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16/1/11

Mandela: ANC holds moral high ground

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The media came in for strong criticism by Mr Mandela, who said certain segments of the press had tried to portray the ANC as an organisation marked by in-fighting.

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Contest

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Turning to the ANC conference to be held in Durban next month, Mr Mandela said some positions in the ANC's executive were likely to be hotly contested. However, he said, this did not mean the organisation was divided.

Outlining why he thought the ANC had the advantage over the Government, Mr Mandela pointed to the success of the ANC's campaign to isolate South Africa.

He said this had been so successful that the Government was battling to change its negative image. "They were failing because of one simple thing —

not giving blacks the vote."

On the subject of sanctions, he said the Government had been trying to misinform people. He said he had received support for sanctions from the governments of Europe.

"It's going to take some time before sanctions are lifted," he told the cheering crowd.

Other reasons the ANC held the high crowd, according to Mr Mandela, were the "victory" of ANC leaders who left jail on their own terms, the release of political prisoners and the forcing of the Government to the negotiating table.

He said the Government had been "forced to swallow all their propaganda and their pride" in accepting negotiations with the ANC.

Another victory the ANC expected was the total banning of cultural weapons at political functions.

The ANC leader accused the Government of providing weapons to a certain organisation in order to give it the capacity to murder. He said the arming of the Government's black allies was a ploy to undermine the liberation movements.

Mr Mandela, on a more conciliatory note, said more must be done to allay white, Indian and coloured fears.

"Some of the things we have done have been serious mistakes," he said, pointing to the all-black executive elected by the ANC Women's League at its recent conference at Kimberley.

He said the ANC's commitment to nonracialism must not be seen as propaganda but rather as a genuine concern of the ANC.

He also said South Africans must learn the major languages of the country. "If I speak to an Afrikaner in English, I will not reach his heart even if I may reach his head." — Sapa.

Märkische Oderzeitung
Montag, 24. Juni 1991

Ausland



Kundgebung der Inkatha im Jabulani-Stadion in Soweto (Bild oben und rechts)

INKATHA

**Venter aims to ban smoking
in certain public places,
regulate cigarette
advertising and make sales
to minors an offence**



**Can Venter succeed? The
tobacco industry pays
R988-million in taxes,
employs 60 000 people and
has strong allies in power**

Rina Venter

Weekly MAIL 24 JUNE 1991

kicks the butts

WJ

The health minister tackles the tobacco industry. But can she win?

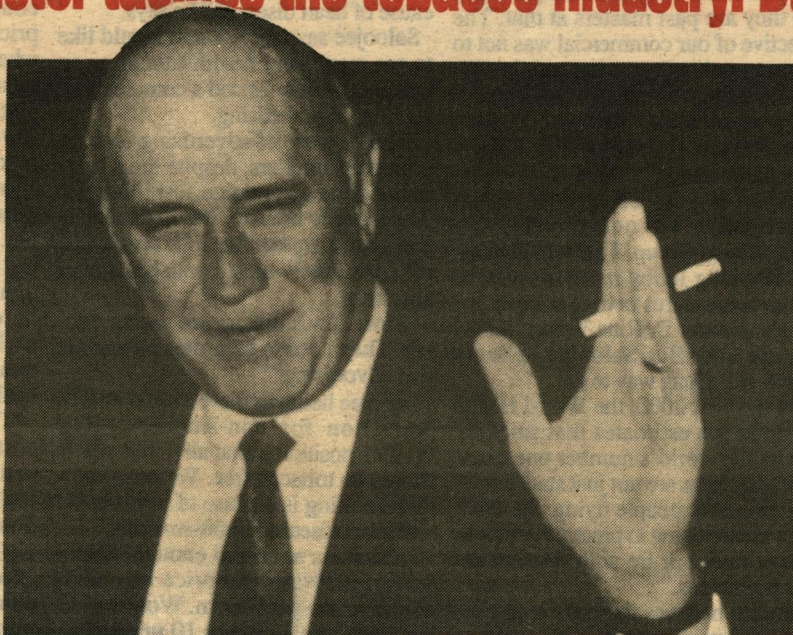
By JOHN PERLMAN

HEALTH Minister Dr Rina Venter has declared war on one of the country's most powerful industries. This week she plans her first major step against tobacco — and indications are that this is just the start of her campaign.

Draft legislation, to be gazetted on June 28, will tighten controls on tobacco advertising, curb the sale of cigarettes to minors and enable her to regulate smoking in public places. It will go before the cabinet in September; Venter hopes to present a Bill to parliament in the first session of next year.

The draft legislation gives the minister powers to bar or limit smoking in certain public places. "We will probably start with buses and hospitals," says Susan van Niekerk of the department's Primary Health Care Division. It will also make the sale of cigarettes to anyone under 16 an offence. "We realise that this will be difficult to control, but worldwide this is seen as a means of reinforcing the anti-smoking message among minors," she says.

But the real sting in Venter's proposals is contained in the changes she wants made to the advertising code for tobacco products. Visual advertisements will be required to carry a health warning — "it should be a rotating health warning, otherwise you stop



Will Rina Venter get support from her chain-smoking boss?

Photo: Courtesy DIE BURGER

reading it," says Van Niekerk — and spoken ads will have to include the words "smoking is a health risk" in a "similar voice to the main presenter of the advertisement".

Advertisements may not depict any woman of "child-bearing age" as being associated with smoking. They should also not associate smoking with "challenging or exciting sporting activities

or imply that ... smoking is associated with success in sport". This includes a bar on depicting sport with spectators smoking. Finally, advertisements should not imply "that to use tobacco products is a sign or proof of manliness, courage or daring or enhances feminine charm".

That calls just about every cigarette advert in South Africa into question.

But so too do the guidelines which already exist. The present advertising code says ads should not imply that smoking is a "prerequisite to the attainment of social or business success or of a glamorous lifestyle", must not convey "exaggerated satisfaction from the act of smoking", and should not be aimed at "increasing the number of smokers" but directed at "existing smokers". Says Van Niekerk: "We have complained about certain ads to the Advertising Standards Authority without anything happening." The real issue at stake, then, is whether Venter can get her proposals to stick.

The indications are that she and Director-General of Health Dr Coen Slabber do have the political will. And that means a battle looms — and not just between Venter and the tobacco industry.

On an individual level, it will surely encourage non-smokers to assert their rights to breathe tobacco-free air. And those who depend in some way on the tobacco industry — sports bodies through sponsorship, newspapers and radio through advertising — will also be drawn in.

Most important, it will put the government to the test, and not just because the state president happens to be a chain smoker. (FW de Klerk was last year asked to observe World No-Tobacco

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Others who might oppose Venter: Hotels, restaurants and sports bodies PAGE 2

16/1/11

ANC holds the high ground – Mandela

Start 24/6/91

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ANC: THE BIG QUESTION

EXCITEMENT surrounding the African National Congress's mammoth national conference scheduled for next week in Durban is reaching fever pitch with delegates, foreign dignitaries and international journalists already pouring into the city.

Senior ANC information and publicity officials are working around the clock on preparations to ensure the smooth running of the conference, and security officials and marshals are already present at the University of Durban-Westville campus to keep a sharp eye on proceedings.

The scene is exceedingly colourful. Marshals march in step on the sports fields and security officials undergo physical training to keep them in shape, while colourful banners and flags are being hoisted around the stadium.

Just looking at the surrounding glitz and the impressive guest list, the ANC conference is going to be one of the most sophisticated pieces of classical party politicking this country has ever seen.

And the question on everybody's lips at the moment is: is the ANC going to decide at this conference to transform itself from a liberation movement into a political party?

The deeper signs — beneath the banners and giant television screens — are that it is not, and that it has no intention of doing so at the moment.

One of the new political develop-

Excitement is building up around the ANC's national conference scheduled for Durban next week. One of the questions

ments in this build-up period to a new South Africa is that many leading extra-parliamentary groups believe that their central task is to transform themselves into "real" political parties.

Top of this list are the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party, whose metamorphosis from movement to party is believed to be their primary (and also identical) task.

It is believed that a lot of the ANC's energies have been channelled into this, since it was unbanned — with uncertain results.

Indeed, Inkatha's changed political circumstances have ostensibly downgraded the "cultural liberation" aspect of the movement, and upgraded its party aspect, hence the recent name change.

The Pan Africanist Congress, which so far has not swapped its belief for the "in-system" politics and still operates outside the general political battleground, is regarded by many political analysts as being some way behind the process and therefore of less current interest.

However, with particular regard to the ANC, it is possible that analysts are in danger of failing to identify the positions in which the different groups find themselves and thus also misinterpreting the goal of the conference.

people are asking is whether the conference will see the ANC transforming itself from a liberation movement into a "proper"

political party.

SHAUN JOHNSON and NICOLA CUNNINGHAM-BROWN report.

It can be argued that what is meant by "party" is overwhelmingly Western, even Westminsterian, in the way it is presented in South Africa. It places great store by membership lists, branch structures, propaganda units, campaign paraphernalia, chains of command, visible preparations for electioneering and so forth.

Using this sort of checklist, the performance of each political organisation and party can be (and frequently is) assessed.

The ANC comes out relatively badly. Since February 2 1990, it has failed to secure an unambiguously impressive card-carrying membership, with Government sources scornfully boasting that the National Party still boasts more "real" members than the ANC.

Its membership drives have been poorly organised and many of its branches, set up in the rush of excitement a year ago, have hardly flourished.

Conferences have thus far been ill-prepared, and media relations have as often as not constituted a well-publicised shambles. Compounding this has been a tendency for leaders to contradict one another in public.

In the Western, traditional sense therefore, the ANC's party report card is dismal.

By contrast, the IFP is viewed as boasting a viable party structure, drawing on the experience of many years of legality and administrative sway in KwaZulu. If this logic is pursued to its conclusion, it would suggest that in straight "party politics" there would be no contest between the organisations.

But this also illustrates the danger of applying a mechanistic interpretation to the "transition to party" syndrome in the current South African context.

In both Zimbabwe and Namibia, for example, elections took place after "liberation movements" had had the opportunity to transform themselves into political parties.

In both cases the pre-eminent "liberation movement" was nowhere near as well organised as its "in-system" opponent. In terms of party efficiency, Bishop Muzorewa's UANC and Mr Mudge's DTA wiped the political floor with Mr Mugabe's Zanu and Or Nujoma's Swapo. History shows, however, that the electoral results spoke differently.

South Africa is not the United Kingdom or the United States, and constituency politics take on a different form. Broad mobilisation around generalities and perceptions assumes greater importance than localised,

detailed policy issues.

At this stage the ANC is less concerned with creating branches that run like clockwork that it is with sustaining, nurturing — and eventually translating into votes — its priceless historical legacy.

Historical legacies are not easily quantifiable, and do not necessarily require canvassing. The ANC, more than any other political grouping in South Africa, appeals to an ethnically and geographically diffuse and huge constituency, which obviously demands an approach different from those with narrower, more cohesive support-bases.

None of this suggests that the ANC is not concerned with efficiency. On the contrary, ANC leaders regularly express alarm about their more shambolic organisational tentacles.

But it remains risky to assume that party-political efficacy in this narrow sense is a primary concern at this stage in South Africa's development. Judging actors purely on that basis could produce skewed results.

Against this background it is not surprising that President de Klerk should have chosen, shortly before Parliament rose, to call on the ANC to speed up its transformation into a "proper" political party.

And it is not surprising that ANC official Raymond Suttner, speaking at a recent press briefing, should have said: "We are reluctant to become a political party. We are a national liberation movement — we rely on daily contact with our supporters; we draw daily sustenance from them."

16/1/20

Huddleston to speak at SACC conference

THE South African Council of Churches' 23rd national conference, which starts today, will focus on the hopes and suffering of South Africans as the country undergoes transformation.

The meeting, at the Lutheran Church Centre in Hillbrow, ends on Thursday.

Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, head of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the United Kingdom will address the conference.

He returned to South Africa yesterday after an absence of 35 years.

In a statement, the SACC said: "We shall reflect on the mission and ministry of the church as we proceed to move out of apartheid and cross the boundaries from the old to the new order and enter into the period of transition, negotiation and adaption, with all the dangers that this represents before we finally arrive in Canaan." - *Sowetan Reporter*.

Die Burger 24.6.91

ANC, Regering byeen oor gevangenes

Politieke Redaksie

DIE ANC en die Regering praat vandag in Pretoria regstreeks met mekaar in die ouditkomitee oor die vrylating van politieke gevangenes in 'n poging om die strydpunte oor dié vraagstuk by te lê.

'n Woorvoerder van mnr. Kobie Coetsee, Minister van Justisie en Korrektiewe Dienste, het gister bevestig dat dié vergadering vandag plaasvind.

Die vergadering tussen die ANC en die Regering is van groot belang omdat die vrylating van gevangenes die laaste van die vereistes in die Amerikaanse sanksiewet is waaraan Suid-Afrika nog moet vol-

doen voordat sanksies wegval.

Die Regering hou voet by stuk dat hy reeds alle politieke gevangenes vrygelaat het wat voldoen aan die definisie waartoe hy en die ANC ooreengekom het.

Volgens die Suid-Afrikaanse regering aanvaar ook die Amerikaanse regering dié definisie.

Die ANC het egter 'n lys met sowat duisend name van gevangenes wat volgens hom ook ingevolge die bestaande ooreenkomste kwalifiseer om vrygelaat te word.

Volgens die ANC sluit dit in 15 lede van Umkhonto we Sizwe, 678 gevangenes wat reeds 'n derde plus twee jaar en agt maande van hul vonnisse uitgedien het en 284 mense wie se oortredings uit massa-op-

trede spruit.

In regeringskringe was daar verlede week aanduidings dat stappe binnekort gedoen sal word om die strydpunt rondom politieke gevangenes by te lê.

• 'n Regsadviseur van die Amerikaanse departement van buitelandse sake is op besoek in Suid-Afrika om aandag te gee aan die kwessie van die vrylating van politieke gevangenes.

Die departement het in die na-week volgens Sapa-AP gesê hy werk aktief aan die kwessie van politieke gevangenes.

Dié departement en die Amerikaanse ambassade in Suid-Afrika is gereeld met mekaar in verbinding daaroor.

Seven family members killed

by MARY PAPAYYA

SEVEN members of a family, including a two-year-old child, were killed and an eight-year-old was wounded when they were shot as they slept in their Taylor's Halt home on Saturday night.

The deceased were members of the family of African National Congress member Mlungisi Ngubane (21). Mlungisi's son Si-

bonelo (2), his father Albert (52), mother Gladys (46), sisters Nomusa (14) and Thembelihle (16), aunt Florence Ndlovu (36) and his cousin Nana Mbongwa (16) were shot by unidentified gunmen.

Ngubane's youngest brother, Siphakanyiswa (8), who was shot and wounded, escaped and ran to alert relatives living about 100 metres from their home.

Gertrude Ngubane, his aunt, said she and her husband, Afrika, were awakened

by gunshots at 12 pm. Minutes later they were confronted by a bleeding Siphakanyiswa who told them that the rest of the family had been shot.

"We then set out on foot to the police station about one kilometre from our home and told the police what had happened. Police arrived on the scene and Siphakanyiswa was taken to hospital," she said.

Police liaison officer Lieutenant Henry Budhram said 9 mm firearms were used in

the shooting. The victims were shot in the head while they were sleeping. No arrests have been made and police are investigating, he said.

He said the motive was unknown.

Yesterday, family members, friends and neighbours were still shocked by the incident and were afraid to speak to the press or have their photographs taken.

Bullet holes were evident in the walls and window. Blood was splattered on the

wall of one room and a group of women took the blood-stained mattresses to be washed at a nearby river.

"I don't know why someone would want to kill my family," said a distraught Mlungisi Ngubane, who was in Imbali when the shootings occurred.

His father, mother, baby, two sisters and cousin were asleep in the main house, while his aunt occupied a room in the outbuilding.

His aunt and cousin were visiting the family for the weekend, he said.

According to family members, items of clothing and cash were missing and the locks on the doors had been tampered with, suggesting that the gunmen gained entry to the house by breaking the locks and bolts before shooting their victims.

Albert Ngubane and his wife were not members of any political organisation, family members said.

Natal witness 24 June 1991

IM COHEN looks at the problems besetting Nelson Mandela . . . and others

Durban congress could provide the jolt the ANC needs

YOU CANNOT help feeling sorry for Nelson Mandela. Only six months ago his disposition was proud and his bearing statesmanlike. But now his tone has become shrill and bitter.

In his Christmas message, he was full of confidence about the future, saying 'the South Africa so many of us have sacrificed so much for is within sight. Together let us walk this last, long gruelling mile to reach a non-racial society where all our people will be equal before the law'. Now he has taken to lashing out at the Press in a finger-wagging manner not unlike that of at least one former NP leader.

Last year he was treated to ticker tape parades overseas. Now he is seen there as a man who cannot control violence among his own supporters. Last year he was treated with near-reverence by the foreign Press. Now they write of seamy rumours about his marriage.

Last year, a political solution looked difficult but achievable in the near-term. Now it seems years away. Last year the ANC felt it held the moral high ground. Now it is involved in scrappy arguments with the Government about violence, political prisoners and the return of exiles. But perhaps the most pressing difficulty for Mandela is his increasingly fractious organisation, a fact which he all but concedes by referring to the ANC as a 'broad church'.

Clearly, the ANC requires a substantial shake-up, which makes the timing of its July congress highly opportune. ANC members place great store in the congress's ability to place the organisation on a sure footing. Whether it will, or whether it will simply highlight some of the conflicting tendencies within it, remains to be seen.

In broad terms, the main task of the congress will be to decide a method of attaining what ANC members refer to as the 'tactical initiative'. This problem involves several components: the organisational strength of the ANC, its popularity, charting the way through the 'transitional period' in a manner that profits the organisation, and developing an effective and convincing critique of the Government's position.

The main problem here is that even when the ANC tries to take the initiative, it comes out appearing the worse off. Perhaps the best example was its ultimatum on violence, which began as a bold attempt to force the Government's hand but which ended — as one deadline passed after another — as a damp squib. Leaders readily concede that President FW de Klerk has used the terrain of

SIBUSISO NDEBELE sets the scene for the conference

QUESTION: The National consultative conference in December was held in Johannesburg, which is also the home of the ANC head office. Why then was Durban chosen as the venue for this, the first fully fledged national conference of the movement since its unbanning?

NDEBELE: Very few things happen by accident in the ANC. Three possible venues were proposed: Bloemfontein and Durban for political and historical reasons and Johannesburg for technical considerations.

There were sound political reasons for Bloemfontein as the venue: the first conference of the ANC, the founding conference, was held in that city on January 8, 1912. The feeling was that the ANC had to go to its roots and start from the beginning. And that beginning was in Bloemfontein.

But another view said that the return of the ANC inside the country should express continuity in the people's march to liberation. Durban symbolises this continuity. The last national conference of the ANC was held in Durban in December, 1958. It adopted a new constitution and set out policy guidelines that have guided the movement for the past 33 years.

Clearly the ANC will not be starting from the beginning, but will be continuing where it ended. The choice of Durban became politically irresistible.

What parallels exist between the 1958 conference and the 1991 conference?

Perhaps the best way to bring out parallels is to look at the contrasts. The 1958 conference was gearing itself up for the inevitability of being declared an illegal organisation. Everything pointed to it. Notwithstanding the considerable obstacles that still stand in the way, in 1991 we are looking at a conference that immediately precedes a major political transformation of our country.

The next regular conference should take place in a non-racial, democratic South Africa. If not, it might not take place at all.

But, for the parallels. In the short

negotiations more effectively than the ANC. But the problem is broader and involves an inability to win through sophisticated political manoeuvring.

This has frustrated the membership, sparked disconcerting rumblings from various quarters, and caused an exaggerated focus on the alleged inabilities of the leadership. As at the ANC's consultative congress last December, democracy within the organisation is likely to be a prominent issue. It arises partly as a result of the differing styles of the exiled and formerly imprisoned leaders and the internal leaders.

As the ANC publication, *Mayibuye*, points out, in the

three decades of its illegality 'the structures of the ANC had to adapt to the kind of struggle that was being waged . . . The structures became gradually smaller and more secretive . . . decision-making powers were vested among smaller numbers'. Internal leaders (who now occupy mainly the regional leadership structures) are much less authoritarian in their leadership styles and insist on frequent consultation and report-backs.

The sanctions debate will be the litmus test of the strength of the current leadership which has called for (last December and at the OAU this month) and by all indications will again call for, a phased approach to the lifting

Why
we're all
coming
to Durban

period in which it has been unbanned, the ANC is again emerging as the greatest unifier of the oppressed people: be they in the homelands, in sports, in education or in politics. The idea of a Patriotic Front is becoming a reality which will hopefully be concretised in August. This question exercised the minds of the delegates in 1958.

Let us also look at the question of constitution. The constitution that has carried the ANC from 1958 to March 1990 was adopted at the Durban conference. That constitution was so dynamic and covered so many contingencies that the movement had to go through that it was able to service the movement in the periods of the underground right through to the Morogoro and Kabwe conferences which transformed the ANC into a fully non-racial organisation.

Hopefully, the constitution to be adopted at the July conference will be able to carry the movement through the difficult phases it still has to surmount to transform South Africa into a fully non-racial, democratic and unitary state.

Take again the question of new methods of work. This conference will try to merge four strands of struggle that have characterised the ANC in the past 31 years. There has been the exile detachment. There has been the

prison detachment. There has been the underground detachment, but there has also been the detachment brought forth by mass struggles, particularly of the 80s. All these strands need to be knotted together.

These strands were already emerging by the time of the 1958 conference. Then you had comrades like Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Harry Gwala, who were participating clandestinely in the regular life of the organisation.

The call for the imposition of sanctions against the apartheid government came for the first time at the 46th conference of the ANC in Durban in 1958. Everyone is expectantly looking at how this question will be dealt with at the July conference.

The 1958 conference had to look at the best ways of fighting against separate bantustan education from university level down. This conference will have to look at ways of creating an educational system for a non-racial, democratic and unitary future.

What about the elections?

The 1958 constitution made provision for an NEC consisting of the president-general, deputy president-general, secretary-general, treasurer-general, eight additional members, provincial presidents and provincial secretaries or their respective deputies, ANCWL and ANCYL national presidents. It was an attempt to have the national movement rooted in all corners of the country.

Chief Albert Luthuli was re-elected president-general, cde Oliver Tambo deputy president-general, Duma Nokwe became the secretary-general and Dr Letele was elected treasurer-general. The eight other members were DSO Nyembe, Alfred Nzo, T Mqotha, L Masina, T Tshume, R Resha and W Z Chonco.

Perhaps more than the people who will be elected at the coming conference will be the adoption of a constitution that will facilitate democratic participation by all levels of the movement.

● Mr Ndebele is Southern Natal regional secretary of the ANC and also organising secretary of the Natal preparatory committee.

ship figures, although a new total of about 500 000 is expected to be announced. Members are secretive because they feel the number will be seen as low, especially compared with Inkatha's claimed membership of more than 2 000 000. But realistically, after only a little more than a year of legality, this growth of membership from practically nil inside the country is not inconsiderable.

But members see the 'low' membership as the manifestation of a broader organisational problem. As former ANC Moscow representative Simon Makana says, 'The ANC has been banned for 30 years. You can't say the ANC has recovered from that state of illegality. This is the main

task that is pre-occupying us — to make sure that general support is translated into an actual commitment which ensures we become a living body.'

'We must come out of this congress having charted the way forward. We can't come out with ambivalent views about where we are at. There can be no vacillation now on the direction,' says national executive committee member Aziz Pahad.

Violence will also be thoroughly discussed at the congress. Debate will focus principally on methods of getting the Government to concede to the ANC's demands on the issue and on the role of the security forces. NEC member Jacob Zuma talks bitterly about what he sees as De Klerk's deficiency in attempting to change the psychological attitude of the security forces. 'They do not understand what De Klerk is saying. They do not even agree with what he is saying,' Zuma says.

Other ANC spokesmen go further, claiming the Government has the ability to turn violence on and off like a tap. But while the militant rank and file may approve of such rhetoric, the ANC loses credibility elsewhere by overstating its case. If it is to produce workable solutions to an undoubtedly complex issue together with other groups like the NP and the IFP, it must come up with sophisticated arguments.

In assessing claims that the Government is primarily responsible for the violence, political analysts Duncan Innes and Matthew Kentridge write: 'It is true that the Government welcomes the fact that the ANC is losing credibility in the eyes of its erstwhile supporters. The Government undoubtedly thinks that it might win the next election against a weakened ANC and will use all the political tricks in the book to strengthen its own position and sow discord among the opposition.'

They say in the latest Innes Labour Brief: '... the Government needs to be extremely careful . . . It cannot allow the ANC to become too weak or too discredited. It needs a negotiating partner, and it needs to limit the antagonism which already exists between the parties if negotiations are to be successful.'

If Government members are gleeful about the current state of the ANC, they would be well advised to think again. The organisation contains the seeds of strength that are currently dormant. If it can nourish those seeds, and the aim of the congress is to do just that, the ANC may well emerge an extremely powerful adversary.

JNB 24-26, 1991

Isikhulu se-ANC sidutshulwe safa ngabangaziwa

EGOLI. - Kudutshulwe kwabulawa isikhulu se-African National Congress (ANC) egatsheni laseNyanga, eCape Town, emuva kokuhlase-lwa emzini waso ngaba-ntu abathile abebhlome ngezibhamu.

UMnuz. Mziwonke Jack kubikwa ukuthi udutshulelwe ekhaya kwakhe ngolwesiThathu ebusuku ngeledlule emu-va kokuhlaselwa ngaba-ntu abebhlome ngezi-bhamu zohlobo lwama-machinegun.

Okhulumela abe-ANC kuleligatsha, uMnuz. Christian Tonto, uthe uMnuz. Jack udu-tshulwe emuva kokuphu-ma kwakhe emnyango ngabantu abangaziwa no-kusolakala ukuthi bebe-bhace esihlahleni esise-duze nakwakhe.

Uthe uMnuz. Jack okunguyena muntu obe-sezame ngawowonke amandla akhe ukuqeda ukungqubuzana oseku-bulele abantu abanengi phakathi kwezinhlangano zabamathekisi, udutshu-lwe ekhanda izihlandla eziningana wafa ngaleso-sikhathi ngaphambi kwa-kakhe. Uthe akasazi isi-zathu sokudutshulwa kwakhe.

Amaphoyisa aseCape Town akufakazile lokhu kodwa okwamanje athe awakezukuphawula nga-lokhu kudutshulwa kuka-Mnuz. Jack.

Okwamanje akukabo-shwa muntu ngalesisehla-kalo. Amaphoyisa asa-phenya.

16/1/11

16/1/11

I-ANC ithi ayinamali yokungcwaba ilunga layo elifele eLusaka

Lusaka 24/06/91
Kuthiwa kuthe uma unina, uNkk. Mnisi, enxusa i-ANC ukuba imsize eku-letheni isidumbu sendo-dana yakhe ekhaya eSouth Africa, ithwale nezindleko zomngcwabo, i-ANC yakhala ngokuthi kayinamali. Kodwa sigci-ne sesilethwe ngebhanoyi isidumbu.

Unina kamufi ungomunye wabasanda kubu-ya ekudingisweni kanti kuthiwa uhlala ekame-lweni lokugeza namado-

dakazi lakhe amathathu nabazukulu abathathu komunye umuzi wesihlo-bo sakhe. Bonke babuya ekudingisweni.

Kuthiwa bonke babu-ya bethenjiswe yi-ANC usizo lwezimali nendawo yokuhlala kodwa bafike bashiywa elokishini bazi-bonela. Kubikwa ukuthi i-ANC ithi kade yasho ukuthi abafela ekudingi-sweni bayongcwatshelwa khona ngoba ayikho ima-li yokubuyisela izidumbu eSouth Africa.

16/1/11

Ngecala lika Winnie

Mandela

ICARH 24/1/11
ETHEKWINI. Ukucutshungulwa kwesicelo sokwedlulisa icala sikaNkk. Winnie Mandela, unkosikazi wePhini likaMongameli we-African National Congress (ANC), uDr Nelson Mandela, kuzokwenziwa enkantolo yamajaji eGoli ngomhlaka July 16.

Abanye ayegwetshwe nabo ngamacala okuthumba nokushaya, oNkk. Xoliswa Falati noMnuz. John Morgan nesabo isicelo sokwedlulisa amacala abo sizocutshungulwa ngalo lolusukuu. Lokhu kushiwo ngumshushisi omkhulu waseWitwatersrand.

UNkk. Mandela wawetshiwa iminyaka eyisithupha ejele ngalamacala.

ANC taking democracy seriously

Daily News 24/6/91

THERE'S an interesting story going around at the ANC's Johannesburg head office.

According to the grapevine, Nelson Mandela, at the request of the powerful PWV region, recently went to Natal to convince the province's three regions that the ANC's national conference should not be held in Inkatha territory.

The region's "Comrades" — who have borne the brunt of the vicious war with Dr Buthe-lezi's impis — would barely hear him out.

The moral of this story is that ANC supporters are beginning to take their democratic rights seriously. They want to be heard, and they are no longer to be prescribed to — not even by the likes of Nelson Mandela.

This incident reflects the mood of ANC members, who — through democratic electoral procedures — have mandated 2 000 delegates to go to Durban next month to vote into top office the men and women they want to lead the organisation through the crucial phase of negotiations.

Many factors, however, will come into play before the final poll.

Such as the roles of Oliver Tambo and Mr Mandela, the preferences of the national executive committee, the much-rumoured SACP hand-in-the-pie, the relative anonymity of formerly exiled leaders, the thrust of "internal" leaders for top jobs to balance the exiled leadership, the fixed quota of women to be elected, and dissatisfaction with the poor performance of some sitting national executive committee members.

Canvassing and manoeuvring for the elections has reached fever pitch. Although the outcome cannot be predicted reliably — and the situation will remain fluid right up until the end of the five-day conference — strong contenders for the top jobs have already emerged.

This has been damaging, though. For example, the punting of Jacob Zuma for the deputy presidency, and subsequent events to prevent infighting among contenders waiting in the wings, has virtually ruled out Mr Zuma's candidacy for the job.

The ANC's national executive committee has taken a policy decision,

Daily News Correspondent **ESMARE VAN DER MERWE** examines some of the factors influencing the African National Congress's first open and democratic elections in decades.

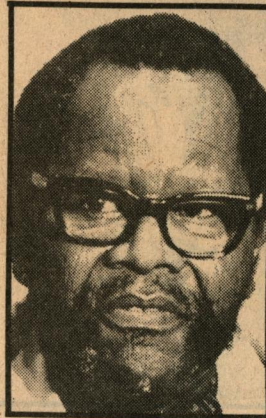


Nelson Mandela

in the interest of democracy, not to get involved in canvassing. Other ANC members argue that canvassing is a privilege of democracy.

In the build-up to the elections, the committee may feel compelled to make its preferences known.

Amid widespread dissatisfaction with the current leadership, there is growing speculation that ailing president Oliver Tambo and deputy president Mandela might influence the elections to preserve the status quo:



Oliver Tambo

■ First, to secure the positions of "old guard" figures such as secretary-general Alfred Nzo and treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi, unpopular among the rank and file. This stems from a belief, at least among committee members, that the ANC should not change leadership before the negotiation process has been substantially concluded.

■ Second, to preserve unity by preventing infighting among the leaders of tomorrow. Because the ANC is perceived by many as having been out-manoeuvred by the Government in negotiations, divisions have been sharpened between the primary ANC negotiators and their more militant comrades.

Thus, one theory goes, Mr Tambo might stay on as president and Mr Mandela as his deputy, while Mr Nzo and Mr Nkobi will remain in their powerful jobs to prevent a contest between Thabo Mbeki and Jacob Zuma, on the one hand, and Chris Hani on the other.

This theory is reflected by a senior committee member: "I don't think there are going to be too many changes. The bottom line is that if Tambo and Mandela want changes, there will be. If not, there won't."

Many activists are concerned about this possibility, but do not dismiss it.

They point to the ANC's Kabwe conference in 1985, when pressure for the ousting of Mr Nkobi and Mr Nzo was already strong. But Mr Tambo made a "speech of unity", and they retained their positions.

A powerful camp of predominantly internal leaders, coming from the UDF and MDM schools,

is going all out to canvass for representatives who, they believe, have a better grasp of political developments and might significantly strengthen the ANC's strategic thinking and organisational skills.

A leading activist commented: "I predict that at least half of the current national executive committee will be ousted. If not, I quit."

Equally frank is another activist: "It's time that the social welfare department starts doing its job — by preparing pension packages for the incompetent old guard."

Favourites among this camp are internal leadership corps leader Walter Sisulu for the deputy presidency (as a unifying factor, in spite of his age) under Mr Mandela, and trade unionist Cyril Ramphosa for secretary-general. These activists want the position of treasurer-general to — at least — be contested, although candidates to replace Mr Nkobi are few.

Barbara Masekela, former head of the cultural desk, has been nominated by at least three regions for this job, while the name of Border's Rev Arnold Stofile has become prominent.

16/1/91

16/1/11

Mandela named for presidency

BUSINESS DAY

TIM COHEN

24/6/91

NELSON Mandela has been nominated for the ANC presidency by two of the strongest regions, while Walter Sisulu is being backed by Border for the deputy-presidency, regional spokesmen said at the weekend.

Border and Natal have not nominated ANC president Oliver Tambo for any of the ANC's top five posts.

They have also failed to nominate Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani or international affairs head Thabo Mbeki for any of the top five posts, which will avert a "hawks versus doves" battle, but they both have been nominated for NEC posts.

Other than Nelson Mandela, the only common nomination for the top five is ANC NEC member Jacob Zuma.

Border has also nominated regional chairman the Rev Arnold Stofile for secretary-general, Jacob Zuma for treasurer-general and trade unionist Cyril Ramaphosa for assistant secretary-general.

ANC southern Natal spokesman Linda Zama said at the weekend that Natal Midlands ANC leader Harry Gwala had been nominated for deputy president, Jacob Zuma for secretary-general, Mendi Msimang (currently the organisation's London representative) for treasurer-general and former UDF leader Popo Molefe for assistant secretary-general.