have the

tvas an e over to blacks had its furni- $_$ equipment returned before the school opens for I are r e m 0v e d by the department last ment were beIng trucked out of the school. the new year on January 14.

-veek r five days after the transfer. Samueis fumed: "At a meeting two weeks 380^{\prime} A TED o fficial said he could not comment on

the JEC was assured by a representative in the - $\boldsymbol{.}$

Workm t rt d the purge, saymg It depended on the agreement

5" 53 C emptying the Kensington House of Assembl. Dr L Nel. and Mrs 1M signed by Botha's department and the JEC.

ligh School and loading trucks last Wednesday. Botha. regional hen of the bepartmunt or L ocal . $_$

Joint Education Committee executive member GOVernmem HOUSiDS a"d Works. that the equip-B otha's department saId: "This department

ir Fred Samuels said the committee received a ment would remain at the school. dealt with land and structures only. while the fur-

Ianic telephone call from the school principal, in- uWe wanted a school, not a shell. The furni- "mm belonged i0 the TED".

Iorming them that furniture. books and equip- lure belongs to the State and was bought wi th Meanwhile. scores of frustrated black parents

hoping to enrol their children at white schools are

having their applications rejected In bulk.

Callers to the Sowetan complained "about the

farce", saying their applications were being rejected without explanation.

One irate father said: "I think these people are fundraising with these non-refundable registration fees. which we pay for them to assess our children."

Most school principals said the money for asseSsments was given to teachers who sacrificed their Saturdays.

W_ , ., N. .N_V._