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SUNDAY TIMES, December 8 1991 5

ANC deaths: still mystery after 3 years

AFTER a three-year hearing, an inquest magistrate this week could not say whether anyone was to blame for the deaths of four ANC members who were shot near Piet Retief in the Eastern Transvaal in June 1988.

Magistrate Mrs H Wilkins came to no conclusion regarding the involvement of five policemen in the incident.

She said the four ANC members — Lindiwe Mthembu, 21, Surendra Naidu, 24, June-Rose Nontsikelelo Cotoza, 25, and Makhosi Nyoka, 25 — died on June 8, 1988, of bullet wounds.

By SHARON CHETTY

The families of the dead maintained since the inquest opened in 1989 that the four were killed by a police "hit-squad" and that the incident was not an arrest attempt that went wrong, as claimed by the police.

Infiltrators

The inquest was held to determine whether a police security team made up of W/O Frederick Johannes Pienaar, W/O Marthinus David Ras, W/O Flip Koenraad Theron and Sergeant Gerrie Johan Barnard under the command of Captain Eugene de Kock shot and killed the four in an ambush on a stretch of road between Piet Retief and Potgietershoek.

In earlier evidence Captain De Kock said he had heard on June 7, 1988, that ANC infiltrators were coming into the country and he prepared a road-block.

He said that when police approached the group at the Swazi border and ordered them out of the car, Mr Naidu fired at police from inside the car.

The families disputed this, saying Captain De Kock and his command intended to kill all those in the vehicle.

This week's verdict has left the families of the dead angry and bitter.

Soon after the magistrate delivered her verdict,

Lindiwe Mthembu's sister, Nomthandazo, said: "My sister died in a bloody clash and I am convinced there is more to this."

"There are several questions left unanswered — that year was the height of the state of emergency — Lindiwe and the others were made out to be terrorists on a mission."

"I am convinced my sister was unarmed and was not given a chance before she was gunned down," Miss Mthembu said.

One of the people called to testify on behalf of the families was death row prisoner Almond Nofomela — whose allegations about a police hit squad helped uncover the Civil Co-operation Bureau. He described Captain De Kock as a police officer "who specialises in destruction".

Pistol

He said many firearms were kept at Vlakplaas (a security police base) and Captain De Kock carried firearms in the boot of his car, including Uzis, AK-47s, F1 handgrenades, 9mm Baretts, a Makarov pistol, Tokarev pistol and a scorpion machine gun.

The state's advocate said that it was probable that Mr Naidu shot at police because a Makarov pistol was found near him after he was killed and there were spent Makarov cartridges in the vicinity of his body.

8/12/91

SA Communists choose ANC man as their leader

From John Carlin
in Johannesburg

THE South African Communist Party wrapped up its first congress inside South Africa in four decades yesterday, fortified in its attempt to swim against the tide of history by the election of one of the most popular leaders in the African National Congress alliance as its new general secretary — Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC's military wing.

Mr Hani, who topped the polls in voting for the ANC national executive committee in July this year, had indicated at first that he wished to give greater emphasis to his ANC duties — which was precisely the reasoning behind the decision of the outgoing general secretary, Joe Slovo, to resign his position. (Mr Slovo was unanimously elected to the largely ceremonial position of national chairperson.)

With Nelson Mandela's blessing, Mr Hani accepted the job for the simple reason that no other candidate was nominated to the top party post. Or rather, because had he not taken the job it would have had to go either to a complete unknown or, an outcome the leadership did not want, to one of the handful of white intellectuals who dominate much of the party's thinking.

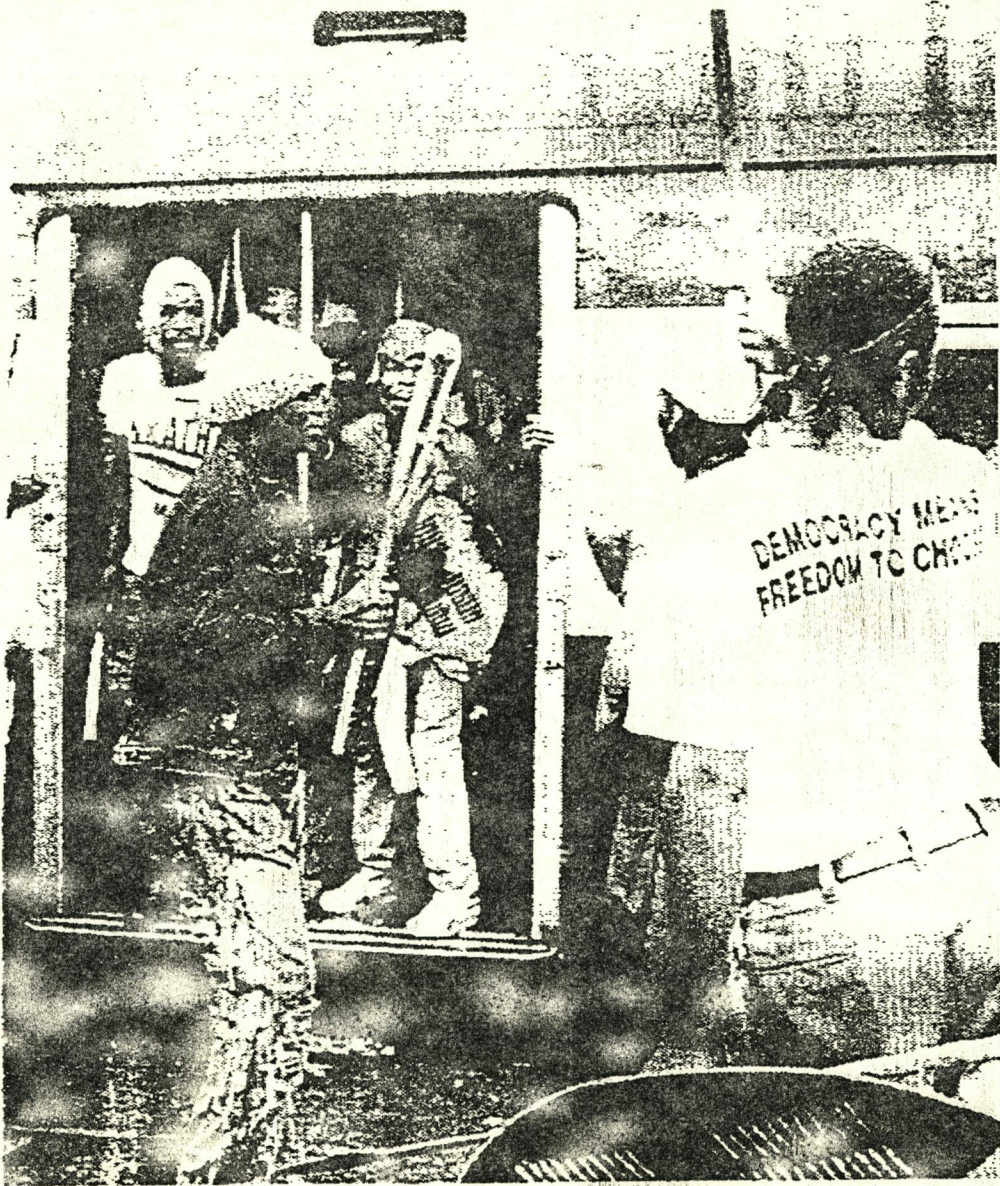
Indeed in the voting for the new 25-person central committee, which was conducted by secret ballot, two whites led the field:

Jeremy Cronin, perhaps the country's best-known left-wing thinker; and Ronnie Kasrils, one of the more flamboyant members of the ANC's national executive.

Mr Kasrils, who has made it clear he plans to concentrate his energies in future on the ANC, at least presented himself for election. Several senior ANC officials who had previously been identified as Communist Party members simply did not show their faces, evidently persuaded the time had come to let their erstwhile affiliations quietly fade away.

Mr Cronin, when he was interviewed yesterday by the South African Press Association, sought to deflect criticism that the congress had displayed the party in an unapologetically hardline light: he noted that a public commitment had been made both to multi-party democracy and to regular elections.

The perception that the lessons of Eastern Europe had passed by many delegates had been created by the overwhelming decision on Friday to overturn recommendations by Mr Slovo that the word "democratic" precede "socialism" in the new party constitution and that the long-standing commitment to Leninism be dropped.



Inkatha supporters, carrying their controversial 'traditional weapons', boarding a train in Soweto after a rally yesterday at which 12,000 people prayed for progress in talks between Pretoria, Inkatha and the ANC. Two people were killed in clashes after the rally

Photograph: Patrick de Noirmont/Reuters

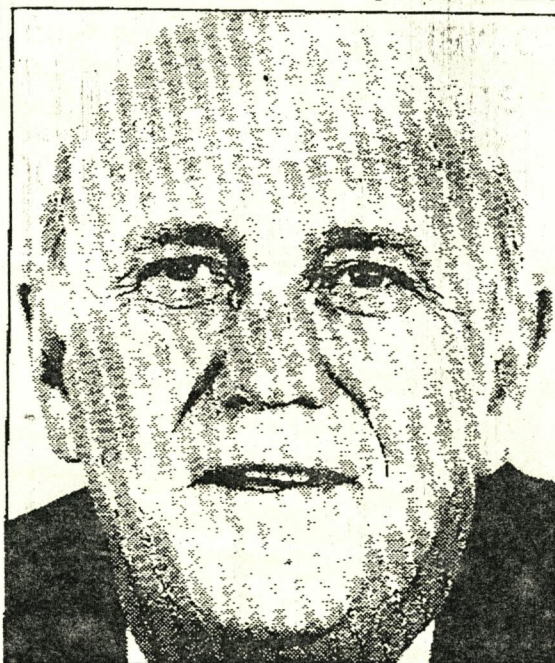
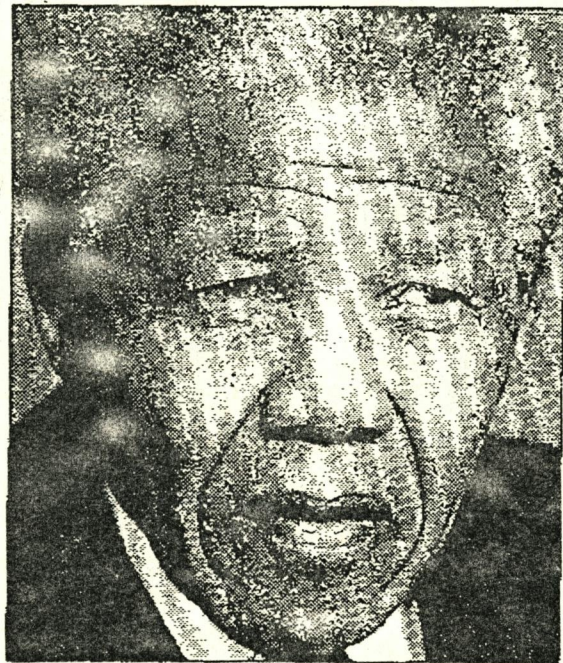
SOUTH AFRICA



- Start of tourist boom, P42
- Trade missions build up, P40

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tourism survey: A five-page special report by Bill Jamieson



In accord for peace: Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the ANC, left, President de Klerk, and Chief Buthelezi, of Inkatha

The promise and challenge

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SOUTH AFRICA is presenting its continent and the world with the beginning of a new history. All-party constitutional talks now under way mark the latest milestone in a process of reform. The process is irreversible.

It is no over-statement to say the promise of South Africa, what it is economically capable of, is in every respect colossal. The point is still to be fully grasped by the world.

The country's international status and its longer-term

What South Africa is economically capable of is colossal but it must create wealth to meet its people's aspirations, says Bill Jamieson

£625 million Anglo-Gencor Columbus stainless steel plant are under way. The motor industry is booming and Japanese concern Mazda has just taken a 24 per cent stake in Samcor. Three new plants will be providing the industrialised world with millions of platinum auto catalysts, needed on every car to cut pollution. British hotel

To learn from history it is not necessary to repeat it.

The challenge is how to meet the aspirations of a population of 37 million, 28 million of whom are black, many without jobs, homes and for far too long hope. In a world now intensely capital-competitive, begging-bowl economics is out.

investment and a retreat from ideology. Its general secretary, Cyril Ramaphosa, a tough negotiator with the National Union of Mine-workers but one the giant mining houses came quickly to respect, declared recently: "The most important way to attract foreign investment is by providing a general eco-

by infrastructure spending, kick-start investment projects such as Columbus and foreign capital flows. The re-opening of international markets provides a further spur to growth.

● **Tourist potential:** Tourism accounts for just 1 per cent of GDP. But the world average is 9.3 per cent. If South Africa gets to even half that level two million tourist-related jobs will be created. The number of international tourists visiting South Africa

process of reform. The process is irreversible.

It is no over-statement to say the promise of South Africa, what it is economically capable of, is in every respect colossal. The point is still to be fully grasped by the world.

The country's international status and its longer-term economic potential have been uplifted to a degree unimaginable three years ago. From Washington to Moscow, the de Klerk government reforms and the recently-signed Peace Accord have opened the doors of opportunity.

The scrapping of the last of the apartheid legislation, the steady lifting of international sanctions and the re-admission of South Africa to world capital markets has created an investment prospect that is only just starting to capture the imagination of financial markets. The trickle of international trade missions arriving at Jan Smuts airport — from London and Tokyo, Bonn and Bucharest — has turned into a flood.

Big industrial and infrastructure projects such as the £1.2 billion Lesotho Highlands Water Scheme and the

Columbus stainless steel plant are under way. The motor industry is booming and Japanese concern Mazda has just taken a 24 per cent stake in Samcor. Three new plants will be providing the industrialised world with millions of platinum auto catalysts, needed on every car to cut pollution. British hotel groups are looking to build in the Cape.

But it is not just inward investment that is the opportunity. South Africa's leading companies can take their place on the world stage by international capital-raising and diversification.

The process of change has been fraught. Tensions between tribal and political groups, township violence and unrest, are testimony to years of denial and frustration. A crushing poverty for million of blacks characterises the country of gold.

But behind the simplistic flashbites on world television lies a complexity of tribe and folk, of belief and identity, of resource and empowerment, and a determination to succeed by avoiding the tragic "liberation" errors of so much of sub-Saharan Africa.

necessary to repeat it.

The challenge is how to meet the aspirations of a population of 37 million, 28 million of whom are black, many without jobs, homes and for far too long hope. In a world now intensely capital-competitive, begging-bowl economics is out.

In this, the moral boot of sanctions has swung firmly onto the other foot: black enablement will flow more surely from a response by the international corporate sector, small companies and large, and overseas investment institutions, than from looking the other way.

This penny may have been slow to drop in the American Congress, where the Gramm Amendment still blocks South Africa's re-access to the International Monetary Fund. But drop it will.

Britain, because of its long historical ties and its closer involvement in Africa, came to an early recognition of this fact. We may have been slow to grasp the deeper predicament of Afrikanerdom in a continent awash with bogus economics and failed socialism: only when the circle of armed Marxism retreated could the process of reform begin. White security was the key to black liberation, just as now, a free economy is the key to black security.

Britain led the way in the dismantling of sanctions. That, as they say, was the easy part. A huge programme of housing, welfare and education is needed to create equality of opportunity for all South Africa. Just to match the rise of new entrants to the labour market requires the economy to grow by more than 4 per cent a year.

Getting the economy right presents the greatest test for all parties within and without South Africa.

From the African National Congress is coming a recognition of the need for overseas

ideology. Its general secretary, Cyril Ramaphosa, a tough negotiator with the National Union of Mine-workers but one the giant mining houses came quickly to respect, declared recently: "The most important way to attract foreign investment is by providing a general economic climate that is conducive to investment."

Behind the extremist rhetoric there is growing convergence as the parties feel their way towards a new constitution, a process notably enhanced by the Peace Accord.

Economic progress depends on this process continuing. But the foundations of a new South Africa are in place. And they are rock solid. They comprise:

● **Low foreign debt:** South Africa has one of the lowest relative foreign debt obligations in the developing world. The ratio of foreign debt to exports has fallen from 128 per cent to 70 per cent and debt to gross domestic product is down from 43 per cent to 19 per cent. The average for developing countries is 230 per cent.

● **Growing trade surplus:** The republic has sustained a balance of payments surplus for 27 consecutive quarters, with 1991 set for a surplus of R6 billion and a positive trade balance of R18 billion after a cracking set of figures for October. The underlying trend in non-gold exports is particularly encouraging.

● **Strong base:** In addition to being resource-rich — SA accounts for 35 per cent of world gold production and more than 80 per cent of platinum — it has a first world infrastructure, modern transport and communications, an established financial market and a sophisticated banking and insurance sector.

● **Growth ahead:** The economy looks set for a widely spread if slow return to 2 per cent growth next year, helped

to growth.

● **Tourist potential:** Tourism accounts for just 1 per cent of GDP. But the world average is 9.3 per cent. If South Africa gets to even half that level two million tourist-related jobs will be created. The number of international tourist visits to SA is already rising fast from the current 500,000 level and is forecast to hit two million by the end of the decade.

● **An engine for Africa:** South Africa supplies more than 60 per cent of all the electricity generated on the continent and contributes 20 per cent of its GDP. It is vital to the whole of Africa that it succeeds, for it is uniquely placed to lead and to lift the whole of the sub-Saharan continent.

Of all the positive points for the corporate sector, arguably the greatest is the calibre of its leadership. It has a managerial class of a competence that is internationally respected. The appointment last week of Gencor chairman Derek Keys to the cabinet post of trade and industry minister bears testimony to this, and will delight the corporate sector. The challenge is to create fast a new elite of black managerial talent. One of the most encouraging examples is at Engen, where 47 per cent of managerial posts are in non-white hands.

Above all, what will empower South Africa is an awakening of its people to their potential in the geo-political map. It is supremely to do with identity and where South Africa wants to look. For it now has to come to terms with the world — and the world with it.

In the gift of this remarkable country is a vision of a higher order citizenship and the economic power that southern Africa is capable of. There has, in short, never been a better time to be a South African.

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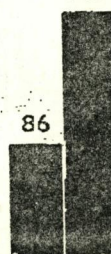
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SHIP MAKING

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SUNDAY TELEGRAPH

INTERNATIONAL

World's Last Party embrace

by Fred Bridgman



and: the retiring Communist chief Photograph: Patrick da Noirmont

IT SHOULD have been the finest hour for the political movement branded The World's Last Communist Party. Last week, the South African Communist Party had begun its first legal Congress on South African soil in more than 40 years. It was the only Communist party in the world whose membership had multiplied in the past year.

Unlike its fellow parties around the world, whose grip on power had gone or was slipping fast, the SACP could look forward to entering government in alliance with its African National Congress partner after the country's first one man, one vote election in two or three years.

At first sight, the party seemed to be on the kind of roll designed to fill many whites, Indians and coloureds with fear at the thought of a Marxist revolution being engineered from within an ANC Trojan Horse.

But, paradoxically, all was far from well.

It was plagued by ideological uncertainty. It was dirt poor. Its finest brains and biggest names were deserting to take up sole membership in the ANC which will be the senior powerbroker in any government alliance.

The ideological uncertainty sometimes manifested itself as pure ignorance, as when Charles Ngakula — in line to become the party's new assis-

tant secretary-general — told journalists that representatives of the Communist party from the Soviet Union would be attending the Congress on the outskirts of Johannesburg.

"Which Communist party from the Soviet Union?" asked journalists — the Ukrainian, Russian, Georgian, Uzbek or what Communist party? No, the Soviet Communist Party, replied Ngakula. But it's been abolished, journalists told him. "Not as far as we're concerned," Ngakula affirmed.

Joe Slovo, retiring as secretary-general of the SACP after being diagnosed as suffering from bone marrow cancer, laboured courageously on the first day of the Congress to keep the 400 delegates in touch with reality.

The Soviet Communist Party, he said, "was weakened and succumbed through self-inflicted wounds. It succumbed because it was drained of the very life blood of socialism which is based on real participatory and economic democracy."

Slovo, who openly admitted that until two years ago he was an unrepentant Stalinist, then spelled out to delegates his vision of a social democratic future for the SACP. He painted a revisionist Marx-

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Communist ices the ANC

d in Johannesburg

vision of a multi-party state with regular, open and free elections, and asserted: "We accept that the market is an effective watchdog over economic efficiency and viability, and that its absence in socialist countries contributed to their ruination."

Slovo's social democratic revisionism caused intense anger in the breasts of the unreconstructed faithful. Harry Gwala, the veteran hard-line Communist who controls the ANC in the Pietermaritzburg area, warned that Slovo wanted to turn the SACP into "an amorphous mess which allows in all and sundry, and works towards reforming capitalism into 'democratic' socialism".

Gwala sneered at Slovo's "alarming statement that Marx, Engels and Lenin were often wrong" and at the retiring leader's renunciation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and his demand for "freedom of criticism" within the party.

But new ideological clothes will not solve the party's financial problems. Despite an increase in membership from 5,000 at the beginning of this year to nearly 25,000 this month, funding has dried up and the party faces a serious cash crisis.

The biggest setback has been the drain of its brightest and best to the less ideological ANC, which also happens to offer the prospect of greatest real power. Many senior ANC men in exile were members of the SACP for the same reason as most civil servants in the old Czechoslovakia were party members — no career advancement was pos-

sible otherwise. But an SACP member in a key position in the ANC, speaking on condition of anonymity, said: "When a liberation movement smells power, it begins to purge itself of Communists ... some Communists even begin to purge themselves."

Joe Slovo had always said the Congress would be the occasion when top ANC people openly declared themselves as Communists.

Suspected former SACP members who notably ignored the opportunity to declare their faith in communism included ANC foreign secretary Thabo Mbeki, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma, former ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo and ANC national executive members Aziz Pahad and Albie Sachs.

The crisis for the SACP deepened when Chris Hani, who last July topped the elections to the ANC's national executive, said he would not stand for election to succeed Slovo as SACP secretary-general. He wanted to concentrate on his ANC work.

But on Friday night Hani changed his mind and accepted nomination as secretary-general. Suddenly the Communist party's fortunes had been transformed. A young man with a bigger following than anyone else in the ANC, bar Nelson Mandela, was about to become leader of the Communists.

The Hani change of mind has reinvigorated the SACP. But it will prove a big headache for the ANC, which has always denied that it was a stalking horse for the Communist party.

South Africa survey — P38

Lover of poetry

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WINDAY TELEGRAPH

8/12/91

Lover of poetry feared by white South Africans

CHRIS Hani, the new leader of the South African Communist party, is also one of the most popular and powerful leaders of the African National Congress, writes Fred Bridgland.

Mr Hani, 48, topped the polls in July with 1,858 out of a possible 2,000 votes when the ANC Congress elected a national executive. He therefore stands astride both movements, with a large following in each.

The electric and impulsive Mr Hani narrowly defeated his main rival, the urbane and polished Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's foreign secretary who has rejected his former Marxist beliefs.

The Communist leader rode to power and popularity as chief-of-staff in the Soviet-funded and trained military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation). He has spent much of his life in Umkhonto camps in Angola and Zambia. He has been into battle with Umkhonto soldiers against the Unita movement in Angola and the white army in former Rhodesia.

Born in Cosimvaba, in the Transkei, Mr Hani at first wanted to become a Roman Catholic priest. Instead he became a lawyer and an atheist. He graduated in Latin from Fort Hare University and developed a love of classical music and the poetry of Yeats, Shelley, Byron and T S Eliot.

In the minds of many white South Africans he is Public Enemy No 1 because of his role in Umkhonto. He was accused of murder and torture against dissident Umkhonto soldiers in the Angolan camps in 1983 when they mutinied over being sent into battle against Unita rather than the white regime in South Africa.

"It was a sad episode in our history," Mr Hani has said. "I didn't derive any pleasure



Hani: feels that he is misunderstood

from the death of the mutineers. It was our duty to save Umkhonto from disintegration. I agree I took part in the suppression of the mutiny on orders from the ANC, but it is a lie that I took part in the arrests and torture."

He is close to Winnie Mandela, but even he held his head in despair when, at a public meeting this year in Bekkersdal, she said the wives of the Amabulu (Boer policemen) would have to collect the corpses of their husbands if they dared to enter the township.

Mr Hani, now powerfully positioned to play a key constructive or destructive role in South Africa, professes bewilderment that the press portrays him as a hard-liner or hawk. "I think I am the most misunderstood person," he said in a rare interview. "I disagree that I am a man of violence, that I am a hard-liner. I am certainly none of these things. I love people and am completely dedicated to a non-racial society in this country."

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH

Sunday Telegraph

Business finance & to

8/12/91

London

Why I am confident for South Africa

I AM optimistic about South Africa, and my optimism is based on three things.

First is the quality of leadership. It is a mistake to impute questionable motives to President de Klerk as the reason that he is dismantling apartheid. No one should underestimate the great courage that is required of him to do this.

It is not only the repulsive system of apartheid that he is tearing down. It is the entire history of race relations in the country. In the 350 years of white presence, there has not been any institutionalised system of racial fairness. And we should not lay all of this on the Boers. Even otherwise distinguished English governors like Milner and Rhodes were, in this respect, not distinguished at all.

Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress's deputy president, is equally clearly a very widely and justly respected leader. He has, borne up with a great stoicism under his unjust imprisonment of 27 years. But, like anyone who has been out of the play for so long, he sometimes seems like a gramophone record stuck at the point where he was removed.

Some of those dreary platitudes of his about nationalisation of business and his protestations of friendship for Castro and Gaddafi and the IRA and Arafat really sound like the utterances of the Flat Earth Society. He is a sincere moderate, and de Klerk wants to help him prevail on behalf of the forces of moderation within the ANC, who are being sorely challenged.

Chief Buthelezi of Inkatha has been reviled by the international Left for opposing sanctions and the so-called arms struggle. He is a distinguished leader of a very strong group.

The second reason for optimism is the decline of the International Left.

There surely is a good deal of suffering and misery in the black townships and squatters' camps. But there are still large numbers of people pressing against the borders of South Africa, seeking entry. They are fugitives from the shambles of some of the

**The Daily Telegraph
plc chairman,
Conrad Black, gives
a personal and
optimistic view of
the republic's future**

front-line states, most until recently, self-professedly Marxist.

The third and most important reason for optimism about South Africa is that the principal political and sociological fact about the country is that it cannot be governed without the two strongest groups in its demographic patchwork: the Afrikaans and the Zulus. And the Afrikaans finally have renounced their attempt to impose a system based on racial arrogance.

Neither the Afrikaners nor the Zulus will accept a system of the extreme Left. In those circumstances, the pathway towards a regime of reconciliation and moderation is not clear and certainly will not be easy. But the extremes, for those reasons, will be avoided.

The Inkatha party of Buthelezi, and Buthelezi himself, had to be recognized. It was all very well for the ANC to invite him to a patriotic front meeting and give ultimata about the disarming of Zulus, because they happened not to be in their homeland of KwaNatal.

But Buthelezi had been systematically denied his rightful status as the third player on the political stage—not by Mandela, who appears to be well disposed towards him, but by the more extreme elements in this fissiparous monolith of the ANC.

A good deal of the violence in the townships ceased when the ANC ceased its pretence that all tribal and political movements had been subsumed into it.

The ANC conference in the summer seemed to indicate that it is not moving to the Left but staying somewhat in the centre. De Klerk would certainly like to help Mandela

and the moderates within the ANC, but it is absurd for the ANC leaders to advocate retention of sanctions, while advocating increased investment and job creation; and particularly absurd while they can be seen every night on television being conveyed around in elongated late model Mercedes-Benzes.

Sanctions do not punish the racially offensive people. They punish those of every political and ethnic group, who have courageously torn down apartheid. And that surely is not the purpose of sanctions.

De Klerk has said that he plans a huge devolution of power to the states. So it will be, to the maximum degree possible, not the ethnic groups being governed by other ethnic groups, but self government at a local level. The central legislature will probably have two houses: one man/one vote, and the other supposedly modelled on the US Senate, having equal weighting for each so-called culture.

Now that will have to be very delicately defined not to replicate some of the evils of the previous system. But it is not just for the protection of whites. The East Indians are frightened of the Zulus, the Xhosas are frightened of the Zulus, the whites are frightened of the Xhosas. The Zulus appear not to be frightened of anybody, but do not much want to be told what to do.

The system is not one man, one vote. It is, in de Klerk's phrase, a vote of equal value for everyone.

And on such a system as that, it would be one of the most exemplary democracies in the world.

For Mandela to be there at all after what he has been through and for Buthelezi to be so close to holding the balance of power, considering how he has been reviled by the foreign and domestic Left; and for de Klerk to be even with Mandela as the most respected politician in the country is certainly more progress than one would have dared to hope for prior to de Klerk's elevation in 1989.

8/10/91 J P1

Violence claims at least 18 lives

Chaos erupts as thousands mourn Ntuli

AT least 18 people were killed in Thokoza township yesterday as violence flared after thousands of East Rand residents turned out for community leader Sam Ntuli's funeral.

Police and the SADF rushed reinforcements to the area last night. SAP spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman said 18 bodies had been found by 11pm, and at least 12 people had been injured.

He said it appeared the occupants of an unidentified vehicle had driven around the township firing on mourners returning home from the funeral.

An abandoned AK-47 was found in the area yesterday. Opperman said no arrests had been made and the situation was tense.

Most of the victims had been shot or stabbed. Opperman said most of the dead "appeared to be Xhosas", adding that the bodies had been scattered around Thokoza and Kathlehong townships.

Ntuli, the general secretary of the Civics Association of the Southern Transvaal, was gunned down near his Thokoza home by unknown persons eight days ago. Police have offered a R25 000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of his killers.

About 15 000 mourners heard militant calls for the establishment of self-defence units to curb the violence that speakers placed squarely at the door of government.

After the burial, thousands of residents streamed past Thokoza's two Inkatha-supporting hostels, many brandishing crude weapons and exchanging taunts with hostel-dwellers.

Scores of police and SADF armoured

JONATHAN REES

vehicles stood between the groups, but proved unable to prevent another upsurge of violence in the township where hundreds have died this year.

At about 5pm, a volley of shots sent residents running for cover, while a small group of armed squatters attacked five taxis. The body of a man was found nearby.

Police used teargas to disperse a mob that tried to stop them confiscating two licensed firearms outside the stadium.

Civic leaders said two youths had been abducted and forced into one of the township's hostels. It was not clear what the outcome of the incident was.

At the funeral service, Umkhonto we Sizwe commander-in-chief Joe Modise called for firearm licences to be distributed to members of township defence units.

ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba told the cheering crowd that townships should once again be made "ungovernable" so government could not dictate the pace of the liberation struggle.

He castigated ANC members who allowed attacks on residents to succeed.

"We expect them to return fire with fire and bullets with bullets."

Speaker after speaker condemned the presence of police and the SADF in townships.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa repeated calls for an interim government, saying President F W de Klerk's government would be allowed to rule for not more than another year.

● Picture: Page 3

Business Day
8/10/91

16/1/11

SACP prepared to 'go it alone' in elections

S. TRIBUNE 8/12/91
John MacLennan

THE SA Communist Party will go it alone in elections if it discovers it has fundamental differences with its alliance partners, the African National Congress and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

At the same time, Chris Hani, newly-appointed general secretary of the SACP, has defended his decision to accept the position in defiance of ANC wishes by saying he was persuaded by a groundswell of opinion.

He also raised the possibility that the sheer pressure of work might force him to give up his position as chief of staff of the ANC's military wing, MK.

Joe Slovo, who this week stepped down as the SACP's general secretary and became "chairperson", said the current marriage of convenience between the ANC and the SACP "is not forever".

At the moment, he said, the alliance partners had managed to find consensus in advance of negotiations on every single issue.

But he forecast that differences could arise and that the SACP would then field rival candidates.

In response to questions about a conflict of interests arising because of Mr

Hani's new job, Mr Slovo said the appointment had been cleared with ANC leader Nelson Mandela personally and he had approved it.

Mr Hani said the general secretary post was a full-time job and he would obviously spend most of his time working on party matters.

In addition he is a member of the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) as well as the NEC's working committee.

He said he would continue to play a role in MK, but he was not sure if this would be as chief of staff. He said he might be relieved of the job in the interests of both the SACP and MK.

The SACP's new central committee reflects even stronger ties with the ANC and unions.

Sixteen of the 25 members elected at the party's congress at Johannesburg yesterday also hold some of the highest membership positions in the ANC.

A surprise was the drubbing handed out to Natal midlands strongman Harry Gwala, who came in with 332 votes compared with the 339 of Blades Nzimande.

16/1/11

SUNDAY Times

8/12/91

Mandela gives Hani go-ahead as SACP chief

By EDYTH BULBRING: Political Reporter

ANC president Nelson Mandela gave permission at short notice for Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani to become leader of the SACP after he was telephoned in America by his deputy, Mr Walter Sisulu.

The decision to elect Mr Hani as general secretary of the SACP at the party's first legal conference in South Africa in 40 years was taken despite initial strong opposition from the ANC and MK.

But the party had no alternative after the only other leading candidate, former Cosatu deputy general secretary Sydney Mufamadi, told members he was unavailable for a top position.

Mr Hani will resign from the ANC's national working committee and is likely to resign as chief of staff of MK.

Surprise

Former SACP general secretary Joe Slovo was not available for re-election because of ill-health and work commitments elsewhere. He was elected unopposed as chairman of the party.

Former journalist and Operation Vula activist Charles Nquakula was elected unopposed as deputy general secretary, former Sactu president Kay Moonsamy was elected unopposed as treasurer, and Robben Islander Ray Mhlaba was elected deputy chairman.

Mr Slovo told a press conference yesterday that Mr Mandela had indicated he had no objection to Mr Hani taking the top position.

Mr Hani said he believed he could still play some role in MK, although he doubted it would be as chief of staff. He would

retain his position on the ANC's national executive committee.

He said his nomination had come as a surprise, as he had said before the congress that he was unavailable for an official position. Mr Hani is now likely to lead the SACP delegation in the Codesa talks.

Delegates at the congress reaffirmed their commitment to socialism as the only viable solution to South Africa's problems.

The crises in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe featured prominently in lively debate by over 400 delegates, which was open to the media.

While recognising that socialism had failed in the Soviet Union because of its distorted implementation and a lack of democracy, delegates reaffirmed their commitment to socialism and Marxist-Leninism.

They also committed themselves to multi-partyism and the pursuit of socialism by democratic means.

Debating the party's constitution, delegates voted overwhelmingly to scrap the word "democratic" to qualify socialism.

Those opposing the deletion said a socialist state could take different forms. The form the SACP wanted was democratic socialism and not the type adopted in the Soviet Union.

However, other delegates said socialism by its nature was democratic and did not have to be qualified.

Mr Slovo said there had been no rejection by the conference of democratic socialism as a concept, only as a qualifying adjective.

TRIUMPHANT:
Chris Hani
acknowledges
applause after
being elected
to replace Joe
Slovo at the
first
communist
conference to
be held in SA
in 40 years
Picture:
BRIAN
HENDLER

