

Saturday 13 July 1991

THE CITIZEN

NECC targets 46 White schools for occupation

By Martin McGhee

FORTY-SIX White schools had been targeted for occupation by the National Education Committee (Southern Transvaal) (NECC) between July 28 and August 5, the general secretary of the NECC, Mr Amon Msana, said yesterday.

He was addressing a Press briefing at the NECC headquarters in Johannesburg where he warned that the Orange Grove Primary School would be occupied on July 28, the first day of the new term, if the government did not react positively before that date.

"All under-utilised and empty schools in the PWV region shall be occupied by the NECC, with or without the permission of the Department of Education and Training," Mr Msane said.

Of the 46 schools, 33 are occupied (under-utilised) and the remainder empty, Mr Msane claimed.

Targeted schools

A list of the targeted schools was obtained by The Citizen, and they are:

Athlone Girls High, Bramley Primary, Fairmount Primary, I H Harris, Jeppe Preparatory, Johannesburg Girls Preparatory, Linksfield Pri-

mary, Northview High, Parkhurst Primary, Parkview Senior, Roseneath Primary, Rosebank Primary, Waverley Girls, Wendywood Primary, Bordeaux.

H A Jack Primary, Highlands North Boys High, Kensington Ridge Primary, Malvern High, Observatory East, Sandringham Primary, Yeoville Boys Primary, Alberton Primary, Blairgowrie Primary, Brackenhurst Primary, Brixton Primary, Cottesloe Primary, Forest Hill, Hillcrest, John Mitchell, John Orr Tech, Laerskool Kensington, Langlaagte Tech.

Melville Primary, Rosettenville Junior, Winchester Ridge, Bez Valley Primary, Blairgowrie High, Goedeheop Primary, Greenhills Primary, Johannesburg Girls High, Joubert Park, Jubileum, Malvern West Primary, Orange Grove Primary and Western High, a House of Delegates school.

Mr Msane pointed out that the Johan Rissik School in Western Mayfair had already been handed over to the NECC for occupation and integration by the government. It was just awaiting furnishings as previous

furniture had been removed by the government, he claimed.

Mr Msane threw down the gauntlet to the government and said despite numerous meetings with authorities, no amicable agreement had been reached and occupation of the schools would take place on the stated dates.

He refused to divulge the methods by which the premises would be taken over but assured the briefing that much planning and secret manoeuvring had gone into the operation.

Asked about possible dangers to children during the occupation, Mr Msane shrugged off fears of a threatened White Right-wing backlash and said there was no easy way to freedom.

Unjust system

"We are faced with an unjust system which we have to overcome and although we expect teething problems, the process of integration cannot be stopped because of Right-wing threats. But we'll do our best to see the children are safe," he said.

Engaging the government in such a confrontation only came after much fruitless negotiation. There had been no con-

crete response so this action was necessary.

Questioned on whether communities around the targeted schools would be angered by the move, Mr Msane claimed that parents, members of the communities, civic bodies, unions and teachers had all been consulted beforehand.

"Although there is bound to be hostility and healthy contradictions when the occupations begin," he said.

Mr Msane said the decision to occupy had been taken because many White schools were threatened with closure for being under-utilised despite appeals to have them opened to all-race groups.

Privatisation was just another method of upping fees beyond the reach of most Blacks and the tendency to sell off schools, making it impossible for many Black children to enrol.

He accused many White schools of implementing excessively restrictive entrance examinations which exacerbated, rather than eroded existing racial prejudice and said the Minister responsible, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, was still avoiding meetings with the NECC.

He slammed new government regulations which held headmasters responsible for running the schools on an allocated budget, including the payment of salaries to teachers.

The government had shifted responsibility in a nasty move which would put the heat on the principals while the government sat in the background.



BATTLEFIELD: The eerie Sphinx-like massif of Isandlwana where 1 300 British troops were massacred on January 22 1879.

Isandlwana relics traced to UK

Saturday Star 13 July 1991

CAPE TOWN — It's been called the biggest grave robbing scandal of modern times. And it is centred on the wind-swept plain of death beneath the Sphinx-like mass of Isandlwana in Zululand, marking the British Army's biggest defeat in any colonial war.

And it has caused an international furore involving the British police and the South African Embassy in London.

In Durban last week, the vice-chairman of the KwaZulu Heritage Foundation, Arthur Konigkramer, who had just returned from London, told me: "The director of the KwaZulu National Monuments Council, Barry Marshall, and I confronted one of the perpetrators of this trade in grisly remains, and told him: 'We want our treasures back'."

"I am confident that the priceless artefacts taken from the Isandlwana graves will now be returned to this country."

Grisly

Mr Konigkramer's visit followed a grisly scene last month when shocked KwaZulu Monuments Council staff and local indunas reburied piles of scattered bones into desecrated graves beneath the Isandlwana massif. Soon afterwards, police swooped on several collectors in Johannesburg removing Zulu War artefacts. The men are expected to appear in court soon.

One victim was 19-year-old James Adrian Blakie, who had lain in peace for 111 years. His marble gravestone was prised open with a crowbar — for the third time.

Mr Konigkramer was the man who re-buried him.

"His bones were scattered around his memorial. I put them back in his grave", he told me, "... for the last time..."

He added: "It was then that Mr Marshall and I decided to go in search of the people who have stolen our history, and destroyed our heritage with Britain."

"We have the co-operation of the British police, the South African Embassy, the Royal Regiment of Wales at Brecon, who are moving heaven and earth to help, and many, many people."

"No one in Britain will be prepared to handle Isandlwana stuff right now," he said.

Behind the visit lies an intricate web of intrigue, deception and apparent initial apathy. And this week, I was able to trace the sequence of events that may now have put paid to the trade in buried possessions.

In 1988, the Commanding Officer of the Royal Regiment of Wales, and great-great-nephew of a Rorke's Drift VC hero, was warned

that unscrupulous relic hunters were digging up the graves of the regiment's heroes.

Six companies of the 24th (2nd Warwickshire Regiment, later the

OWEN COETZER

South Wales Borderers) fought and died at Isandlwana and among the bullet-ridden walls of Rorke's Drift.

His response to a detailed letter and court documents from Captain (now Major) Paul Naish of Sarnia, Durban, was lukewarm.

Colonel D de G Bromhead, LVO, OBE, wrote: "... it does sadden me to hear of the somewhat distasteful trade in relics that you have discovered..."

However, he said, he had passed the papers "on to our own military police ... but I do not know if the dealers at this end have broken any British laws. It is a sign of the times ..."

This month the "sign of the times" turned into one of the biggest international war relic rackets yet. Says Mr Konigkramer: "The Royal Regiment of Wales have been moving heaven and earth to support us..."

Major Naish's 1988 letter to Colonel Bromhead was forceful. He told him that the caretaker of the Isandlwana battlefield, Chelmsford (after the Zulu War general) Haig (after the Anglo-Boer War, later World War 1 general) Bheki Ntanz, had been convicted on April 8 of that year of a contravention of a section under the Historical Monuments Act after being found removing rocks and examining contents of a grave with a metal detector.

Ntanz was fined R200. He is now believed to be in Johannesburg.

But letters and a diary, now in my possession, indicate that Chelmsford Ntanz had been supplying tourists and collectors to the site with artefacts for years.

One letter, dated August 7, 1981, reads: "Jervis, I think you may remember yours of 21 January, 1981, that you were after a collar badge. So now I have found it for you. Look at the diagram below." (there is a rudimentary drawing with the note 'little mettel (sic) lion'.

To P92

R100

"This is the collar badge I wrote to you about so quickly because you told me about it. I charge R100 to you — a discount."

Another letter, written by someone called Edmund, from 57 Highworth Road, New Southgate, London, on June 11, 1984 reads: "One thing I haven't done yet and that is to send your cartridge cases to my uncle who is in the army."

There is also one by Ted Jervis (perhaps the Jervis mentioned above) of 219 Southbourne Grove, Westcliffe on Sea, Essex who asks: "If you ever find some nice pieces from the battlefield at Isandlwana, I would always be prepared to buy them from you. A badge or part of a buckle or collar badge."

An undated page with no address,

signed by Mr and Mrs H G McDermott reads: "I enclose R6 for you to post to me the Martin (sic) Henry rifle cartridges which I thank you most sincerely."

One name keeps on cropping up — Bruce Crompton, whose address is given as 30 Longfield Avenue, Hornchurch, Essex.

Says Major Naish: "I told Colonel Bromhead that Crompton, a lance-corporal and paratrooper in the British Army, was the man who had supplied Chelmsford with the metal detector."

"Chelmsford, in court, said Crompton had given it to him to gather items from the site."

"Crompton's name was incorrectly reported in the court record by the magistrate at Nqutu. His correct name was found in several letters he had written to Chelmsford on supplying the detector and commenting on various finds."

Religious

"When the first desecration story appeared in the British press in March, Crompton was interviewed by British police and confirmed to them that he had given Chelmsford 'gratuities' in return for battlefield relics."

"He confirmed he had paid Chelmsford's fine, but claimed that he believed Chelmsford would never rob a grave as he was a very religious man", Major Naish told me.

"Crompton is reported as saying: 'You will meet nobody who can accuse me of taking a penny for the stuff. I am a serious collector — I don't need the money, and I have given lots of stuff away including more than 200 cartridge cases, buttons, stirrups and bridle pieces'."

According to a London newspaper report Mr Crompton says: "I have accumulated some fantastic relics including a complete belt buckle of the 24th Regiment. To my knowledge the only other one is in the National Army Museum."

"I don't think I did anything wrong, and I want my collection to go to the 24th Regiment South Wales Borders Museum in Brecon, Wales."

Major Naish's letter to Colonel Bromhead reads: "As you no doubt share the indignation that I do re the ravaging of graves of your predecessors, I bring these facts to your attention in order to ask whether, under your Military Disciplinary Code, you can seek retribution against Crompton, or at the very least, recover the artefacts he has received, and for them to be removed to your museum."

Recently Mr Konigkramer and Mr Marshall confronted Mr Crompton in his Hornchurch, Essex, office with irrefutable proof that he had spent two days in a caravan at Isandlwana with a detector to find metal in soldiers' graves.

And they told him: "We want our

Isandlwana treasures back."

Mr Crompton agreed to hand them over that Tuesday.

He never kept the appointment.

A detective was sent to interview Mr Crompton, who then agreed he would hand his collection over to the South African Embassy, in London, for trans-shipment to Isandlwana and the KwaZulu Heritage Foundation.

"When we saw him, Crompton said he was going to hand his priceless collection to the Brecon Museum," he said.

"We told him they would never accept stuff that had come from graves. He telephoned the museum's curator, Bob Smith, who instructed him in no uncertain terms to give the stuff back to us."

"I'd like to make one thing very clear: The artefacts Crompton has could only have come from the inside of a grave."

"Nothing he had in a box he showed us, or among some of the other relics he had, could have come from the surface at Isandlwana."

"It is stuff that was buried with the soldiers — like signet rings. Other people — the Isandlwana locals — did the dirty work on the graves. That was one fact that emerged from our trip — all the collectors we saw (and there were many of them) distanced themselves from the messy business of actually digging in among the bones," Mr Konigkramer told me.

"Chief Buthelezi, whose great-great grandfather was commander-in-chief of the Zulu Army at the time (although he was not at Isandlwana), expressed his total outrage in a statement released in Britain while we were there."

How safe is Isandlwana from grave robbers now?

Says Mr Konigkramer: "There is now not one British war grave that is not protected and included within the Isandlwana reserve. We have 1 000 ha of the battlefield protected and patrolled."

"The old school has been demolished, and the new one has just been opened. A new road is in place, and soon people will be charged to enter the area."

"We have spent R650 000 on the site up to now. There is an interpretation centre, an audio-visual room and a new three-dimensional model of the area."

"Ironically, the biggest memorial at Isandlwana is to the black troops of the Natal Native Contingent. A total of 600 took part in the battle and the majority were killed."

"It is totally against Zulu custom to desecrate graves. And one other thing: People who have robbed Isandlwana graves have only deprived the people who live there of financial support. Isandlwana means First World tourism. If there are no relics to see, there are no tourists and no money..."

13 July 91
Isandlwana
from PG1

Who steers the ANC

machine?

SPECTRUM

Saturday Star July 13 1991

TWICE, secretary-general of the African National Congress Cyril Ramaphosa refused to deny or confirm that he is a communist.

On Thursday he unexpectedly denied he was a member of the South African Communist Party. And added: no member of the ANC will in future be allowed to say whether he or she is a member of the SACP.

Because, says Ramaphosa, he wishes to avoid a witch-hunt as had happened in the USA after the World War 2 when people were hounded by Senator Joseph McCarthy simply because they were thought to be communists or were actually communists.

That the newly elected secretary-general should respond in this manner does, of course, re-open the whole question of the relationship between the ANC and the SACP.

Nelson Mandela, newly elected president of the African National Congress, has no doubt what that relationship is: it is a firm alliance committed to the ending of apartheid. Which, historically speaking, is true.

But times have

changed and the ANC, despite its present attitude, will have to rethink the alliance as there is no doubt that it is the presence of such a strong SACP contingent in the ANC leadership which is one of the reasons why the ANC is unable to find any substantial support among whites, coloureds, Indians and to a lesser extent, rural blacks.

AND also, the National Party is committed to the ending of apartheid as is every other political party in the country — that is, except the Conservatives.

But, yes, in the dark days when first the Communist Party was banned and almost a decade later the ANC, they did form an alliance fighting to end apartheid.

And it was always clearly understood, and publicly pronounced, that the first wave of the revolution would be a national one and would be led by the ANC.

Once power had been

taken, the second wave would begin, led by the communists and take us to a communist SA.

Yet the response to questions about the SACP presence is so heated that one is left with the impression that it is a growing problem within the ranks of the ANC.

Mr Mandela had told critics of the alliance to "outgrow the pathological anti-communism of the period of the cold

war, stop the red-baiting and live up to the commitment that all express in favour of a multi-party democracy".

But the questions will not just go away because they generate heat.

The alliance is indeed a strange one.

In the old National Executive Committee of the ANC the communists clearly dominated. They were strongly in the majority, some say that all but three of the 34 members were also SACP members.

And in the present NEC of 50, it is said that again the SACP has a majority. But is that really so?

Therein lies the rub: nobody really knows.

The ANC says that it has an alliance with the

SACP but they are two separate organisations.

Yet communists sit on the ANC leadership but non-communists cannot sit on the SACP leadership.

The ANC says it takes its own decisions. But how can it if the majority of its leaders are also communists who will not vote differently when they have an ANC hat on than when they have an SACP hat on.

Which must mean — and it would be hugely surprising if it is not so — that the SACP, through its members on the ANC's NEC can swing decisions the way it wants.

When the question is asked: who are members of the SACP, it is not because one wants to begin a witch-hunt, or denies the SACP the right to exist, or is against multi-party democracy. It is a logical question: who decides for the ANC?

If you were to support the ANC, is it, in fact, the ANC you are supporting. You cannot know.

To stop ANC members from stating where their allegiances lie, as Ramaphosa has just done, will be the exact effect he is trying to avoid: it might very well lead to a witch-hunt because South Africans want to know, and have a right to know, who is in control of the biggest political group.

There is a clear dichotomy: Mandela is on rec-

ord as saying the ANC is not socialist. But the SACP is, because however much you twist and turn away from what happened in eastern Eu-

rope and the USSR, it is impossible to be communist and not a socialist.

The ANC is still refining its economic policy and it clearly is not so-

cialist. Do the communists in the ANC go along with this while they wear their ANC hat and change their views when they are among fellow-communists?

Nobody knows.

Or are the communists just going along with the ANC views for the time being, until such time as the ANC takes political power — and will they only then begin to assert their majority view in the ANC leadership to steer the country towards their views?

Who knows.

And South Africans have a right to know and will undoubtedly insist on knowing.

Communism is this century's failure. Fascism has to be beaten in war. Communism is

dying because of its own inner failures.

Economically, communist countries are disasters.

TO PG 2

AND, communism is strongly opposed to religion, despite recent attempts to say that this is not so anymore.

So, come the first real general election in South Africa, will those voting for the ANC be voting for the repressive, anti-religion, economic failures the SACP stands for — or will they in fact be voting for the ANC?

Mr Ramaphosa says we are not entitled to know and Mr Mandela says we must outgrow our pathological anti-

communism.

That is not good enough. Red-baiting could have been seen as a smokescreen behind which people hide who really wanted to maintain apartheid.

But times have changed. The pillars of apartheid have already gone and the political overlay of apartheid is about to be negotiated away by the ANC — or is it the SACP?

Who knows.

The question will not go away until it as been answered. And the ANC will give attention to the question because it is a negative for it when it comes to its membership drives. It is a painful dilemma: if you stick as closely to the SACP as you do now, it might very

well cost you enough votes to keep you from power.

Or worse, might allow a National Party-led alliance slip past you.

On the other hand, how many workers are communists? Certainly, many union leaders are SACP members. Would that cost you votes if you drop the SACP or do workers not support the SACP despite the position of their leaders?

Who knows.

Does the ANC know which of its members are also members of the SACP? It is a question it, too, needs to find an answer to. How else can it know who runs its own organisation?

And if it does know, it ought to tell South Africa who does.

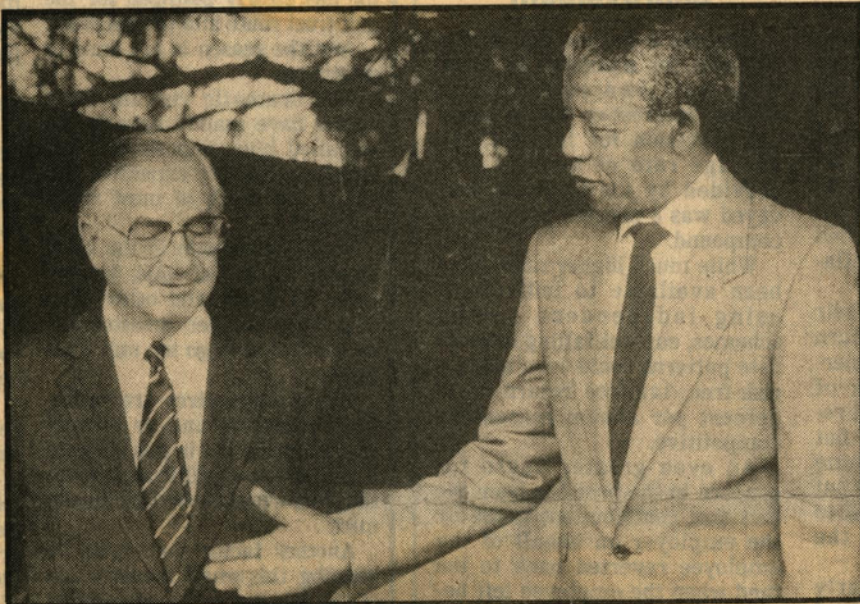
WHO STEERS THE ANC MACHINE?



HARALD PAKENDORF: Author of this article.

(2)

13 July 1991



Cyril Ramaphosa (above), the new ANC secretary general has urged NEC members not to disclose any communist connections they may have. But does the huge banner behind Nelson Mandela and Joe Slovo (right) have some significance — or do Mr Mandela's connections with Big Business in the shape of former Anglo chief Gavin Relly (below) point to the route the ANC would rather follow?

**Key question of
the SACP role
won't go away**

(3)

13 July 1991



(4)

13 July 1991

Time for reds to pop up from under beds

Saturday Stars 13 July 1991

'ARE you now, or have you ever been, a member of the Communist Party?

All these years on, those 14 words have lost none of their capacity to chill: you can hear them booming through a microphone, stentorian and accusing. You can picture the fanatically transported face of Senator Joseph McCarthy, and the fearful, baffled expression of his victim as he tries to explain that his answer doesn't mean what his accuser says it means.

Lives, countless lives, were ruined by McCarthyism, and a nation's psyche was warped. Charlie Chaplin was an "enemy of the state", as were dozens of talented authors, actors and musicians until their spirits were broken.

It was a national madness harking back to the days of Salem, and the United States is still recovering from the trauma. Are we in danger of repeating the same, terrible process in South Africa?

I think not.

But first let us deal with the conviction among ANC and SACP leaders that we are indeed sliding into McCarthyism. "Red Spotting" has run riot in the past year, they charge, and it is not only the far right wing that has taken to the sport — red baiters include the Government, liberals, businesspeople, and even some clerics.

The Tongaat "Red Plot" fiasco was only the most prominent among innumerable instances of

Undercurrent Affairs

SHAUN JOHNSON



commie-bashing. New ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa let loose on the subject this week: allegations were based on "threadbare evidence", he said, sourced to "a pathologically anti-communist group ... in the worst tradition of the Cold War era". The ANC would not be drawn into a "McCarthyite witchhunt" and, moreover, "the speculations were inspired by an anti-democratic spirit".

Mr Ramaphosa has a point of course, and only the most naive of observers would fail to recognise that it serves the purpose of the Government to keep stoking the fires of division among the ANC, the SACP and Cosatu. But is he right in instructing, as he did this week, all members of the ANC to refuse to answer questions about their political affiliations outside the organisation?

My answer is no. There are many good reasons for seeking to bring an end to the destructive red-

hunting, but this is not the way to go about it. There is a critical difference between the McCarthyite period and South Africa's transition to democracy.

When the dread question was put in the House unAmerican Activities Committee hearings, the answer could criminalise the respondent. Since 1990, the South African Communist Party has taken its rightful place among legal political groups in this country, and to answer "Yes, I am a member" is in this sense no different from confirming one's allegiance to the DP.

By clinging to secrecy — or equivocating unconvincingly as Ramaphosa himself did when asked the question himself initially — one plays into the hands of one's opponents, and extends the life of the reds-under-beds campaign.

Public political figures (not ordinary, private individuals) owe it to the voters of the future to tell them where their organisational allegiances lie. This is the stuff of democratic politicking.

Mr Ramaphosa is quite right when he suggests that the "Are-you-or-aren't-you" question is rarely put in the spirit of neutral inquiry — it is usually as loaded as questions come, and the answer

can be exploited — but that does not alter the principle at all.

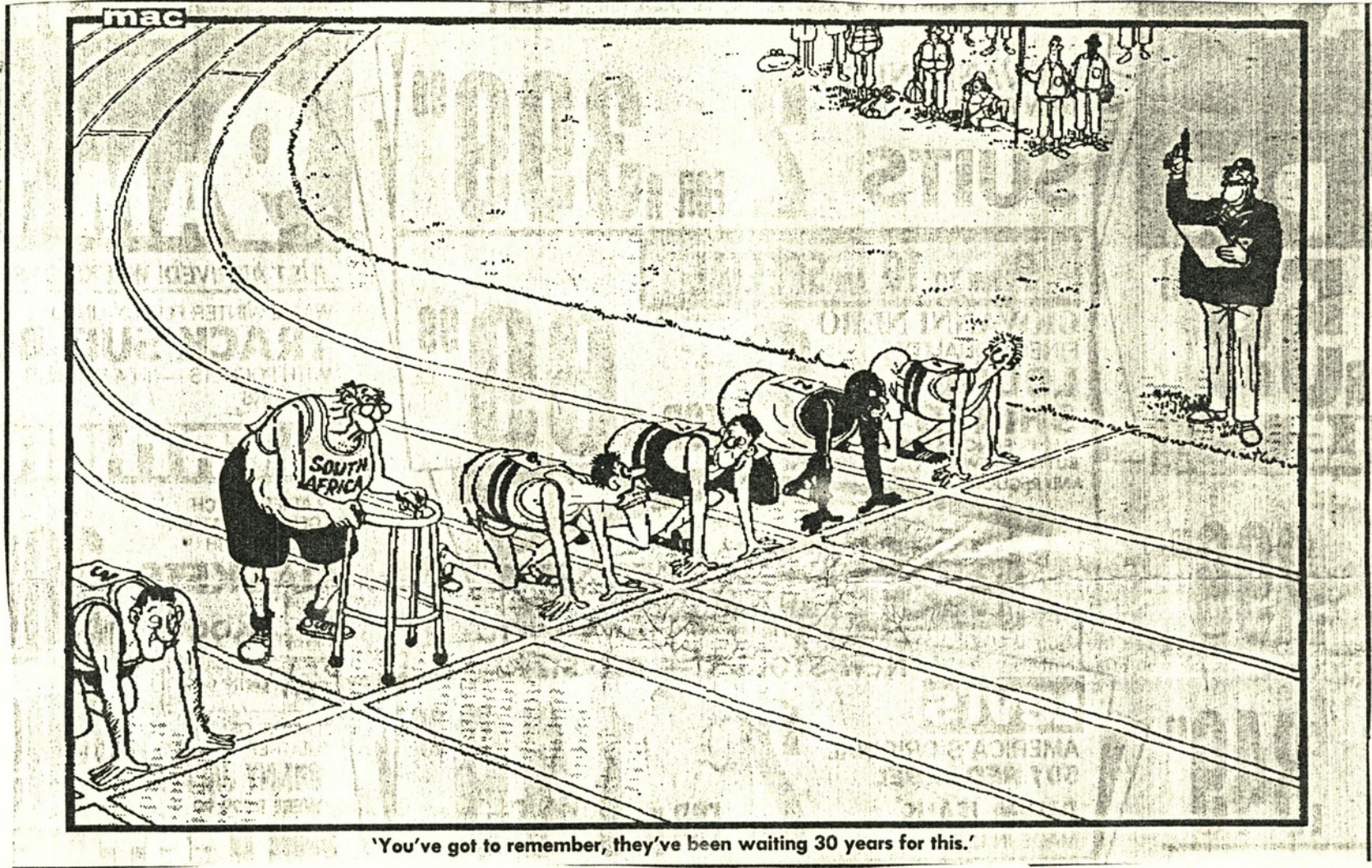
All parties must take the rough with the smooth, and the decades during which the SACP and others were special cases due to National Party tyranny are on this level over. I hope that he will review his edict and get on to more important things. And I would express the same hope about other cloak-and-dagger-groupings, like the Broederbond.

The latest brouhaha raises another important political issue: just how useful is it to cling to the "SACP/non-SACP" distinction as a categorical analytical tool for understanding the nuanced balances of political power as we go into negotiations?

Within the SACP there are committed, old-style communists; there are those who call themselves "democratic socialists"; there are those who maintain party membership out of loyalty to the 1950s but are to all intents and purposes "non-practising" communists.

The SACP should come out in the open without embarrassment, and the red-baiters should realise that there are more helpful lines of investigation and inquiry to pursue. Perhaps then we will be able to get down to the real business at hand. And by the way, I am not, nor have I ever been, a member of the Communist Party. Or any other party for that matter.

Time for seeds to pop up from under beds.



13 July 1991

ANC, look
Saturday Star
at bedfellows
13 July 1991
before it's

too late ✓

JOE Slovo and his henchmen are communist wolves in sheep's clothing who sanctimoniously and fervently preach "one person, one vote", yet they know only too well that the communist world has never provided such a thing to their citizens.

"Oh yes, it has," I hear you say. "All Russians have the right to vote!" Oh, yes, I agree with that statement, but all Russians have the right to vote only for the party in power and certainly no-one else, and that electoral fraud of the highest order pervades among all one-party communist-cum-socialist styled governments throughout the world.

Uncle Joe has never denounced the communists for this electoral scam and neither has he resigned from the party.

While most African governments to the north of us are still holding on grimly to their one-party status, the majority of Russians and East Europeans for that matter, no longer find this arrangement acceptable and Boris Yeltsin (who has long since resigned from the Communist Party) is championing the cause for a truly democratic constitution where all Soviet citizens will have the right and opportunity to vote for the person and party of their choice and within the republic in which they reside and not as at present, where they can only vote for a centralised, obsolete, decrepit and antiquated communist regime that is fast fading into oblivion.

If the ANC does not wish to go down in the history books as the party that promised much but fulfilled little, then they must look hard and close at some of their bedfellows before it is too late.

G B Norton

Cramerview

The prince can't breach this rift

SA DAILY STAR
13 July 1991
What is the significance of the fact that the senior prince of the Zulu Royal family, Prince Israel Mcwayizeni ka Solomon, has now been elected to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the ANC?

Could it be that the ANC will now be reconciled with the Zulu Royal family and the Zulu King? These are questions I have been asked by numerous local and foreign journalists since the announcement of the results of the ANC NEC elections early on Sunday morning.

There is no doubt that it was a political scoop for the ANC to elect such a senior member of the Zulu Royal family into its NEC.

Those who know Prince Israel's family background will remember that not only is he the son of King Solomon (the grandfather of the reigning monarch) but he actually acted as regent on the death of King Cyprian (the father of the reigning monarch) until such time that the present king, who was still a minor and was at school, was ready to succeed his father.

Incidentally, some newspapers have commented that the senior prince was a member of Inkatha until 1989 when he resigned. This is not correct.

As far as I can recall, the senior prince never joined Inkatha and was certainly never active in Inkatha affairs although he did occasionally attend Inkatha conferences.

There is a peculiar relationship between Inkatha and most members of the Zulu Royal family. Most of them tend to shy away from actively supporting Inkatha although there are a few notable exceptions like Prince Gideon, who is KwaZulu's Deputy Minister of Welfare and Pensions, and a few others.

Prince Israel was a member of the KwaZulu Legislative As-

Through
My Eyes

OSCAR
DHLOMO



sembly representing the king and therefore appointed by him. He resigned from this position and claimed there was a misunderstanding between himself and the king.

This background is important if I have to answer the second question - whether the senior prince will facilitate reconciliation between the ANC and the Zulu Royal family, and the king. The answer is an unequivocal "no".

If anything, the prince's membership of the ANC will widen the rift between the ANC and the Zulu Royal family. At worst, it could even engender a serious split within the Royal family.

Firstly, because of a misunderstanding between the king and the senior prince, the latter is persona non grata in the king's household.

Secondly, the senior prince's relations with Chief Buthelezi and the KwaZulu Government have also been soured by the prince's constant political sniping at Chief Buthelezi and the Government.

The king is presently very close to Chief Buthelezi and the KwaZulu Government. In terms of the KwaZulu constitution, the king is a constitutional monarch and any political contact with him must be through the KwaZulu Cabinet headed by Chief Buthelezi.

Besides, KwaZulu Government protocol decrees that Chief Buthelezi, and not the senior prince, is the senior traditional adviser to the king. Therefore, as things stand, the senior prince has no access to the king, Chief Buthelezi or the Government.

Light at the end of very long tunnel

Saturday Star 13 July 1991

MAGNUS HEYSTEK

"SOUTH Africa is nearing the end of a journey of more than 40 years in the desert."

This comment from Dr Anton Rupert, chairman of the giant Rembrandt Group and one of SA's foremost international businessmen, encapsulates the dramatic events of the week past.

While the euphoria at President Bush's lifting of US sanctions against South Africa was justified to a certain extent, there still is some way to go before the end of the desert will have been reached.

Common sense suggests that it will take some time before the expected increase in trade between SA and the US will materialise.

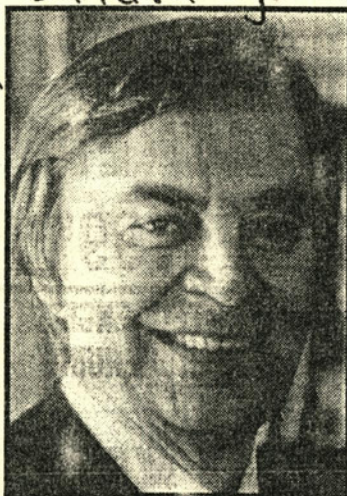
Although trade sanctions have all but been removed, financial sanctions still remain firmly in place. For the economy to be really unshackled, the sanctions on international capital must also be abolished.

But this will take some time — even as long as two years according to some reports, particularly with regard to funding by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

South Africa last had access to IMF-loans in 1983, prior to the introduction of the Gramm amendment to the Bretton Woods Act, which effectively blocked any further loans to South Africa by either the IMF or the World Bank.

Some analysts have also expressed doubts as to whether South Africa will qualify for any IMF-assistance in the current world economic climate. Many other countries in far more serious trouble will likely qualify.

Several other constraints still



Dr Anton Rupert ... SA 40 years in desert.

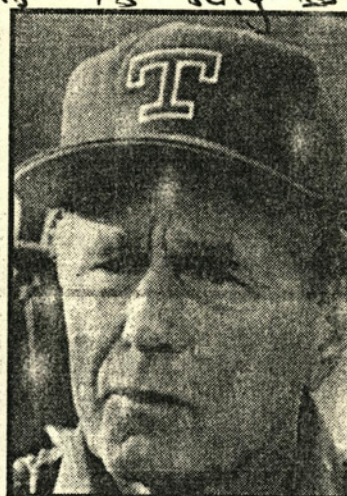
have to be removed before South Africa can consider itself firmly back in the international fold. Several other countries still maintain sanctions against South Africa. The debt-standstill arrangement also remains firmly in place.

The sharp exodus of capital in terms of the debt-standstill agreement most probably had more impact that trade sanctions and disinvestment.

Between 1985 and 1989 more than 40 percent of net domestic savings of the country was required to finance outflows. South Africa was forced to repay loans equivalent to about R29 billion during this time.

This had an enormously debilitating effect on growth.

South Africa now has 1 percent fewer jobs than in 1985, says Rudolf Gouws, chief economist at Rand Merchant Bank. Per capita, the economy has been shrinking at a rate of about 1 percent a year during the same time. This explains the sharp increase in unemploy-



President Bush ... has taken initial steps on sanctions.

ment since 1985.

The United States has ignited a light at the end of the tunnel — it is a very long tunnel, says Nora Hill, who has been in the export market for many years and runs Export Marketing and Management Consultants in Durban.

She also serves on several committees that advise and co-ordinate export activities in South Africa.

"It is very good for the overall morale of the country but it is not a ticket for instant wealth, nor does it give South Africa any advantage over other countries competing in a tight world economy.

"The US is an opinion leader and this move should set the trend for all other countries to follow," she says.

The EEC, Australia, Japan, and New Zealand should all follow and these markets will become available as well as the hope that some investments will flow from these countries.

There are major problems in

the US, with the various states all having instituted their own laws which will make it difficult for trading relations to be resumed in the near future.

Also, Ms Hill points out, the President's revocation or modification of the sanctions Bill could be overturned by the enactment of a congressional joint resolution (subject to veto) within 30 days.

But the opportunities are now a reality and companies should be gearing up as soon as possible for the increase in trade.

Main areas that will benefit almost immediately are the iron and steel industry, the JSE, sugar, agriculture and raw materials.

Standing as major stumbling blocks are double taxation, lack of access to the International Monetary Fund, the arms embargo and no bilateral agreement on landing rights in the US and other countries.

Most SA companies are stretched to supply the local market. The export market will demand extra capacity that does not exist.

The cost of disinvestment when sanctions and boycotts forced companies out of SA is reflected by the fact that in 1985 US investment stood at R1,5 billion and by the end of 1986 it was down to R1,3 billion.

From January to July 1986 SA exports fell from R1,19 billion to R654 million in the corresponding period in 1987 — after a 21 percent increase from 1982 to 1986.

Although there was an initial drop in exports, SA businessmen have successfully replaced these markets and goods have continued to flow across the borders — albeit with a lot more effort and aggressive marketing.

Those who stayed have strongest hands to play

in new SA

FOR public consumption, companies which disinvested from South Africa in the 1980s say their decision made sense both politically and morally and they have no regrets.

But it seems the biggest winners as the South African economy takes off again after the lifting of most United States sanctions will be those who stayed.

Already, some companies that pulled out in the mid-1980s during the storm of controversy over trade links with South Africa are planning to return.

One example is the British Whitehead Group, which makes stationery.

Stephen Watson, the group's financial director, said disinvestment cost the group little, because it was "not very big" in the market.

"However, many people in our sector in Britain lost a great deal. Any company needs as big a base as possible and South Africa would have been a viable export base.

"Yes, we will return to South Africa, in a bigger way than before. I believe we will be back within the next six months."

Less forthcoming were other companies which pulled out, and which have no immediate plans to return.

Time frame

Chase Manhattan Bank, one of the first to leave, said its decision was made as a result of perceived economic as well as political factors.

Before coming back to South Africa, it would have to study the effect of city and state laws that still prevent American firms dealing with South Africa.

Kodak said the situation after President Bush's announcement was "very complex". It has no plans to return — "and beyond that, we have no comment".

A spokesman for Scripto at the company's California head

office said it would be a while before the company could make any statements about the possibility of reinvestment.

"This is all brand new and I don't believe it would be fair for me to speak, at this point.

"Contact me again in one month and I might be able to say something."

Companies that stayed on in South Africa despite the pressures to pull out are today patting themselves on the back.

One such is BMW (SA), whose financial director, Peter Barbe, is in no doubt the company gained by staying.

"We gained in that we maintained the loyalty, support and goodwill of our customers, suppliers and employees.

"BMW (SA) employs close to 3 000 people with about another 2 000 in our dealer network. When you take suppliers and affiliated organisations into con-

sideration as well, the number could be as high as about 10 000 people employed by BMW (SA) in some way.

"That means about 10 000 people kept their jobs and, with an average of even two dependents each, that means about 20 000 people continued to eat.

"BMW never lost faith in

South Africa. It did not stop investing. I don't believe we gained market share because our competitors were still here, even if under a different name.

"We tested public opinion among our workforce and established that they wanted us to stay. The union in Germany also wanted us to stay. Jobs were the paramount issue."

Caltex, another company that stayed, said in a statement from its head office in Dallas, Texas,

that it was proud of the role it and other US companies had played in speeding up the process of change.

"We are committed to the future of South Africa and will continue to do all we can to help the people of that country overcome the legacy of apartheid."

The local head of Caltex, Mike Maxwell, said from Cape Town that although Caltex did not expect a big inflow of capital in the short term, "the scrapping of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act will enable South Africa to compete for a fair share of investment funds in due course."

Companies that stayed in South Africa by changing their name and controlling shareholders are unanimous in saying that disinvestment worked in their favour.

For Delta, which used to be General Motors before that company disposed of its South African interests, George Stegmann said if GM wanted to buy a stake in Delta, "it would have to be on a basis that was mutually acceptable.

"They would have to pay for the privilege."

MALCOLM FOTHERGILL and SUE OLSWANG

Happy

For Logos Pharmaceuticals, which before being sold to the Barlow Rand empire used to be Merck, Mike Norris said the disinvestment was not so much politically motivated as the result of a policy of having licensees rather than subsidiaries in smaller markets such as Greece, Israel and some South American countries.

For Xeratech, which sells the products of its former parent,

Rank Xerox, Rob van der Merwe said disinvestment, when Altron bought the company, had proved "extremely successful" for the local operation.

"It's very unlikely they'll be coming back. They're happy with the distribution channel."

For Information Trust Corporation, which used to be Dun & Bradstreet, Tony Lang said ITC did not want the American company back.

"We've built up the company over the past four years into one that gives the marketplace what it wants and has a far more positive image than Dun & Bradstreet had.

"We would welcome strategic alliances on the international front, but we certainly don't want a big bloke plonking his backside in our back yard."

For ISM, which changed its name from IBM when the own-

ership changed, Brian Mehl said there was "no chance" the company would change its name back to IBM.

"IBM's disinvestment was from an equity point of view and left our supplies basically unchanged. So it will be business as usual for us."

Another "stayer", BP Southern Africa, said it also believed the decision to stay was without doubt the right one.

BP said withdrawal from South Africa would have left BPSA employees at the mercy of new ownership, who might have offered fewer opportunities for black people to achieve their full potential.

When asked whether the company "took flak" for deciding to stay, BP replied: "Some people felt that no amount of contribution to change in South Africa could justify remaining."

BP respected their opinion even if they did not agree.

"The company wanted to demonstrate what could be done from within."

Saturday Star
13 July 1991

Future challenges Inkatha will have to meet.

Africans will forget that the NP was once a party of apartheid and to what extent they would be willing to support a party like the IFP if it were seen to be part of an NP-led alliance. This factor is crucial because it would ultimately determine if the IFP would succeed to deliver the black vote to the alliance.

Another equally crucial actor is one that keeps coming up in scientific surveys. These surveys show that the IFP and NP between them have a strong support among whites, Indians and coloureds and not very strong support among Africans. An IFP-NP alliance would therefore need to throw everything into boosting support among African voters if it were to win an election.

There is also still no clarity on whether President de Klerk's personal popularity among Africans means the same thing as popularity of the National Party as a whole among Africans.

Another option Inkatha has is to align itself with other black groups presently talking about the patriotic front. It may well be that a patriotic front with the IFP as a player might allay white fears and even draw whites into its fold.

It is a pity that the authors of the patriotic front seem to regard acceptance of a Constituent Assembly as a pre-requisite for participation. The IFP on the other hand has reservations about the Constituent Assembly and these reservations cannot just be wished away.

THE IFP AND THE MEDIA

The final challenge that the IFP faces is to drastically overhaul its

media liaison strategy in an attempt to improve its image with the media. Most journalists in the country have an image of the IFP leadership as being autocratic, pro-violence, secretive, hyper-sensitive and abnormally defensive. Yet other journalists are now reluctant to write about Inkatha because they claim Inkatha either responds with long and bitter statements or with legal action at the drop of a hat. Other journalists allege that anything critical they write about Inkatha is followed by hostile anonymous telephone calls or even physical threats.

While it might be true that Inkatha leaders sometimes behave and utter statements that do not help their cause, it is equally true that some sectors of the press have more often than not been totally unfair to the IFP and its leadership. Similarly, the way the IFP-ANC violence is reported by some newspapers has given the incorrect impression here and overseas that it is Inkatha alone that is involved in violence.

Nevertheless the challenge facing Inkatha is to learn to respond to these issues in a calm, factual and unemotional as opposed to an emotional, aggressive and intolerant style. IFP leaders must learn not to personalise criticism.

CONCLUSION

Although the IFP's challenges are daunting, they are not insurmountable. The IFP will, however, require more tolerance, introspection, self criticism and humility and less self-justification to tackle these challenges effectively.

The Citizen 13 July 1991

Germany expects EC sanctions to be reviewed

BONN. — Germany said yesterday it expected the European Community to review remaining economic sanctions against South Africa because of positive political developments there.

Foreign Ministry spokesman Mr Hanns Schumacher noted that the EC had decided in April to lift a five-year-old ban on imports of South African gold coins, iron and steel.

Positive

"I assume that the EC will take a look at the remaining sanctions in the next few weeks due to the very positive developments in South Africa," he told a news conference.

But Mr Schumacher said an arms export embargo should remain in place.

The United States on Wednesday abolished economic sanctions imposed in 1986, saying South Africa's moves to end its apartheid system of racial segregation were irreversible.

The EEC's April 15 decision to lift some sanctions was blocked by the minority Danish Government under pressure from Opposition parties.

The Community's deci-

sion in any case left in place bans on arms exports and imports, and on crude oil exports to South Africa. — Sapa-Reuter.

The Citizen 13 July 1991

MK man arrested for robbery

Citizen Reporter
A MEMBER of Umk-
bonto we Sizwe, who

has been given indemnity for leaving the country illegally, was arrested by the Vereeniging police in Evaton in connection with a robbery.

The police confiscated an AK-47 assault rifle and 28 rounds as well as a .38 revolver which was found in the man's possession.

It is believed that the .38 revolver was connected to a R10 000 robbery on June 29 in Vereeniging. police spokesman for the Vaal Triangle said.

The man is being held and will appear on Monday in the Sebokeng Magistrate's Court.

The Citizen 13 July 1991

No evidence of govt role in violence: US

THE United States has found no evidence of government complicity in the violence between Blacks in South Africa, says the American Assistant Secretary of State charged with African Affairs, Mr Hank Cohen.

He said in a satellite link-up interview with journalists in Pretoria and Lagos, that he could not say who the instigators of the violence were as it

was a complex situation. However, he felt the conflict between Inkatha and the African National Congress was the main reason for violence.

"There are ethnic problems, there are turf fights between different political organisations, there is the question of poverty ... all of these are important factors."

He said the South African Government should

use its "tremendous influence to have political prisoners in Bophuthatswana freed.

Asked why the US had not taken into consideration 160 "political prisoners" incarcerated in Bophuthatswana before lifting sanctions, Mr Cohen said that in terms of US law, the SA Government was obliged to release only those prisoners imprisoned by itself.

"The SA Government claims it has no jurisdiction over prisoners in Bophuthatswana.

"Our law does not require the SA Government to end the independent homeland system as a requirement for lifting sanctions."

The US was satisfied that all political prisoners had been released in South Africa. — Sapa.

The Citizen 13 July 1991

Tambo's secretary dies of pneumonia

ANC chairman. Mr Oliver Tambo's private secretary. Mrs Thuli "Dudu" Kubbeka (55), died of pneumonia in Baragwanath Hospital yesterday.

She was taken to hospital from the Johannesburg home of ANC executive committee member. Mr Thabo Mbeki. on

Thursday night after complaining of a severe cold.

Fled

Formerly a clerk in her home town. Durban. Mrs Kubbeka fled the country soon after the June 16, 1976, school riots and underwent military training in Angola.

She was later appointed private secretary to Mr Tambo and accompanied him on his trips to foreign capitals.

Mrs Kubbeka is survived by her mother, three sisters and a brother. She will be buried in Durban next week. — Sapa.

The Citizen 13 July 1991

2 ANC officials on firearms charge

Citizen Reporter
TWO African National Congress officials yesterday appeared in the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court in connection with the illegal possession of firearms.

The chairman of the ANC Krugersdorp branch, Mr Uhuru Moloa, and the vice chairman of the ANC branch and secretary of the Kagoiso Civic Association, Mr Serge Mokonyane, ap-

peared together with Mr George Maciangu.

They had been arrested during a police raid in Kagoiso at 12.45 am yesterday. Two unlicensed Makarov pistols and a hand-made gun were found by police.

The men were granted R1 000 bail each. The magistrate, Mr Louis van Wyk, postponed the case to July 26.

The prosecutor was Mr Chris Eksteen.

The Citizen 13 July 1991

Kaunda's son on murder charge: UK team barred

LUSAKA. — Zambia's top judge yesterday barred two British attorneys from defending President Kenneth Kaunda's youngest son on a capital charge of murder.

Chief justice Annel Si-lungwe ruled in the High Court that barrister Brian Barker and solicitor Ed-

ward Hollingworth were ineligible to practice in Zambia, a former British colony.

The Londoners had neither passed Zambian law examinations nor worked as lawyers in the country for at least six months as required by a 1973 statute, the judge

declared.

"We are very disappointed," Hollingworth said after the hearing in Lusaka, the Zambian capital. "We had understood that the Kaunda family had worked everything out for us. Now we can only help in an advisory capacity."

Cheswa Kaunda, one of the president's daughters who is a senior secretary in the Zambian High Commission, London, hired the attorneys to defend her brother, Kambarage Kaunda (25).

The son is charged with the fatal shooting of a 20-year-old woman in a Lusaka suburb in September 1989.

When Kaunda last appeared in court in May, judge Claver Musumali altered the charge from manslaughter to murder, arguing that there was overwhelming evidence he shot the victim in cold blood. — Sapa-AP.

KwaZulu MP guilty of homicide

Natal Witness 13 July 1991

by VICKY QUINLAN
Supreme Court Reporter

KWAZULU Legislative Assembly member Psychology Ndlovu was convicted of culpable homicide in the Supreme Court yesterday for killing Muzikawukhulwa Ngcobo in September 1989.

Co-accused Mandla Ndlovu, also a KwaZulu MP, was discharged.

Psychology Ndlovu is the second Kwa-

Zulu MP to be convicted following a violent death and one of four KwaZulu MPs implicated in murder trials this year.

In May, KwaZulu deputy interior minister Samuel Jamile was sentenced to life imprisonment for the murder of two people. In June, KwaZulu MP Chief Xhawulengwe Mkhize of Highflats, Ixopo, appeared in a periodical court charged with one count of murder and 16 of attempted murder.

Giving judgment in the trial of Psychology Ndlovu (57), Mr Justice Didcott and two as-

sessors found that Ndlovu shot Ngcobo dead with a .303 rifle after Ngcobo and several other men fled from him.

However, the court found there was insufficient evidence to convict Ndlovu on a charge of murder.

The judge found that, on the day of the incident, Ndlovu and five others — including two policemen — had gone to the Swayimane area to investigate a faction fight and stopped the car when they saw a group of unarmed men.

When Ndlovu got out of the car with his rifle, the men fled and ignored his call to come back. Ndlovu then fired one shot into the air and at least one other shot in the direction of a cane field into which the men ran.

The court did not accept Ndlovu's evidence that people shot at him. Describing Ndlovu as "a witness with something to hide", Mr Justice Didcott said Ndlovu did nothing to investigate the effects of his shots and did not concern himself with the possibility of people having been killed or injured.

He found there was no evidence of any high velocity firearm other than Ndlovu's .303 rifle in the area at the time of the incident. This, and forensic evidence of Ngcobo's injuries, proved beyond reasonable doubt that Ndlovu shot Ngcobo.

Mr Justice Didcott said, however, that the court was "in the dark" about events which occurred when Ndlovu was out of sight of the witnesses.

He said the defence's suggestion that the shot fired into the air might have hit the deceased was far-fetched.

"It is far likelier that a shot was deliberately fired in the general direction of the cane field," he said.

"However, in the absence of evidence on precisely what happened, we have to find that his conduct was negligent rather than intentional."

In mitigation of sentence, counsel for Ndlovu said Ndlovu is married with nine children, five of whom are at school. He has no means of employment other than his position as a KwaZulu MP, which he has held since 1983. Several attempts by Ndlovu to grow cane have resulted in the crops being set alight and an attack on Ndlovu's home resulted in the death of his brother and most of the house being destroyed.

Sentencing was postponed until Tuesday.

Communists in the ANC: debates rages on

JOHANNESBURG — The South African Government eased censorship of communism yesterday, but the African National Congress (ANC) imposed a gag of its own.

Despite communism's demise in Eastern Europe, debate over it has intensified in South Africa following the election of several unrepentant communists to top positions in the ANC.

Among national executive members voted in at the ANC congress last week were Joe Slovo, secretary-general of the South African Communist Party (SACP), and Harry Gwala, described by one newspaper editor as "the world's last living Stalinist".

The Citizen newspaper said this week that newly-elected ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa might be a closet com-

munist.

Ramaphosa, a prominent union leader before his election to the ANC post last week, issued a statement on Thursday night denying he was an SACP member.

"The ANC has noted the chorus of red-baiting comments that have filled the pages of the South African print media. The ANC shall not permit itself to be drawn into an inquisition and McCarthyite witch-hunt.

"I have therefore instructed all members of the national executive, regional executive committees and branch committees to refuse to answer any queries from the media regarding their political affiliations beyond the ANC."

By contrast, the Government yesterday lifted bans on a series of communist publi-

cations including *Grasping Revolutionary Theory — A Guide to Marxist-Leninist Study Groups*.

Successive South African governments have accused Moscow of backing groups like the ANC so it could seize control of the country's mineral riches.

Communism was banned until February last year, when President F.W. de Klerk began dismantling apartheid. Soviet glasnost has led to rapid warming of relations.

Political commentators said hardline communists in the ANC played a key role in formulating some of its policies, such as the decision to continue describing itself as a liberation movement rather than a "party".

"Slovo suggested that they keep that label," said political scientist Willem

Kleynhans.

"He argued that to become a party would create too tame an image and would play into the hands of the Government."

Political analyst Wim Booysse said communism was central to the ANC's "image" as a liberation movement.

Columnist Ameen Akhalwaya, writing in the Weekly Mail, criticised "the establishment media" for focusing on the communist issue.

"Will they ask American and other Western leaders to explain how that brutal commie Stalin came to be their ally against Hitler, how Churchill, Roosevelt and company sliced up a large chunk of Germany and gave a large chunk to Stalin?" he asked. — Sapa-Reuter.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

13 July 1991
Reds in ANC

MR CYRIL Ramaphosa, the new secretary-general of the African National Congress, says he is not a member of the South African Communist Party.

We welcome his statement.

There are enough known SACP members on the National Executive Committee of the ANC to confirm that the SACP still plays a dominant role in the ANC.

And since the SACP has its own agenda — if it did not have one, why remain a party on its own, why not simply merge with the ANC? — we have a right to question the dual allegiance, to the SACP and the ANC, of the Communists and to establish who the Communist members of the NEC are.

If half or more of the NEC are Communists, they will have an undue influence on the ANC itself in determining the ANC's policy.

Mr Joe Slovo, the SACP general secretary, is a diehard Communist who still believes in Communism, although it has collapsed in Eastern Europe and is crumbling in the Soviet Union itself.

Mr Slovo wears two hats, being a leading member of the ANC as well as the top official of the SACP.

His pronouncements are Communistic. His aims are Communistic. He speaks for the SACP as well as the ANC.

It is of great importance to know where Mr Slovo and the SACP stand because the shape of the new South Africa, and particularly its economic and social policies, will be determined to a large extent by them if the ANC becomes the government.

The SACP is a secretive organisation. Nobody knows who took over its leadership after Bram Fisher, who was serving a life sentence for promoting the aims of Communism, died of cancer in 1975 after being released into the custody of his family a few weeks earlier.

In the years during which it was banned, it was, like the ANC, an underground organisation. Some of its leaders went into exile.

The Communists run Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the ANC's military wing, which was responsible for ghastly acts of terrorism.

Mr Slovo was at one time chief of staff of MK. Mr Chris Hani, a Communist, is chief of staff today, and Mr Joe Modise, MK's commander, is a Communist too.

MK is being maintained in operational readiness in case the negotiations fail, or the ANC does not accept the settlement that is reached; it openly recruits members; it is organising self-defence units in the townships, and it refuses to hand over its arms caches. Even on the basis of MK alone, the SACP is a dangerous organisation.

Mr Ramaphosa suggests that since the NEC was elected in free and fair elections, newspapers which speculate on the Communist component of the NEC are anti-democratic. We do not question the democratic nature of the election of the NEC, but we believe that the composition of the NEC should be known.

What's undemocratic about that?

Mr Slovo has promised that at the SACP's conference in December its membership will be revealed.

At that point we will certainly know who the Communists on the SACP are, so why should Mr Ramaphosa make a song and dance about the matter now?

Mr Ramaphosa's suggestion that a "McCarthyite witchhunt" is on the go is silly.

We are totally against Communism, it is true, but the SACP is a legal party and can organise and propagate its policy without hindrance. There can, therefore, be no question of a witchhunt.

But the public is entitled to know who the Communists in the NEC are because of the role they are playing not only in the SACP, but in the ANC itself.

Since the ANC is openly in alliance with the SACP, and has been for years, what is there to hide? And why shouldn't the ANC itself list who its Communist NEC members are?

In the Soviet Union the emphasis is on glasnost (openness). We could do with a bit of glasnost from the ANC-SACP alliance, too.



Saturday News

Intimidation

13 July 1991

One of the most significant facts to emerge from the recent massacre at Talyor's Halt is that the victims were members of both the ANC and the IFP. Furthermore, it appears that it is common for people to feel constrained by considerations of personal safety to be able to produce party cards for either organisation as circumstances require.

Nothing better illustrates how de-based politics has become than how prominent is the role played by intimidation. Indeed, countrywide reports of intimidation by the ANC and the IFP raise the suspicion that many of those they claim as supporters have bought party cards simply out of expediency born of a will to carry on living.

Students of African politics will draw parallels between the situation in South Africa today and that in Rhodesia in the early 1960s, when residents of townships around Salisbury took to buying both Zanu and Zapu party cards in order to escape the attentions of political thugs.

The lack of political tolerance evidenced by this phenomenon poses the gravest threat to the emergence of a democratic South Africa.

It also pleases those antagonistic to a non-racial franchise, who argue that because pre-colonial African government did not know the concept of a "loyal opposition", political tolerance is impossible in Africa, and a one-party state our inevitable fate.

But this is to take a small minority of political activists as being representative of the whole population — the broad mass of ordinary people, like people the world over, simply wish to lead their daily lives in peace and have no desire to interfere with each other's choice of which political organisation to support. Recently increased penalties for intimidation, while necessary, cannot by themselves solve this problem. Only a commitment by all political organisations to respect freedom of association can.

Communism

The refusal of the ANC to reveal which of its members are also members of the SACP is unacceptable. While it is true that in the past the Government labelled all its opponents "communists" whether they adhered to this ideology or not, those days are over. Communists do exist, and communism like apartheid is an illiberal ideology. In the name of communism more people have been killed and deprived of their freedom than is the case with any other political philosophy. It is therefore a legitimate concern of people to know whether, by supporting the ANC, they are ipso facto supporting the SACP, and whether electoral success by the ANC in the first non-racial elections will mean a revelation the next day that it was in fact an SACP government we had elected.

The ANC's reticence on this question is incompatible with its professed desire to woo support from those who are worried by the SACP link. Both it and the SACP owe it to the public whose support they solicit to come clean on this issue.

N. Nation

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SPORT

Build non-racial sport now - ANC

A FOUNDATION for the creation of a non-racial, democratic and mass-based sports movement must be laid in preparation for a post-apartheid South Africa, ANC leader Raymond Mhlaba said.

Mhlaba was speaking at the launch of the South African Schools' Sport Congress tournament in Port Elizabeth last weekend. He identified apartheid as the basic problem causing the fragmentation in sport.

"Ideally, a sport movement encompassing all sportspersons, black and white, is the singular goal for the future. In moving forward towards a progressive culture in sport, apartheid must be destroyed," said Mhlaba.

The ANC leader highlighted the resurgence of non-racial sport, which led to the formation of the South African Council on Sport (Sacos) in the early 70s.

He said an over-emphasis on the politics of sport to the detriment of non-racial sport was one of the chief factors in its demise.

He also outlined the main objectives of the ANC's sports policy:

- to destroy apartheid, particularly in sport;
- to define areas of struggle within which sportspersons could play an active role in destroying apartheid;
- to ensure a more equitable

distribution of facilities and sports sponsorship across the racial spectrum;

- to develop and improve the administrative and sporting skills of underprivileged sportspersons.

Mhlaba said the ANC had been responsible for initiating and encouraging unity in rugby and soccer.

"In uniting sports organisation, we should not overlook the historical differences that have kept these

organisations apart over the years," said Mhlaba.

He added: "The changing political climate in South Africa has forced whites along the path of unity.

"For this reason, a two-pronged strategy would be appropriate, uniting black sportspersons and, at the same time, admitting those sectors within the sport establishment that are ready to accept and apply non-racialism in sport."

Mhlaba, a keen cricketer in his younger days, said the talks between the South African Rugby Union and South African Rugby Board augured well for the future of rugby.

In conclusion, he said the youth were an investment for the future and that the struggle for non-racial sport structures should be coupled with the struggle for a single, non-racial education system.