

Early right-wing arrests unlikely, claims Mandela

MERIDIAN 28-06-93

JOHANNESBURG—African National Congress president Nelson Mandela had little hope of early arrests of right-wingers who committed crimes during the violent siege at the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park on Friday.

Speaking at a Press conference at Jan Smuts airport before leaving for Cairo on Saturday night, he said this was his feeling after speaking to President De Klerk by telephone on Saturday.

Mr Mandela said he had been told that the police were unable to identify the people who had come from all over the Transvaal and the Free State.

Suspects had given police false names and cars had false number plates.

Mr Mandela said he had asked what action would be taken against the demonstration leaders, such as AWB

head Eugene Terre Blanche; CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg; and the Afrikaner Volkfront's Gen Constand Viljoen.

He had been told that police would require sufficient evidence before taking action.

Asked if, in the light of Friday's events, he would feel comfortable accepting the Liberty Award with Mr De Klerk in the United States next month, the ANC president said: "That is not going to change my attitude."

Mr Mandela said, however, he hoped to brief the American public on the significance of what had happened.

"It is very clear to us that the government either has lost control of the security forces or the security forces are doing what the government wants them to do.

"There is clearly connivance between the right wing inside the National Party and the ultra right, like the Con-

servative Party (and the) AWB.

Mr Mandela said he hoped the tentative April 27 election date would be confirmed by next Friday.

He said, however, he would not ask for remaining sanctions to be lifted until a bill defining the powers and functions of the transitional executive council had been passed.

Mr Mandela said he would ask Mr Clinton for massive assistance for socio-economic problems like housing, education and employment.

He would also invite American businessmen to do feasibility studies in South Africa.

Mr Mandela said he would propose to the World Bank that they prepare for development projects. But he stressed he would not ask them to install the projects because a great deal of preparation would be required.

16/1/11

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August 28. 6.
93

Battle of the 'crown princes'

■ ON August 8, the ANC National Executive Committee will meet behind closed doors to consider a request by the ANC Youth League that deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu make way for international affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki. But there are others who stand in the wings ... DENNIS CRUYWAGEN of the Political Staff, examines the 'crown princes'.

FOUR of the ANC's Young Turks, each with loads of charm, charisma and confidence, have been thrown into a leadership battle which will culminate in one becoming the second most powerful man in the movement.

On August 8, the ANC National Executive Committee will meet behind closed doors to consider a request by the ANC Youth League that deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu make way for international affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki.

Mr Sisulu, at 80 one of the grand old men of liberation politics, is a founder member of the league which has thrown its weight behind Mr Mbeki.

But he is not the only player in the political power game which the league has started.

OTHER front-runners, according to ANC insiders, are Western Cape leader Dr Allan Boesak, general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and PWV chairman Mr Tokyo Sexwale.

Outsiders include ANC education head Ms Cheryl Carolus, information chief Dr

Pallo Jordan and treasurer Mr Jacob Zuma.

The real battle for Mr Sisulu's position, though, will be between Mr Mbeki, Mr Sexwale, Dr Boesak and Mr Ramaphosa.

Serious lobbying on behalf of each is understood to have started and the tempo is likely to increase as August draws nearer.

Of the four, Mr Mbeki has been involved in a previous election battle at national level. Two years ago he and the late Mr Chris Hani

emerged as the favourites for the deputy leadership.

The battleground was the campus of the University of Durban-Westville, where the ANC was holding its first legal conference in South Africa since Mr De Klerk legalised it in 1990.

BUT an election showdown, which would have pitted various factions against one another, was avoided and Rivonia Trialist Mr Sisulu was nominated and elected deputy to Mr Nelson Mandela, one of the men with whom he founded the ANC Youth League in the 1950s.

At the time his election was seen as a compromise. But he is held in high esteem in the ANC for uniting the movement's exiles, underground personnel, Robben Island and internal leadership which helped to form the United Democratic Front.

Effective as Mr Sisulu might have been, it is generally agreed in the ANC that a younger man should take over as the movement prepares to face the National Party and others in next year's election.

His successor will be Mr Mandela's heir apparent and much more than a figurehead. He will be expected to

be a livewire personality who will lessen Mr Mandela's heavy workload and play a key role in elections.

Above all, the new deputy president must come from the younger generation, and be able to bridge the gap between the exiles, Mass Democratic Movement leadership and the older generation.

He will also be charged with the responsibility of leading the ANC once Mr Mandela goes.

Thus he would have to be comfortable with the Press and able to reach out to other race groups and assure them they have nothing to fear from an ANC-led government.

It was the sort of role seemingly cut out for Chris Hani. But an assassin robbed him of the chance to become Mr Mandela's right hand man, a position which some say was rightfully his.

OF the four crown princes, Mr Mbeki seems to have been groomed for power by former ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo for whom he often wrote speeches.

Said to be South Africa's next foreign minister, the suave, sharp and friendly Mr Mbeki has all the right credentials to be a serious challenge for the deputy leader position.

He was born into a struggle family. His father, Rivonia Trialist Mr Govan Mbeki was incarcerated on Robben Is-

land, and he chose to join the ANC in exile.

But correct political lineage should not count too much these days in a movement at pains to show it is fully democratic. Also, in some circles, it is said Mr Mbeki is seldom seen on the ground when it comes to the

struggles of ordinary people.

It is also claimed he is too intellectual and a high-flyer without a constituency.

Mr Sexwale has become probably the most popular and visible ANC leader since Mr Hani's death on Easter Saturday. He is often seen on television, loudhailer in one hand, trying to defuse a flashpoint.

Confident and handsome, his is the kind of personality which many find reassuring.

He is also a seasoned guerrilla who was imprisoned on Robben Island for more than a decade. He can be tough if the occasion demands it. His stakes should have risen following the rightwing's audacity at the World Trade Centre on Friday.

AT a time when the militant Pan Africanist Congress refuses to renounce armed struggle, he has the military presence and background to counter the PAC making inroads into the militant black youth.

There was a time when it appeared that the political sun would not go down on former UDF patron Dr Boesak. But he lost a powerful position when he resigned as head of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and Moderator of the Ned Geref Sendingkerk following a personal crisis.

But he has carefully rebuilt his political career which got the kiss of life from Mr Mandela two years ago when he advised delegates at an ANC (Western Cape) conference to elect a chairman who reflected the majority of the population here.

That man turned out to be Dr Boesak. He was re-elected last year.

If ever Mr Mandela's words

come back to haunt him and the ANC it is now because if it is serious about non-racialism the movement will have to consider a deputy president who is not black.

Traditionally, black men have filled the upper echelons of power in the ANC.

Ever since his days with the National Union of

Mineworkers, Mr Ramaphosa has shown himself to be a shrewd negotiator.

He has made constitutional negotiations his forte and it is thought the ANC can ill-afford to lose a negotiator of his calibre at this stage. This sentiment could rule him out of the race.

Of the outsiders, Ms Cheryl

Carolus proved to be the most popular woman politician in the ANC. But the movement, despite its commitment to building a non-sexist, non-racial and democratic society, has yet to show it is ready to trust a position as powerful as that of deputy president to a woman.

Dr Jordan and Mr Zuma,

the ANC's former intelligence head, should not be written off, but the real contenders waiting in the wings to take over Mr Sisulu's mantle are Mr Sexwale, Dr Boesak, Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Mbeki.

● Should Mr Sisulu be ousted, he is likely to become ANC chairman in place of Mr Tambo.

ANC youth 'must learn to shoot'

Cape Times 28.6

By PETER DENNEHY

ANC Youth League members must learn to shoot so they could defend the government of national unity and the constituent assembly, ANC regional general secretary Mr Tony Yengeni said yesterday.

He was addressing a Youth League rally in the Mbekweni Stadium, Paarl, attended by at least 5 000 people who had gathered partly in the hope of hearing Sanco leader Mrs Winnie Mandela, Youth League leader Mr Peter Mokaba, and Natal Midlands leader Mr Harry Gwala.

These three had still not arrived at the rally after 5pm, when the crowd was dispersing, although their names appeared on posters advertising the "2pm" event. Various speakers said during the afternoon that the reason for the "delay" was not known.

In his speech, Mr Yengeni said the state's reaction to Friday's occupation of the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park by armed Afrikaner Volksfront

members would have been very different had they been MK members. "We must not wait until the Boers come and kill us. It is clear they are preparing for war. We must also prepare ourselves to defend our negotiations and our leadership," Mr Yengeni said.

"All the (youth league) structures should have programmes of teaching people how to use guns," Mr Yengeni said. "There is a possibility that tomorrow our leadership will be arrested again, that there will be a state of emergency again."

Mr Yengeni did not sing the controversial "Kill the Boer, the farmer" song, even when the audience started to sing it spontaneously themselves. Just before that, Mr Yengeni had said the phrase was part of a song that came from the people. He also said: "We in the Western Cape say, 'Hands off Peter Mokaba'."

A moment's silence was observed at the rally as a mark of respect for ANC Women's League veteran "Aunty Nelly" Jibiliza, who died recently.

2 Cape Times, Monday, June 28 1993 ★

ANC, ~~A~~pla linked says UK paper

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Damaging claims that the ANC was perpetrating violence and had forged links with the PAC's Apla were carried in a report based on documents leaked to the Sunday Telegraph yesterday.

Under the headline "Dark Forces", the report gave details

of a purported intelligence dossier said to have been compiled by senior South African security personnel.

The report alleged that:

● The ANC was storing weapons in Shell House. ● Mr Tokyo Sexwale, senior ANC officer, had called on members last year to use intimidation to recruit voters.

● Members of MK and Apla met

a year ago and decided to launch combined attacks.

● The ANC had breached its 1990 commitment to control military activity and had been clandestinely building its underground structures.

● Murdered SA Communist Party leader Mr Chris Hani had been one of the architects of violence and had met former Apla

commander Mr Vumankosi Ntinkinca to decide on dates for a combined offensive.

● ANC/SACP activists posing as security force members had been behind townships attacks.

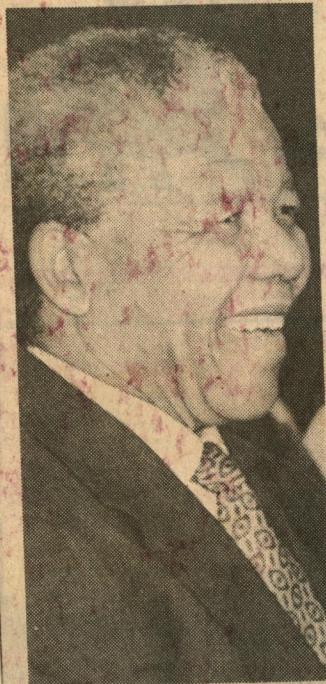
In a front-page news report, the ANC dismissed the claims as another "dirty trick" by right-wing whites wanting to obstruct progress to majority rule.

Mandela will tour US cities to raise funds

D. News

28/06/93

ANC needs vast sums to fight an election



NELSON MANDELA
Hopes to raise \$30m

The ANC needs a huge injection of funds to help overcome its electoral inexperience. **Peter Fabricius** in Washington reports.

ANC President Nelson Mandela hopes to raise \$30 million (R100m) for his organisation's election campaign on a 10-day fund-raising tour of America starting at the end of the month.

He will visit six major cities with the message that the ANC needs a huge injection of funds to overcome its electoral inexperience and level the political playing field.

Mr Mandela arrives in Washington on Friday for a scheduled meeting with President Clinton — who will meet President de Klerk on the

same day — and will receive the Philadelphia Liberty Medal, with Mr de Klerk, on Sunday.

Depending on the progress of negotiations in South Africa, Mr Mandela could issue a major call here for the lifting of sanctions.

He will devote most of the remainder of his stay to fund-raising here and in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia and Atlanta.

It is not yet clear if Mr Mandela will use the opportunity to campaign for the repeal of the scores of state, country and local sanctions still on the statute books.

ANC sources suggest that he will not and that this will have to wait for the actual establishment of a transitional executive council.

The US Senate has prepared draft legislation to support South Africa once a settlement is agreed on.

This legislation would repeal remaining federal sanctions and would urge lower-level legislators to abolish their's too.

On July 10 Mr Mandela will address the annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People in Indianapolis.

ANC sources said part of his sales pitch on his fund-raising drive would be that to ensure stability in the transition, the first democratic elections next year would have to be accepted by all as legitimate.

This would need a voter turnout of around 90%. To reach this target, money would have to be spent on voter education.

The sources said that Mr Mandela would also be pitching for voter education funding to go into neutral agencies.

Mr Mandela will also channel his message through meetings with politicians and top journalists.

16/1/11

N. Mercury 28/6/93

Mokaba's challenge

16/11/11

THE POWER struggle within the ANC has been given a fascinating new twist by ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba's gratuitous naming of Mr Thabo Mbeki as deputy president. The implications are varied, even for some of the other ANC leaders indirectly implicated.

It has cast the fiery Mr Mokaba and his Youth League in the role of self-styled king-makers. Whether that was what they intended, or whether that is how their comrades see it, it is the practical effect of a virtual challenge to the hierarchy.

It has cast the soft-spoken Mr Mbeki, whether he likes it not, in a new light. Long regarded by some as the ideal future successor to Mr Nelson Mandela because of his moderation, it is inevitable that many will now look anew at him, wondering whether he is actually a closet hardliner.

Among the others affected, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa stands out. It was somewhat surprising when he was elected to his present powerful position, for his political ascent happened through the trade unions rather than the ANC. Yet, his conduct since then (including at negotiations) has identified him as a major force in politics — and a powerful contender for the ANC throne.

There have often been suggestions of friction within the ANC between former exiles, Robben Islanders and UDF members. Recently there have been signs of tensions between the ANC hierarchy and the likes of Mr Mokaba and Mrs Winnie Mandela.

For the ANC, it is all part of its change from a resistance movement to a political party. But it is a major political force, and how it deals with the change and what the eventual outcome is are questions vitally affecting the future. So it must expect its internal trials and tribulations to attract keen outside interest.

Weekly Mail 28 May to 3 June 1993

ANC/IFP rifts appear in KZP

Weekly Mail Reporters

THE killing by kwaZulu Police of a notorious township gunman with firm links to the Inkatha Freedom Party has revealed a political split within the homeland's police force.

Mantengu Mathenjwa (21), whose gang terrorised the Empangeni township of Esikhawini for years, was Inkatha Youth Brigade secretary for the area and had been linked to political violence directed at African National Congress activists in the area.

kwaZulu Police say Mathenjwa was killed when he tried to grab a constable's weapon in an attempt to escape from custody. But his mother, an active Inkatha member, says he was killed in cold blood by policemen closely aligned to the ANC.

Many township residents also believe Mathenjwa's killing was deliberate. They say it was because it was the only practical way to rid their area of the gang. "Things have been a lot quieter since he is gone," said a young Esikhawini woman, who did not want to be named.

When shot, Mathenjwa was facing charges of murder and attempted murder.

On the surface, the rift divides the KZP into those who want to serve the community without bias and those who are prepared to enter alliances with violent gangs.

But the split goes deeper and has become political: policemen in many kwaZulu townships, particularly those close to urban areas, are finding that they are working within ANC-aligned communities. Taking a stand against the perpetrators of violence means being associated with the ANC.

weekly mail 28 June to 2 June 1993

No country gives vote at 14

NELSON Mandela wants 14-year-olds to decide what the Minister of Finance and the President of South Africa do and don't do. Now the ANC is definitely the Third World party. No more pretence at civilisation or First World standards.

One-hundred-and-twelve countries in this world give their citizens the vote at 18, three at 19 and nine at 20 — Japan among them. Nineteen countries allow their citizens to vote only when they reach

their majority — 21.

The failures of the world have 16 as the cut-off point: Cuba, Nicaragua, Yugoslavia and Brazil. Nobody, but nobody, has 14.

Perhaps Mr Mandela remembers that the original Red Army was largely composed of children. Perhaps he thinks that adults won't vote for his party in sufficient numbers.

Why 14? Let's have all children vote from seven if we really want to win the next election, no matter what it costs the country.

We could compromise: Let anyone vote provided that the voter pays R1 000 of tax in 1993. The ANC wouldn't get 10 percent of the votes cast.
D CHRISTOPHERS
National Party MP for Germiston.

Cape Town

Tug-of-war for the king

By FAROUK CHOTHIA

APPARENTLY fearing African National Congress inroads in his own back yard, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi last week torpedoed a planned meeting between the ANC's Nelson Mandela and 20 Natal Midlands chiefs.

The meeting had been scheduled as the climax of Mandela's tour of the Midlands last week. But it was called off when the chiefs were called to Ulundi for a "conference" organised by Buthelezi on the same day. Sources indicate that Buthelezi told the chiefs he expected them to ensure their subjects voted for Inkatha in an election.

The development took place against continued political jockeying around the figure of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, whom Mandela is wooing as the possible key to peace in Natal.

In speeches in Estcourt, Ladysmith, Dundee, Newcastle and Madadeni, Mandela attacked Buthelezi in scathing terms, but offered Zwelithini an olive branch, describing him as "the king of all South Africans, both black and white".

While Mandela did not name Buthelezi, he was clearly referring to the Inkatha Freedom Party president when he charged: "We are not like some black leaders who became great because they worked in some government institution."

Mandela said his two previous summits with Buthelezi had failed to yield results, and that he would not take part in a "publicity show" with the Inkatha leader. But he added that if Zwelithini convened a summit, he would attend it.

Mandela's key problem is that ANC militants in the province, notably Midlands leader Harry Gwala, oppose a summit initiative brokered by Zwelithini. The king could not be a neutral figure "as long as Buthelezi has a hold over the chiefs in this province or over the royal House".

INDEPENDENT

London

28 JUN 1993

Chief Buthelezi: not 'mad, bad or extremely dangerous', but much maligned

From Mr Peter Burtwell

Sir: "Everyone knows that the chief is mad, bad and extremely dangerous", writes John Carlin ("Dangerous myth of the Zulu warrior" 24 June).

Earlier in the same article, Mr Carlin asks: "Why are whites flocking to Inkatha?" We must presume it is because they believe Chief Buthelezi is the best bet for the future of South Africa even though they know he is "mad, bad and extremely dangerous".

Your correspondent describes Chief Buthelezi as the "greatest threat to South African democracy". South African democracy has always been a sickly plant, and one might with equal validity state that democracy is the greatest threat to South Africa — if only one could agree on the meaning of democracy.

Chief Buthelezi is the only leader to my knowledge who has commissioned constitutional experts to produce a multi-racial constitution for any part of South Africa. This was specifically for Natal and Kwa Zulu, to take the place of the Provincial government of Natal and Zululand. Sadly, the National government was at that time concentrating all power in its hands at the expense of the Provinces. The Commission's report, though widely accepted by all races in Natal and Kwa Zulu, was placed in the Pretoria waste-paper basket.

Chief Buthelezi, with consistency, presses still for a significant place for provincial government. Cynics may suggest this is because he would rather be a bull in a small kraal, than not a bull at all. Realists would suggest that South Africa, being a very large country with such diversity of peoples, needs an effective decentralised government at provincial level, and that a federal

state might be appropriate.

Whatever the conclusion will be, the most difficult problem is the application of democracy in a country that has shown little respect for it in the past, and sees little to commend it in the rest of the world at this time. Sadly, I found nothing in your correspondent's article to help resolve this problem.

Sincerely,
PETER BURTWELL
Salisbury
24 June

Mr Ben Skosana

Sir: "Dangerous myth of the Zulu warrior" by John Carlin came as no surprise, considering that he often used his reports to manipulate the leadership of the ANC against Inkatha, behaving like a white racist deriving solace in seeing the differences between Chief Buthelezi and

Mr Mandela deepening. John Carlin has always been opposed to any meeting between the two leaders.

He wrote yesterday that Mr Mandela had "developed an intense dislike for Chief Buthelezi". This was clearly the projection of Mr Carlin's own true feelings towards Chief Buthelezi, which were demonstrated in today's malicious article. It has become a full-time preoccupation of Mr Carlin to insult and abuse Chief Buthelezi and the leadership of the Zulu nation. This contemptible and unprofessional conduct makes people wonder if being English and a journalist gives one the licence to abuse African leaders with impunity. (By the way, the picture in the article is not that of Chief Buthelezi but that of the Zulu King).

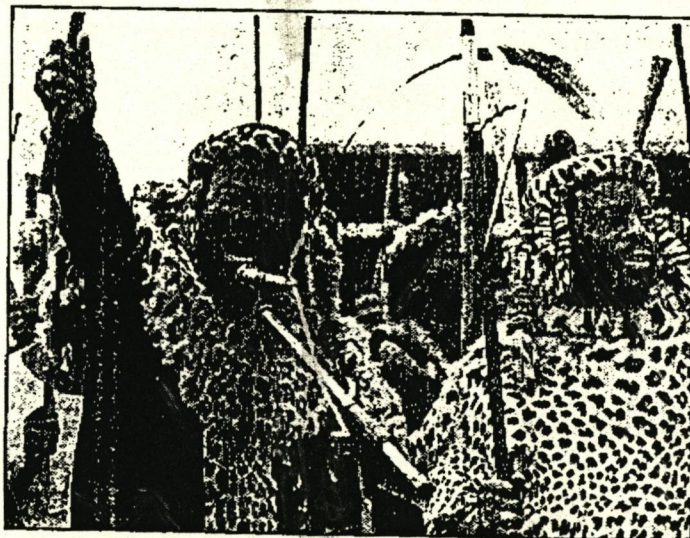
Whether Chief Buthelezi met with the Prince of Wales or not,

does not merit this type of attack. The fact is those who are averse to Chief Buthelezi's political views wish to have all doors closed for him and feel infuriated when world leaders talk to him. To these negative campaigners the window of opportunity belonged solely to Mr Mandela and the ANC.

The *Independent*, like some World Institutions, wants to see in South Africa, a settlement that will enhance the views and plans of the ANC and the National Party. That is why in Mr Carlin's own weak judgement, it is not a good thing for Chief Buthelezi to talk to what he terms the "pro apartheid" Conservative Party, yet ironically Chief Buthelezi should accept to be dictated to by the ANC/NP pact. The NP, the real architect of the apartheid laws, has somehow won the confidence of Mr Carlin and the *Independent*.

If Chief Buthelezi is supported by whites and loathed by blacks, why do we have this low-intensity civil war between Inkatha and the ANC? Only unbridled hatred, contemptuous of truth and fact has propelled Mr Carlin to insult Chief Buthelezi as "no democrat, no peace lover and no man of good faith". Chief Buthelezi is a signatory in the National Peace Accord. The very fact that he is insisting that violence be given priority concern by the Multi-party Negotiating Council, and that he met with Mr Mandela yesterday in search of peace, is sufficient evidence to contradict Mr Carlin's unfair and malicious assessment of Chief Buthelezi.

Yours faithfully,
BEN M. SKOSANA
Representative
Inkatha Freedom Party
London, W1
24 June



Chief Buthelezi (left) and King Goodwill Zwelithini Photograph: AP

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London

AWB invasion of talks puts De Klerk on the spot

Awkward questions are being asked, John Carlin writes from Johannesburg

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk was under pressure yesterday to provide answers to two critical questions following the fiasco on Friday when right-wing extremists, in what amounted to an armed insurrection, stormed the building where South Africa's leading political parties have been engaged for 18 months in constitutional negotiations.

The first question is whether the President has control over his security forces. The second is whether he sincerely believes, as he professes to do, that the law must be applied with equal force against whites and blacks.

The answers will provide significant clues as to whether, in a third question on people's lips yesterday,

peaceful democratic change remains a viable option in South Africa.

Those posing the questions include Nelson Mandela's African National Congress, most other South African political parties, the local press and international peace observers, all of whom have publicly deplored the outrage and called for swift justice. "The fact that law-enforcement agencies appeared either unable or unwilling to contain the incident is a particularly disturbing feature of Friday's events," the United Nations, the Commonwealth and the Organisation of African Unity said in a joint statement.

In fact the police stood by and watched as, first, 2,000 heavily armed right-extremists marched into the compound of Johannesburg's World Trade Centre and, second, several hundred stormed into the building itself, seizing possession of the main negotiating chamber. The police explanation was that had they opened fire they would have provoked a bloodbath.

The Johannesburg *Sunday Times*, in an editorial yesterday, said this argument was acceptable enough. "The fault lay not with the policemen on the spot but with the command struc-

tures" that failed to prepare adequately for the demonstration. The newspaper said that General Johan van der Merwe, South Africa's Commissioner of Police, should resign.

Mr de Klerk, whose track record betrays a hesitance to confront the higher echelons of the security forces, has promised that arrests will be made. The police said on Saturday, however, that this would be very difficult, as a number of demonstrators had given the police false names and addresses.

Mr Mandela, after speaking with Mr de Klerk on the telephone, said on

Saturday night: "What he told me doesn't arouse much hope for immediate arrests."

The position of the ANC, which said it would carry out a counter-protest nationwide on Thursday, is that the leaders present at the demonstration should be arrested — namely Eugene Terre-Blanche of the AWB (Afrikaner Resistance Movement), the former chief of the South African Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, and the Conservative Party's leader, Ferdinand Hartzenberg.

Only last month the police swooped on the entire leadership of the radical Pan-Africanist Congress on suspicion that they were involved in attacks on whites.

Sisulu urges Britain to help right wrongs

Donald Woods talks to the ANC's deputy leader, a peacemaker who has no time for recriminations

LIKE his friend Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, deputy president of the African National Congress believes there is no time for recrimination against the perpetrators of apartheid, and that there is an obligation to work for reconciliation.

"We have to help them to escape from their past if we are to unite our people for the future," he said in an interview.

Mr Sisulu thought the ANC would get possibly 70 per cent of the vote in South Africa's first democratic election, scheduled for April 27 next year. But supporters' unrealistic expectations would be a problem. "We've got to get across to people that we cannot work miracles; that we cannot overnight provide a house and job for everyone — yet somehow we must keep their trust that we will try our best to improve their lives."

Before the ANC could lead the country it had to get its supporters to the polls. "To do that we need a lot of help from our friends all over the world, and especially here in Britain," he said. "Although we have the clear support of most South Africans, we have to translate that into votes, and we don't have the economic resources the South African government has."

Britain, in particular, had a responsibility to help: "Black leaders of our country sent petitions, entreaties and delegations to this country as far back as eight decades ago, pleading

with the British not to deliver our majority over to the white minority. Sol Plaatje led a delegation here to try to head off the 1913 Land Act which led to the dispossession of the African people."

These delegations had gone unheeded, and the consequence was almost a century of injustice towards blacks, including 40 years of apartheid. "That's why we hope the British people will have a special feeling of obligation to help us to right these wrongs," he said.

Aged 81, Sisulu talks a lot about the future, and with the enthusiasm of a man many years younger he talks about the role of the youth. "We have to provide a lead for them, to show that our way works." Asked whether the ANC would be able to control the more militant youth, he said: "I wish you could have been at the funeral of Chris Hani, where in spite of all the rage and anger over the murder of their hero, they heeded our leadership and did not go on the rampage against whites."

Though the ANC's commitment to a non-racial future was unpopular with many blacks, and it would have been expedient to use the dangerous slogans of militantly anti-white elements of the Pan Africanist Congress, the ANC would never condone such tactics.

"We have consistently opposed all racism, from whatever quarter," he said.

He did not believe the PAC, or other smaller groups such as Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party and rightwing whites, had major support. But it was important they be included in the negotiations, to avoid alienating any part of the population.

Donald Woods is a former editor of the Daily Dispatch newspaper, East London.

GUARDIAN

LONDON

28 JUN 1993

Killings highlight SA police inertia

David Beresford
in Johannesburg

ANOTHER South African township massacre at the weekend, coming on top of Friday's rightwing assault on the national negotiating forum, has once again raised the question of whether the country's future is being subverted by a police conspiracy, or merely by their monumental incompetence.

The killings took place on Saturday night. Twelve bodies were discovered in the township of Sebokeng, south of Johannesburg, and witnesses said they had been shot by gunmen firing at random from a cruising car, using assault rifles.

The killings were carried out in a manner identical to a massacre in April when 17 people were shot dead at random in Sebokeng. It is difficult to conceive of any motive other than political destabilisation.

The inability of the South African police to deal with political crime was underlined at the weekend as ridicule was heaped on them for their inept handling of Friday's invasion of Johannesburg's World Trade Centre, where the multi-party negotiations were taking place.

By yesterday no apparent action had been taken against rightwingers for crimes including assault on delegates and public violence. This was despite the fact that the attack — in which an armoured van was

used to smash through a glass facade — was witnessed and filmed by police.

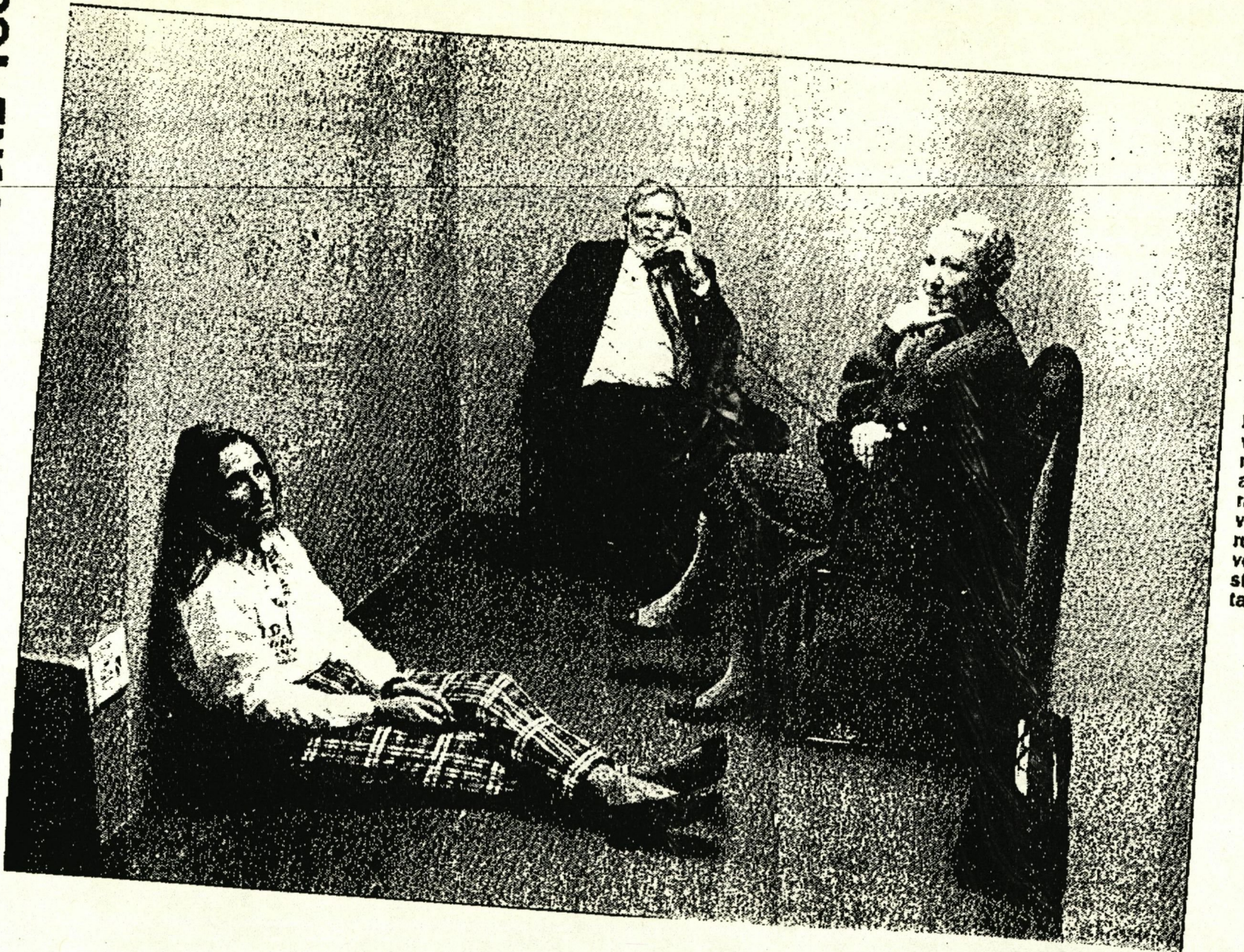
Police spokesmen forlornly explained they were having difficulty tracing the perpetrators because they had given false names and addresses and used false registration plates.

Sunday newspapers yesterday demanded the sacking of the minister of law and order, Hernus Kriel, and the police commissioner, Johan van der Merwe.

Nelson Mandela described the investigation as ridiculous at the weekend. "There is clearly connivance between the right wing inside De Klerk's party and the ultra-right like the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and the Conservative Party," the African National Congress leader said.

There is speculation that the violence at the Trade Centre could destroy the Cosag alliance (Concerned South Africans Group); between rightwing whites and conservative black homeland leaders. The key figure in Cosag, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday criticised the rightwing extremists over the incident, but warned that it demonstrated the importance of placating white fears.

Meanwhile, police announced yesterday that they were holding three constables in connection with the death in custody of a detainee at Koster police station in the Western Transvaal.



Behind locked doors

IFP officials Rose Butler (left), Walter Felgate and Suzanne Vos find refuge during the siege on the World Trade Centre on Friday. There have been widespread demands for the arrests of the rightwingers involved in over-running the venue for constitutional talks.

Picture: Steve Hilton-Barber

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SA under OAU spotlight

By Joe Latakgomo
Star Africa Service

CAIRO — The South African Government should be pressured to accept joint control of security forces to deal with violence and the threat from the right wing, a report to the Organisation of African Unity's Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa has recommended.

The report, which was tabled at a committee meeting, also recommended that liberation movements be assisted in their preparation for voter mobilisation and an election campaign, that these movements be persuaded to form a coalition for voter education and participation, and that the issue of the monitoring of South Africa's transition be placed on the international agenda.

Even though some progress had been made in the multiparty talks, many substantive issues still had to be dealt with by the participants in the negotiation process, the report said.

Among the issues were the demand by the Concerned South Africans Group that the new constitution be drawn up by the multiparty conference rather than by an elected constituent assembly, the demand by right-wing Afrikaners for self-determination, violence and the emergence of extremists opposed to negotiations.

Violence, the report said, remained the dominant feature of the general political situation in South Africa.

It highlighted a link between progress in the negotiation process and an escalation of violence.

"Apart from the tension in the PWV, KwaZulu-Natal and eastern Cape regions, the clampdown by the South Afri-

can security forces on the PAC and the demands of Cosag were identified as the greatest threats to negotiations."

All the delegations that spoke during the debate expressed support for the process under way in South Africa, and many noted the reiteration by the leader of the PAC delegation that his movement was committed to and would remain in the talks.

Both the ANC and PAC were urged to remain in the forefront of the search for a negotiated settlement.

A call was made to the two organisations to resolve their differences so that they could attain the common goals of the struggle.

The committee proposed the endorsement by the OAU of April 27 1994 as the election date, and to continue to put pressure on all parties to respect the date.

The committee also recom-

mended the setting up of a special election fund similar to that set up for Namibia to assist the ANC and the PAC directly.

Sam Ibok, the executive assistant secretary of the committee, said that the situation in Angola and Mozambique remained a source of concern following the lack of progress in efforts to bring peace to the people of those countries and the region as a whole.

The committee, and all members of the OAU, were requested to bring pressure on the South African Government, Unita, and Renamo, to co-operate with the international mediators so that peace could prevail in Angola and Mozambique.

The OAU was urged to appeal to the United Nations Security Council, the international mediators — including the US, Russia, Portugal and South Africa — to intensify their mediation efforts "to bring an end to the suffering in Angola".

The Star Monday June 28 1993— 7

Sexwale takes swipe at Mokaba

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Correspondent

The powerful ANC PWV region has reaffirmed its confidence in the organisation's national leadership.

In an interview with The Star yesterday — hours before he left South Africa as head of a three-person ANC delegation on an official week-long visit to France — ANC PWV regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale said the region's confidence in the leadership as elected at the 1991 congress in Durban remained unshakable, and it wanted Walter Sisulu to remain deputy president.

He was commenting on disclosures by ANC Youth League chairman Peter Mokaba, in an interview with The Star last week, that the ANCYL had requested the ANC's national executive committee to elevate international affairs director Thabo Mbeki to the post of deputy president immediately, with Sisulu replacing the late Oliver

Tambo as national chairman.

Mokaba — who described Mbeki as a key strategist in the ANC and "the best candidate suitable for the job" — said the ANCYL wanted this to happen at the next NEC meeting in August. This, he argued, would strengthen the ANC considerably in the run-up to the country's first all-in election.

Sexwale strongly denied that ANC secretary-general and chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa — until last week widely regarded as the organisation's crown prince — had met the PWV regional executive committee in a bid to get it to back him for the deputy presidency.

Sexwale said that at his meeting with the regional executive committee on Wednesday, Ramaphosa — who had been invited by the region — had briefed the PWV leadership about the latest developments in negotiations.

"It is wrong to seek to play one leader against the other,

and it is incorrect to try to run very sensitive elections to top structures of the ANC in newspapers," said Sexwale.

He took issue with Mokaba's statements that he would not be opposed to the country's vice-presidency being offered to President de Klerk and to IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's inclusion in a multiparty Cabinet if they agreed to serve under an ANC government.

He said Mokaba, who had moved from chanting the controversial "kill the Boer, kill the farmer" slogan to agreeing to these concessions, was engaging in "pendulum politics".

Sexwale added that he was unhappy with those who sought "to put the mantle of (assassinated ANC and SACP leader) Chris Hani" on his shoulders, saying Hani was "beyond Tokyo and beyond many".

He said he had no ambitions for personal power, but wanted to continue to serve his people, for whom he had taken up arms against apartheid.

SADF-MK merger talks hit obstacles

By Esther Waugh
and Chris Whitfield

Top Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and SADF officers have been discussing a national peacekeeping force, but talks have hit a snag. Sources yesterday revealed that obstacles had arisen but declined to give details.

The MK and SADF delegations have met at least three times since the beginning of April but sources on both sides have kept a tight lid on the talks. However, they have indicated that discussions were at a "sensitive" stage and progress was being made.

Demands for joint con-

trol of the security forces increased after Friday's right-wing occupation of the World Trade Centre and criticism of the police handling of the incident.

SADF chief General Kat Liebenberg told The Star yesterday that a peacekeeping force — to police the run-up to elections — was "one of the aspects" discussed during bilateral talks with a number of parties. But he said "there has been no finalisation" on the issue, which would have to go to the multiparty negotiations for a decision anyway.

The main thrust of the bilateral discussions was

"the rationalisation of military and paramilitary forces".

MK commander Joe Modise yesterday refused to comment.

A negotiations technical committee on violence last week proposed a national peacekeeping force to the constitutional talks. But the idea was immediately opposed by some delegates, who argued that such a multiparty force would undermine the SAP.

It is understood that the SADF and ANC are in the process of identifying members for a national peacekeeping force. Talks have not been concluded.

Interim constitution target mid-August

By Esther Waugh
and Chris Whitfield

An interim constitution for South Africa's transition could be completed by mid-August, says Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

In an interview with *The Star*, Meyer said he would propose this week that the 26-party Negotiating Council agree to a declaration of intent on the target date for the interim constitution.

The Government would want the council to agree to constitutional principles, the transition process and a framework of a constitution for the transition before Friday's important meeting of the Negotiating Forum, he said.

The Government and the ANC have both said that Friday's storming of the World Trade Centre by rightwingers has underscored the need for urgency in the process.

The Government and PAC meet again today to clarify the latter's position on the armed strug-

gle. After first agreeing to the declaration, the PAC told the press that it had not suspended the armed struggle, but had taken a political decision to do so. The implementation of a "cessation of hostilities" was, however, still to be discussed with the Government.

On Thursday the Government refused to discuss an earlier Negotiating Council resolution urging it to return PAC property until the organisation had clarified its position on the struggle.

Tomorrow the Conservative Party faces the crunch on its demand for a separate Afrikaner homeland. The issue was extensively debated in the council on Thursday, 24 hours before the right-wing occupation of the World Trade Centre.

The CP agreed to provide, by tomorrow, details of the "external features" of its proposed separate state. All other parties in the talks appear opposed to the demand for a confederal Afrikaner state.

Three dead in violence

East Rand Bureau

Three people died violently in Katlehong at the weekend.

An unidentified 36-year-old man died after being shot by gunmen armed with AK-47 rifles and a Tokarev pistol.

His wife and three children were wounded. Their house was ransacked.

The body of Seko Mncube (43) was found in Mavimbela section and the body of a woman with a bullet wound in the stomach was found in Sali section.

Also in Katlehong, arsonists set fire to a train. Damage was estimated at R200 000.

Four people were wounded when gunmen opened fire on their car in Katlehong.

Five people were arrested for illegal possession of five AK-47 rifles, a Tokarev pistol, a machinegun and ammunition.

In Tembisa a man was wounded and the home of Abel Matonsi was petrol-bombed.

Police crackdown begins

● From Page 1

Last night TerreBlanche refused to talk to The Star, saying: "I don't have time now." Responding at his Ventersdorp home to a question on whether he had yet been interviewed by police, he said he would release a statement today.

Van der Merwe pointed out that some leaders, such as the Afrikaner Volksfront's General Constand Viljoen, had tried to persuade the estimated 3 000-strong crowd not to resort to violence.

He defended police preparations for what was initially billed as a protest, saying police handled mass action almost every day and "it is not possible to provide thousands and thousands (of policemen) each time".

Police had held extensive consultations with the organisers beforehand and arrangements were made as a result of this, he said.

Joe Latakomo of The Star's Africa Service reports from Cairo that the Organisation of African Unity has also condemned the storming of the World Trade Centre as a "repugnant act of terrorism which neither the African continent nor the rest of the world can accept as a legitimate political demonstration".

OAU secretary-general Dr Salim A Salim, said yesterday that the raid represented a desperate attempt by "the forces of the past to sustain the repugnant racist and criminal system of apartheid".

ANC president Nelson Mandela is expected to brief the summit on developments.

Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder yesterday sent The Star a faxed statement in which he congratulated the AWE on its activities.

ANC PWV regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale said Mandela had called for countrywide marches on Thursday to protest against the incident. — Political Reporter, Own Correspondent and Sapa.

300 arrests promised in wake of Trade Centre rampage

Police crackdown begins

Eleven people have so far been arrested in the nationwide hunt for 300 rightwingers accused of illegal activities in Friday's storming of the World Trade Centre.

More arrests are expected, says Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel.

He said the arrests had been made on the Reef. Police investigations were continuing and there could be more arrests today and over the next few days.

And, in the latest development, the AWB has charged that its members have been arrested in "humiliating" ways and warned of serious problems if this continues.

In a statement faxed to The Star from the organisation's Ventersdorp offices, "Colonel" Leon van der Merwe said AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche had learnt with shock of the circumstances surrounding the arrests.

According to their information there had been "several assaults", women "officers" had been arrested in Johannesburg and held in Soweto, and parents were arrested during the night with no provision made for the care of their children.

TerreBlanche warned that these developments were creating an explosive situation and demanded Kriel "act immediately" against misuse of power and intimidation by SAP members.

SAP liaison officer Colonel Reg Crewe said from Pretoria that the police would have to investigate each allegation to see whether there was any substance to them.

Kriel said the people who had been arrested were being held under the Criminal Procedures Act. They were being questioned but the intention was that they should appear in court as soon as possible.

He added it was not a question of only junior people of any movement which was behind Friday's violence being arrested.

In a clear reference to the AWB, he said that if investigations found any senior leaders of such a movement had acted illegally they, too, would be arrested.

Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe told The Star earlier last night that police expected to make scores of arrests during the next 24 hours.

The arrests come amid sweeping condemnation from world leaders of the right-wing activities at the centre on Friday, when mainly AWB members drove an armoured vehicle through the plate glass front of the building and occupied the chamber where the country's future is being negotiated.

Several people were assaulted, the building was vandalised and leading negotiators were forced to take refuge in a windowless room near the chamber.

"At this stage we have them (the attackers) on video," said Van der Merwe, adding that he believed the police had "more than sufficient" evidence to bring many to court.

He said AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche was not among those being tracked down by police. It was "very difficult at this stage to say what role TerreBlanche had played", he said.

The AWB has warned of violent reprisals if any of its "generals" are arrested.

● To Page 3