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Slovo interview .~

from page 8

Slovo: They said they were addressing the question of the phasing out of the hostels, and that health minister (Dr Rina) Venter had been appointed by De Klerk to investigate that aspect.

On the question of armed groups carrying cultural weapons, they said the law made it difficult for them to act because of judgments that people can walk around with dangerous weapons, unless you can prove that there was an intention to assault.

We told them they are the law, and that it's no use blaming the law, (because) they have the power to make the law.

And if they tell us that that is the law, then the law is just an ass. s

Sapa: (What about) the ANC's signature campaign, launched countrywide on Heroes Day, demanding a constituent assembly and interim government. ;

~ Slovo: I would say the signature campaign is perhaps one of the most important campaigns that we will run this year. o

Basically, because it draws attention to the divide, which is enormous, between ourselves and the government on the path to a democratic South Africa. - 3

We know only one path, and that is to give the people a chance to elect their representatives to decide their future,

That is the only democracy we know, and that is the only democracy the civilised world knows.

Therefore the campaign. . . to demand a constituent assembly, of which the signature campaign is the launching pad, is of fundamental importance.

- We've been very disturbed recently by the retreat. . . made by various representatives of the . government on the question of the so-called democratic constitution for which they are working.

We are worried when we hear President de Klerk tell his supporters in the (recent) Maitland by-election that the National Party has the power to prevent the adoption of a constitution which is contrary to its own values. 5 :

And we know what those values are.

We're also worried by the continuous references

by the minister of constitutional development (Dr Gerrit) Viljoen to an insistence that they will never allow an 'unsophisticated majority', as he calls them, gain control of this country.

We think this is a racist statement and certainly has racist overtones. . . ;

We regard it as our major task in the coming period, apart from the signature campaign, to create abroad patriotic front around this issue of the constituent assembly. :

. In pursuance of that, for example, we are having further discussions with the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and Azapo.

(Slovo said the ANC had recently met representatives of 'non-independent bantustans' who had earlier met De Klerk) and we reached a common understanding that eventually the only way forward is through a constituent assembly. :

Sapa: What do you hope to achieve with the ANC signature campaign? How many signatures are you aiming for? >, el et

Slovo: We haven't targetted a figure, and it is not even so much the question of the number of signatures.

It becomes a framework within which we motivate our organisational levels to mobilise people around the signature campaign.

It is not like a petition to the government,

cause we've long passed the stage where we petition them.

It's an assertion by the people. Sapa

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JOHANNESBURG â\200\224
The ANC and its allies are aware that their mass mobilisation campaign is likely to hamper the flow of capital into South - Africa, according to a report released by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

The report, Spotlight on Mass Mobilisation, is written by Dr Anthea Jeffery.

An ANC member and university researcher is quoted as saying the ANC is aware that 'mass mobilisation will put off foreign capital . . . We do

not want capital to come
into South Africa. . . This
is well understood by the
leadership and is part of
the equation.â\200\235 s

Other ANC and MDM
views were that: â\200\234We
need further mass action

- and the resultant

ungovernability so as to
speed the demise of the .
NP state;â\200\235 â\200\234The present.
disenchantment of
foreign capital is
unimportant because
people will always be
attracted to the wealth of
this country;â\200\235 and â\200\234Any
suffering at present is
part of the price people
must pay for their
freedom.â\200\235

Jeffery said the ANC
did not seem to
appreciate or fear the
consequences of its
policies; â\200\234the danger
that the investment tap
â\200\224once turned offâ\200\224 is
not easily turned on
again.â\200\235

The ANC was
concerned that, without

\aq)

mass mobilisation, the
government may

-endlessly delay

negotiations. This, they
believe, is what '
happened in Namibia
where â\200\234for ten years the
state used the
negotiation process to
deny people the right to
â\200\230self-determination.â\200\235

The ANC was
therefore determined to
continue with mass
mobilisation until an
ANC government came
to power, and probably
beyond.

The opinions of other

ANC willing to sacrifice inflow
of foreign capital â\200\224 report â\200\224<

.organisations on mass
mobilisation were also
canvassed by Jeffery.
She found that Inkatha
believed â\200\234the unstated
goals of mass

â\200\230mobilisation are to

destroy rival black
organisations and
ensconce the ANC in
power.â\200\235

A senior State official
was concerned that the |
aim was to â\200\234disrupt the 1
country, make
compromise impossible
(and)...enable a
takeover by the ANC.â\200\235â\200\224

Sapa

T IFP/
GCORD -

ANG PEACE

TNy e~
SIGNATORIES to the January 29 Peace Accord, the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party, confirmed this week that the accord is in dire straits.

The accord â\200\224 dubbed umaxhawulana (shaking of hands) in the townships â\200\224 was signed to work towards bringing the Reef and Natal violence to an end.

Since it was signed violence has continued in Umgababa, Port Shepstone, Alexandra, Daveyton, Richmond and Table Mountain. Hundreds of ANC supporters live in displacee centres on the South Coast and Pietermaritzburg having fled violence from Magongqo, Richmond and the South Coast.

The Midlands ANC has complained that Inkatha has violated the accord, and cites the kwaShange incident when Inkatha supporters returning from a rally allegedly invaded the area. Inkatha said they had been ambushed, and the ANTC has called for a commission of inquiry.

* Inkatha has also been accused of unleashing â\200\234â\200\234rooidoekeâ\200\235 (Reef hostel dwellers) on Reef township residents, which Inkatha has denied.

Inkatha in turn has accused the ANC of continuing with â\200\234war talkâ\200\235 and not undertaking a â\200\234grassroots campaignâ\200\235 to familiarise members with the accord.

This week IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said hopes for peace were becoming slimmer by the day. He said since the accord was signed many Inkatha members had been killed, usually when they were returning from meetings to popularise the accord.

This was endorsed by the Vulindlela Inkatha Youth Brigade.

Midlands. ANC chairman Harry Gwala said the accord was under stress. He said the ANC was concerned about the loss of life and property and had entered into the accord fully convinced that this would : _ < : ultimately lead to the end of violence. Friends and relatives happily welcome the three former long-term prisoners who were released from custody on Robben Island

â\200\234For this to happen the ANC did not want to |ast week. They are John Nene (extreme left), Sthabiso Mahlobo (second left) and Thembinkosi Ngcobo (exireme right). make that historic meeting a platform for recrimina- PIC: Elaine Anderson

â\200\230tion. It was also hoped that removing provocative ut-

- terances would contribute towards minimising violence. Unfortunately serious utterances

contravening the letter and spirit of the agreement
have been made both inside and outside the KwaZulu ,_, QA
Legislative Asembly.â\200\235 U P

ECHO FEATURE

Slovo spells out the importance of the ANC's 231
vinesse Eove . 2B Maxgenw 99V
signature campaign for a constituent assembly

SHARPEVILLE 224 The
ANC and its allies had

everyright to take South .

Africaby force if it didn't
reach an agreement with
the ruling National Party
on a new and democratic
constitution, says South
African Communist
Party general secretary
Joe Slovo.

All indications point
to the NP not being
prepared to hand over
anything substantial
when it comes to the -
country's future
constitution, added the
SACP leader and senior
African National
Congress member.

Slovo was interviewed
after a Heroes Day rally
in Sharpeville township,
outside Vereeniging,
was washed out by
torrential rain last
Thursday.

The interview took
place in the home of the
chairman of the
township's ANC branch,
where the rally's
speakers and a Sapa
reporter took refuge
from the downpour. -

All the indications

are that they (NP) are not
prepared to hand over
anything substantial
when it comes to the
actual future democratic
constitution.

(Minister of law and
order Adriaan) Vlok. ..
recently. .. made the
point to his own

supporters that if they think that the National Party is prepared to hand over South Africa, - theyâ\200\231re mistaken.

â\200\234He said: â\200\230We are not prepared to hand over South Afriga to the ANC.â\200\231

â\200\234This is h e put it.

â\200\234Well, we donâ\200\231t expect them to hand over South Africato us, but we feel we have every right to take it (by force) if we donâ\200\231treach a settlement,â\200\235 Slovo said to loud cheers from the other ANC members in the house.

Sapa: In that case, what - do you think the ruling NP is presently attempting to achieve politically?

* Slovo: Well, I think they

are in a dilemma
They realise that as a

result of the massive pressures, both inside and outside the country, that there is no going back to pre-February, 1990

And they realise that unless they do reach an accommodation with the black liberation movement, of which the ANC is the most important part, that this country is facing a holocaust of a terrible

e.
% know that, so they know theyâ\200\231ve got to negotiate. They're forced to negotiate by pressures.

Itâ\200\231s not that theyâ\200\235 ve changed so radically in their political philosophies.

They donâ\200\231t want a powerful ANC. They want a weak ANC.

This is why, simultaneously with

their talk and dialogue" with the ANC, many of them are doing everything they can to weaken, and even possibly destroy, the ANC.

Sapa: What about the NP leading the peace process in South Africa?
Slovo: We don't accept the National Party must lead this process.

We don't believe they have any right to preside over this process.

We consider that, if there is going to be a peaceful outcome, there must be a consensus amongst all the forces in this country, including the National Party.

But we are not prepared to accept that this white regime, which is still running an apartheid country at all levels of the socio-economic structure, has got the moral or any other right to preside over this process. To be both the player and the referee.

That's our view.

Sapa: The ANC's

December consultative conference set an April 30 deadline for the government on a number of issues, including the return of all exiles and the release of all

political prisoners. That is less than six weeks from now. At this stage, does it look to you that the government will meet the ANC demands?
Slovo: (This) is only an undertaking. . . The onus is on them to carry out this agreement.

We've said over and over again. .

do not carry out their undertaking. . . the consequences for the peace process are really extremely serious.

And we will have to then consider what our response is going to be.

There is no way we can embark upon any form of negotiations on the future of South Africa until the obstacles have - being removed.

Sapa: Violence is still continuing in South African townships. During the recent killings in Johannesburg - = Alexandra township, it was widely alleged that "

â\200\230 Inkatha had bussed in.

supporters, who then took part in the fighting. What is your thinking on this?

Slovo: â\200\230 Weâ\200\231 ve long maintained that these red headbanded thugs have become instruments of those who want to weaken and eventually destroy the ANC, and of those who want to destroy the whole peace process.

.that if they |

When we met Vlok and (defence minister Magnus) Malan, we insisted that if the - government is serious in its quest for peace, it will have to take steps to ensure that these imps are not allowed to do . what theyâ\200\231 ve been doing up to now.

â\200\230 And that is to parade with their so-called cultural weapons in a provocative fashion, which inevitably leads to violence.

As far as we are Â»

concerned. if the

government doesn't take

- measures to disarm

these aggressive units
which are bent on killing
and destruction and
burning and so on, we

will have to consider our

responses. :
We certainly cannot

hold the people back

from their desire. . . to
defend oneself with
whatever one can.

Our supporters and
our people cannot stand
by and allow this to
continue as it has.

Sapa: An article in the
SACP journal
Umsebenzi at the end of
last year spoke about
forming self-defence

| Units in the townships. Is

| =

this the kind of response

you have in mind?

~ defend themselves, and

to act in defence of the
people.

You can make your
own guess what that
might mean for the
future of the peace
process. s

The onus is on the
government to take steps
to prevent the situation
getting out of hand.

Sapa: What specifically
did you discuss with
Vlok and Malan in Cape
Town last Friday? -

~ Slovo: We went there to

discuss the violence, and
we made two points:
Firstly, that they must
phase out the (single sex)
hostels, transform them
into civilised
accommodation for

{ families, because they
Slovo: Absolutely. are the seed-beds of
People have a right to violence. -
defend themselves. ~ Secondly, they must
Weasthe leadersof take steps to prevent
the people have a dutyto armed bands roaming
- ensure that they can the streets of townships
defend themselves. and inciting violence,
We have said before and actually carrying out
- - - We are going to take violence.
steps ifthis kind of Sapa: And what was their
carnage continues, to response? By
' enable the people to ; _seepage9

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people in Alexzndra tuwmhxp â\200\224fllsus w nh
horror and despair. -

Horror at the "nastâ\200\230mrib of the attack by a
â\200\230mm of meo who wr'i~\202ved mourners with

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3 Qq -
Loade L.A,\,u o - bdGiaaly

into the mass of deaÂ« uymv â\200\231 ud m]am wd' -
hacked &t them with pangas and kafves: â\204ç" â\204ç

Despair because su idents in varying de-
grees of savagery have become endemic andâ\200\235
no appeals to reason 0o .-sm for peacs, not
even the ,u-,tr:A .,u.m[â\200\230 I
leaders Âçan end the vis mgs 3

The blood of the victims staim not on y the -
places where they are killed or Orjure .d but
the whole suciety in which they live.

We ask Cmrseâ\200\230-as over and over again what_
kind of thugs cap be so callous.

We ask ourselves whether these gangsters are
bercft of hmman feelh N

We ask omselves whether the attacks â\200\224 on
trains, in homes, in the streets â\200\224â\200\224 &â\202~ not
symptomatic of a country that is smkrnc' nto -
anarchy: -

We ask ourselves what kind of democncy wcâ\200\234 :
v:i[l establish -when " people -use AR-47s

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LETTERS

VOS I FP

Dear Sir, TR

I REFER to your edltorial, â\200\234Killing

- flelds", on March 28 and am at one

with your .obvious sentiments thai
the murder and mayhem is harbarle
and unacceptable, 2 .

When you-charge me and Dr Nel-
son Mandela with not havin
unambiguouslyâ\200\235 with regard to ator
ping our supporiers, I can obviously
only speak for myself and leave Dr
Mandela to do llkewise. | :

You are quite right that I â\200\234wrin
my hands' {?n despahr) and "deploreâ\200\231
the vlolerfce/ I know this Is not en-
ough. â\200\230I have personally addressed
hundreds - of meetings
thousands upon thousands of Inkatha

- Freedom Party members and sup-

orters to seel; peace and tolerance
n thelr. commmunities. ; Gin.

On a daily basis I send leadership
of ths IFP â\200\230and others on missions

throughot the country to do

likewise, I do. noi mince my words
whon I say I fear the ANC/IFP peace
talks-are not producing the results
they should. We nre not succeeding
and, of course, we-had better come
i with athar solillions

â\200\234acted. -

oxhorting

Ending the violence is no simple task

There 13 nothing ambiguous about -

what I say, Violence, If unhindered,

will eventually tear this count
apart. It has the capacity to wreck

negotiations and any chance we may have

have of rapidly emerging as a united
non-racial, multi-party democracy, I
don't want this for
neither does the IFP. I don't
What have I and the IFP to gain by
turning a blind eye to, and being

equivocal about, this bloodshed? We
are not in the business of revolution

or purposefully battering opponents,
To I: what end? ,

base
bodies of our fellow South Africans,
We will be the losers, then
. I am very aware that the involve-

ment of- IFP members and support:

- supporters in this carnage, for whatever

reasons. It is destructive to
the pursuit of engendering moral va-
lue systems to the country and to our

- The Tere) o o 1]
party. I warned long ago that I poli-

- would all rue
happen, and -

here will be no glor-
ious political victory for any of us
on the battered and broken

PO Box 1138
Johannesburg 2000
Fax: (011) 836-0805

physical violence is not out of control, we

the consequences, it's
made my life a living hell, ' -

One can say (as I gather is your
belief) that there is no 'gmflt in 'ae- -

cusing someone else, one is ac-
cused when one accuses that political
programmes put into action years

"ago, based on the use of AK47s and

attempts to make the country ungovernable,
have had the backlash they
have? o e i e

When mayors and councillors
{whether one agrees with their status
or not} are made targets and

argets and some .

-die unspeakable deaths, does this not

warrant condemnation and pause for

thought as {s what will happen next
+ something gossamer inevitably
. does? When black police and their
- families are attacked and their

homes destroyed (a regular occurrence
- runctâ\200\230). what is the effect on the communities
In which they live?

Is-It best if people throw up their
hands in surrender when faced with

. this and other kinds of intimidation?

And if they don't? Well, we have

. evidence of what happens when un-
{wauhy polarisation on all sides sets -
n Ao P

Where next? The violence isn't isolated

to Alexandra, Daveyton and
elsewhere, it has become a national

problem for

wide evil, In: every township, -In every -
. town and city there is police

~ action and violent counter-action, .
*. Blame apartheid, blame the NP, |

blame the IFP, blame the ANC,
blame the civil associations, the CP,

the AWB, the police and defence :.

forces. Poverty, homelessness, unemployment,
|
la that there are black and white
human killing machines in our society
in vast numbers, .
Whatever, there is a nexus

" winning,
- answers, believe me, I would act on

our name It The fact - -

between various past and present
actions and circumstances, We have
all been sucked, fighting for breath,
into a whirlpool that is dragging us
under., i

You demand that I, Dr Mandela
and the "authorities" reverse the

' flow and create calm and still

waters, At the same time you seem to
to think the origins of the violence

are things which, so sad, tgo had, are
Irrelevant now? I don't, but anyway,
we are all viotims In one way or
another, = . i

We all must bear the brunt of fault

. andres ousibllitft.-We all have to do

something about It, Including the me-
dia, I'm trÃ¥lng and rigit now I'm not
{l had ol the right.

them. Spell out to_us In â\200\234unambi-
gious termsâ\200\235 how to defuga this in.
ferno, since you seem to know what.
we don't know '~ that there iy a -
simple answar to all this, ' .

MANGOBUTHU @ BUTHELEZ

"Â»V?raaldant, inkatha Frevdom Party .

Mblabathin}

"D The Editor resarves the ripht to shiorten
letters.

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ers are broken. SRR e R :
We donâ\200\231t know how ANC-Inkatha rivalry can o
- be kept within normal limits. . - ;% L 7
Wed r't kow Khosa-Zolo faction fight-

i be end nd how Â\$

" domiipance over others in fhe ciÂçe o Iacks,
or to challenge the new order in the case of -
Wites? ~oe-immotlc 2 oa T i By

Yet, whilc we de ir,. we also kv.ow that the
vast majo f towr dwelleâ\200\224 ats law

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= ANC supporiers . . .

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JE TOrCE

0s Q ;
ips, yetit complains that the members
of the Defence Force we 3
Alexandra withont consuniting the Al
\ The ANC should make op its nmnd, o
for all, whether it wants police
keep law and order: -

If the answer i

The only hope of endirig 1
ANC and Inkatha, Mr Ne
Chief Mangosutha Buthelezi, u see that the
accord they reached is enforced on their
members, for the Xhosa-Zulu rivalry to end

in acceptance of each other as fellow human
beings, with the right to differ politically, and
for the government to reempose the emer-
gency if people do not come to their senses. -

Too many lives have been lost already. =

In Heaven's name; let there be an end to the

. FOT T S T} i o

agents, " Sk ey T T

ANC

O~ On
) B .

Witness Reporter

THE African National Congress was responsible for the unrest on the Natal south coast, which was being made worse by the interference of white people, National Party MP for the area Aubrey Thompson said yesterday.

Addressing the extended public committee, Thompson launched a scathing attack on the DP MP for Durban Central, Peter Gastrow, and DP member Roy Ainslee, and declared that Inkatha and the police would not stand by â\200\234with their arms foldedâ\200\235.

Â«The ANC are losing out in my constituency notwithstanding their radical white support. .

â\200\234They seem to think that they can draw up hit lists and kill at will.

â\200\234No sir, the police nor Inkatha will stand by with their arms folded. For every action of the

0 Witness Reporter

THE decision by-the external wing of the African National Congress in 1984 to try and isolate Mangosuthu Buthelezi'and Inkatha was up-wise and it would be unwise to bind Nelson Mandela to that decision, Democratic Party MP Denis Worrall said yesterday.

Addressing the Extend Committee for Natal, Worrall said South Africa was fortunate to have three

â\200\230to

Isolating Inkatha â\200\230unwiseâ\200\231

Natal Neje.i LR :
blame
29, L,
for violence â\200\224

ANC there is a reaction,â\200\235 Thompson said. .

Thompson also blamed the deaths of three people on the south coast last Sunday on the ANC and said Inkatha had never

preached violence or attempted to take power through the barrel of a gun.

DP.MP for Durban North Mike Ellis described the attack on Gastrow as "iniquitous" and defended the unrest monitoring done by Roy Ainslee.

He took issue with suggestions by Thompson that the DP was anti-police. "The DP does hold the SAP in high regard and it is indeed 2

ity that there is a small element which brings the SAP into dispute," Ellis said.

Yesterday Gastrow refuted National Party criticism of Ainslie and said the unrest monitoring work he had done was excellent,

outstanding leaders.

"President F.W. de Klerk, Mr. Nelson Mandela and Chief Minis-

ter Mangosuthu Buthelezi are out-

standing personalities of which .

any country would be proud." -

He quoted veteran ANC activist Archie Gumede as saying isolation of Inkatha was a mistaken strategy because Inkatha and Buthelezi were a political reality that could not be ignored.

PAC reps explain
controversial slogan

by Lakela Kaunda

THE focus of the slogan of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania â\200\224 â\200\234One Settler One Bulletâ\200\235 â\200\224 is to give direction to guerrillas in combat, PAC representatives told journalists at the Natal Witness Forum last week.

The slogan has caused a furore ever since the PAC was unbanned and many white people have condemned it as racist and inflammatory.

Asked to define a settler, PAC health secretary Dr Selva Saman said people of Western origin came to Africa and imposed a government on Africans. Anyone who sees himself or herself as part of that establishment, and does not see himself/herself as an African and part of the African constituency, is a settler.

Local PAC spokesperson Miranda Ebenezer said the slogan was that of the PACâ\200\231s military wing Apla (Azanian Peopleâ\200\231s Liberation Army).

â\200\234The focus is to give direction in our military struggle. Some organisations tend to place bombs in toilets and restaurants where people of the ruling class who are not necessarily armed against us are actually attacked and lose their lives. When we talk of settlers we talk of people who are armed against us, basically the South African Police and the SADF.â\200\235

Saman would not give details on Apla strength or operations, saying the information was classified.

Ebenezer however said Apla continued to operate and said most of their missions were reported as ANC missions by the police and the press, or were totally unreported. She said the armed struggle had been intensified.

They stressed they would not negotiate with the government as it was illegitimate and the PAC would â\200\234continue the armed struggleâ\200\235.

Saman said the struggle was seen by the PAC in the context of socio-economic and political transformation and said it was difficult to put a time frame as to when it would end. How-

ever, the constituent assembly was
seen as an important milestone.

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FIFTEEN black mourners were shot dead and 18 wounded yesterday when a gang armed with automatic weapons and knives opened fire on people singing in a tent in the Johannesburg township of Alexandra.

Lieutenant Nina Barkhuizen told Reuters by telephone there was no immediate information on who made the attack, which occurred at 4.20am. ~Â»

In an unusual move, the head of the South African police, General Johan van der Merwe, ordered an immediate police investigation of the incident. He said the inquiry would be composed of five white and five black officers.

Police commanders said the investigation was ordered because police had been warned the vigil would be attacked.

They said police checked the house where the vigil was held but were not asked to stay and left just before the attack.

â\200\230There has been significant fighting recently in Alexandra, one of the few black townships that directly borders a white area, between supporters of Mr Nelson Mandelaâ\200\231s African National Congress and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party.

Lieutenant Barkhuizen said people had gathered in a tent outside the home of a black

outh killed in recent political violence for a traditional all-

ight vigil before 2a funeral
oday.

" told him the mourners were

ers
3

our

killed during vigil

By correpondents in Johannesburg

â\200\234The people were attacked
with guns, with firearms. As
far as we know, 12 people were
killed and 13 people were
wounded in the attack.

â\200\234We have an investigation
team on the scene, but we
donâ\200\231t know who was responsi-
ble,â\200\235 she said.

A spokesman for the Alex-
andra branch of the Congress
of South African Students,
Mr Ncane Ntuli, told the
South African Press Associa- |
tion that mourners cra.wled:
for shelter as gunmen raked \
the tent with automatic rifle
fire. s

The director of the Alexgn-
dra Health Centre, Mr Thm
wilson, told SAPA his cli hic
was treating a large numper
of people for gunshot wourids.

He said one of the wounded

singing when they were at-
tacked by Zulu tribesmen
armed with AK-47 automatic
rifles.

More than 1000 people have
died since August in clashes
around Johannesburg be-
tween supporters of the ANC
and of the rival Inkatha
movement.

Inkatha is a Zulu-dominated
political movement that op-
poses anti-apartheid eco-
nomic sanctions and the
ANC's demand for a constitu-
ent assembly to elect a new
government and draft a new,

non-racial constitution for
South Africa.

Reuters, AP

| D =

[AFRICANEWS \Wai\kneat ECve 18 S xC\W \ =R\

. AFRICA PONDERES THE REAL MEANING OF THE END OF APARTHEID

HARARE â\200\224 Black Africa faces a dilemma
What constitutes the formal end of aparthei
- in South Africa? - -

African states are commg under pressure .
to make a decision because South Africaâ\200\231sre- -

forms have prompted some Western coun-

tries to start talking about easing interna-

tional sanctions against Pretoria.

For years African leaders have dlsplayed
great unity in vigorously campaigning to iso-
late South Africa over apartheid, but divi-
sions are now emerging.

Many African states stand to gam from
opening up links with South Africa, which ac-
counts for 75% of southern Africaâ\200\231s economic

output and could be the powerhouse of the -

region.

â\200\234Africa is being pulled two ways at once at

the moment,â\200\235 said one diplomat in Harare.

â\200\234Everyone wants to trade with South Africa. -
s Everyone wants to play sport with South
-Africa. But no one wants to be seen to be
~ abandoning their principles. So everyone is

pxckmg a definition of the end of apartheid
suits them personally, and we're see-

ing some interesting differences emerge.â\200\235
In South Africa, there are two rival inter-

" pretations of what will constitute the end of

apartheid.

The government of President F.W. de

- Klerk, which has promised to scrap all re-

maining race-based legislation by mid-1991,
hopes sanctions will be lifted as soon as these
changes are on the statute book. \

The ANC, spearheading demands for an

- end to white minority rule, wants more re-
forms. It is calling for votes for the countryâ\200\231s -

disenfranchised black majority and a new interim government to replace De Klerk's National Party in power. -

In the realm of politics Africa is solidly behind the ANC and remains suspicious of the Pretoria government. .

Meeting in Harare a few days after De Klerk made his February promise to scrap race laws, the Organisation of African Unity

decided to stand firm on the sanctions question.

Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni the

current OAU chairman, said De Klerk's reforms are welcome, they are praiseworthy but they are not enough.

The idea is that we would like to see in place a clear mechanism that would result in the transfer of power to a democratic order. But up to now there is no mechanism just an expression of intentions.

In the economic sphere, however, new links are quietly being forged with South Africa by businesses across the continent.

. In Zambia, a building has been prepared as a new South African trade mission. Diplomats say they think it will be open by the end of 1991.

The biggest shift in African opinion has been in sport. It must be Africa that welcomes its southern neighbour back into world sport after a 20-year Olympic ban, the International Olympic Committee has said. .

lomat.

The Association of National Olympic Committees of Africa (ANOCA) showed at a meeting in Botswana earlier this month that it was ready to do just that. :

ANOCA president Jean-Claude Ganga said

he would not press for immediate universal suffrage in South Africa, but would count the mid-year scrapping of race laws as the end of apartheid.

When apartheid is finished; we have confidence in the people of South Africa that they will get a one man, one vote (system), Ganga said.

After the meeting, ANOCA said rival

â\200\234establishmentâ\200\235 and anti-apartheid sports federations in South Africa had agreed to form a new, non-racial umbrella group.

â\200\234The sports people are easiest on South Africa because they havenâ\200\231t really got any-

-thing to lose, but they do have a lot to gain in

terms of more exciting sport if they let South Africa in,â\200\235 said a Harare-based Western dip-
â\200\224 Sapa-Reuter

Reform steps iinsinc reâ\200\231 +

Jâ\200\224 g Â¥ 7 /

by Lakela Kaunda busy so that w % ittle or no time for
THE three ANC long-term prisoners re- political discussions. SO everyone was
â\200\230leased last week told journalists at a always busy,â\200\235 explained Ngcobo.
press conference on Monday they were He said they had scored a few con-
suspicious of recent steps taken by the sessions after their hunger strike last
government. 2 3 year, for example a 10-minute outgoing
" The three are John Nene (48) of Ma- telephone call each month.
â\200\230chibise who was serving a life sen- } \gout prison life, Ngcobo said
tence, Sithabiso Mahlobo (33) of Est- - prisoners only had three rights; the
court and Thembinkosi Ngcobo (30) right to shelter, food and health care.
originally from Mpumuza who were Everything else was a privilege that
serving a 20-year sentence for sabo- could be withdrawn, he said.
tage. 7 Pl â\200\234He said he believed prisons should
They said they did not believe the ot be punishment _institutions but
_reason the government was pursuing rehabilitation institutions, and they
reform was because it was convinced would support moves to upgrade Rob-
apartheid was wrong. Instead the gov- benIsland as a prison.
ernment wanted to break the pressure Â«We cannot agree with the wrongs
put on it by sanctions. ; that have been done to us. We as human
Nene said he was not convinced that beings would not like other people to
the change of leadership from P.W. go through what we have gone
Botha to F.W. de Klerk meant apart- through,â\200\235 Ngcobo said.
heid was dead. They said they left 150 olitical
â\200\234The change of jockeys means noth- ~ prisoners behind and called for their
ing because the horse remains the . urgentand unconditional release.
same,â\200\235 he said. They said they were angry that the
Nene and Ngcobo have been directly government speedily released Piet
affected by the violence. Ngcoboâ\200\231s â\200\234Skietâ\200\235 Rudolph while they had
to go
home was attacked and his parents through all the formalities.
were hospitalised. Nene lost relatives. â\200\234The present government is a white
They said they were concerned with minority government. The first thing it
the violence and saw it as rooted in the considers are white interests. There
apartheid system. They said people was a feeling that the ideals we stand
should intensify the struggle against for and those that Piet Skiet stands for
apartheid to bring about lasting peace. are poles apart. We stand for unity and
They said they had spent â\200\230most of democracy while Skiet believes op-
their time in prison working, and on pression and apartheid is right,â\200\235 Ng-
Fridays and Saturdays there would be cobo said. . J
sports and games. e The three said they were going to
â\200\234We were fortunate in the political familiarise themselves with the pre-
section of Robben Island in that the sent situation and see what their role
authorities tried to keep us extremely would be.

Ps e s RSNl S

NINE family members were among 14 people gunned down in coldblood in Alexandra Township Yesterday morning during a vigil for another violence victim.

Of the nine, three were the sons of Mrs Jane Ramakgola "(41) who should have been buried yesterday.

The dead family members established by

. Sowetan were:

' Solly, Paul and Timothy Ramakgola (Mrs Ramakgola's sons); husband and wife Mr Daniel and Mrs Dolly Ndlovu, Miss Tiny Maphanga, Mr Pius Mkhize, Miss Rose Ndlovu and a relative from Katlehong.

Police spokesman Colonel Frans Malherhe said yesterday that, according to their records, there were 14 dead and 16 injured.

Earlier yesterday police said 12 people had

-died at the scene and three others later at Alexandra Clinic. They said 18 others were being treated for gunshot wounds.

The other victims are Scillo Phiri and Mike Ndlovu, both members of the ANC Youth League, and Eric Yawa, secretary

By NKOPANE
MAKOBANE and
SAPA

of Cosas in Alexandra. â\200\230

Survivors told medical workers at the clinic that they were attacked about 4.20am.

Three men armed with AK-47 rifles burst into a tent where a group of mourners was holding a vigil for Mrs Ramakgola.

She is one of more than 80 people who have been killed in the violence that has wrecked the township since early this month.

The attackers then waded into the dead,

dying and injured and -

hacked them with pangas and knives.

A police spokesman said police had thus far recovered 12 bodies from the area where the massacre took place, a tent near Alexandra Clinic.

A spokesman at the clinic, Mr David Robb, said three of the patients who were admitted to the clinic after the shooting died later.

Robb said 19 people were brought to the clinic and some had since been transferred to Baragwanath and two other hospitals in - Johannesburg.

All of them had bullet wounds and some panga and stab wounds.

â\200\230Robb was told by survivors that the gunmen entered the tent and

shouted: . â\200\234â\200\234Youâ\200\231re ANC -
-and were are Inkatha.â\200\235â\200\231

According to police,
there were 25 mourners

inside the house and an-
other group of mourners

was standing outside.

Police found AK-47
cartridge cases, a .38 spe-
cial revolver and .25
calibre cartridge cases at
the scene.

yg (\â\200\231* Af_, f\i\ \ f\;_-\f-\

Church ministers of various denominations
Township, scene of the latest wave of viol

2% M

Alexandra

ence.

yesterday visited Alexandra

Leading the clergy is

(from left) Father Ronald Cairns, a Catholic priest in Alexandra, the Rev

Frank Chikane, secreta
Mvemve, th

â\200\234One of the alleged
attackers has already been

identified and he is being -

sought by the police,â\200\235
police said.

The ~ANC yesterday
said the family had earlier
approached police for
protection but the request
was ignored.

Police yesterday con-
firmed they had been ap-
proached and warned of a

possible attack. However,
they dismissed a claim
that they did nothing.

Relatives help a family member overcome b
killings in Alexandra. Fourteen people were ki
vigil of Mrs Jane Ramakgola,

" Alexandra ANC
chairman, Mr Popo
Molefe, said yesterday a
group of about 200
suspicious-looking - men
went past the house where
the vigil was being held.

The people phoned the
police, who came to the
vigil but later left, he
claimed. - - . o
~ Molefe said: "The po-
lice have no point in ex-
plaining this away.
Alexandra - has been
declared an unrest area.

ry general of the SACC, and Bishop Patrick
e Catholic Bishop of Johan

nesburg.

y sorrow over yesterday's
lled while attending a night
another violence victim. "The

Police are supposed to be
patrolling the area. So
there is no reason why
they cannot have seen a
group of 200 men patroll-
ing the streets at that time
of the night. "The

Alexandra residents
had recently resolved to

_consult Law and Order

Minister Adriaan = Vlok
and Defence Minister
Magnus Malan in a bid to
stop violence in the
township, Molefe said.

\Q\A;V\ms?. o P e B U T E R ATNONT R

Magongqo speak o

- by Heidi

â\200\234ALL these months I had -
hoped for things to get
better. Now my chief

(Mhlabunzima -~ Maphu-

mulo) is dead and I donâ\200\231t
know what is going to

happen next. I have lost

_hope,â\200\235 Agnus Ndlovu

(not her real name) told

an Echo team this week.

Agnus (43) is orie mem-

ber of 12 Magongqo fami-

lies who occupy the over-

crowded and squalid

kwaKothe refugee camp

in the Edendale Valley.

The rest of the popu-

lation at the camp â\200\224

numbering about 1700

people â\200\224 are from Rich-

mond. "

Both Richmond and

Magongqo areas remain

trouble spots in the L . ' it - i

greater Pietermaritz- g m,mm' t of the chaos and confusion at the kwaKothe refugee camp i
n Georgetown, a tiny

burg areas. baby screams for attention. The centre is home for more than one thousand peopl
e from the

Agnus fled her home trouble-torn areas of Richmond and Magongo. : : - PIC: Jane Gotz

in February, 1990 when : . â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

â\200\234the Inkatha people invadedâ\200\235 and she saw â\200\234houses

being burntâ\200\235. Her sad tale is echoed by Nomusa Zaca

(26) from the Magoda area, near Richmond.

â\200\234It was Sunday and we were just sitting around,

not doing anything when we heard gunfire and saw

the boys running. They told us to run so we did,â\200\235 No-

musasaid.

Nomusa, along with her three children Pinky (2),

Bonga (4) and Nozipho (6), lost everything. She told

Echo she ran to Richmond, where ANC Midlands

chairman Harry Gwala later arrived and they were

transported to the kwaKothe camp.

She said although she did not see her house

â\200\230burning, those who fled after her tnld her that all her
furniture waslost. - i

â\200\234I have not returned to check if this is correct,

but at the moment I am not even thinking of going

back. I am too scared they would attack me and I

- would not be so lucky in finding a way to escape,â\200\235 she
said. . : s b A

Nomusaâ\200\231s husband has disappeared.

â\200\234I have lost hope. I have no work and no income. I

just sit here. I sweep in the morning and we take turns

at cooking. I wash clothes,â\200\235 she said.

She said she has no political affiliations and

" claimed not to know about either Inkatha or the ANC.

~ Meanwhile in another part of the camp, Agnus is sitting in a room with her children and two other women. She is luckier than the others, who sleep next to the wall of the room. She has privacy afforded by a door. » iy v A

â\200\234I was not able to take anything. I saw my house being burnt to the ground and all that I have now is that which the African National Congress have given me,â\200\235 she said. e & w

Agnus also had to run for her life, she said. Later that night she took a lift to Pietermaritzburg and slept at Ubunye House. She then spent some time at the Federal Seminary in Imbali and in January was moved to kwaKhothe.

â\200\234Things were better at Fed Sem. They used to give us wool so we could crochet and knit. Now there is nothing to do, so I just sit,â\200\235 she said. : :

She said she lived with her husband but he was

killed at a bus stop. Two of her four children, who are - living in Ashdown, have jobs to support the schooling

for the other two. ;

. Her diet of mealie meal, cabbage and potatoes is the same as the other refugees except that she opts to cook it herself. : N

â\200\234The 12 Maqongqo families cook individually because we think it is healthier. Those from Richmond cook in one big pot. But this is unhealthy and the children get diarrhoea a lot of the time,â\200\235 Agnus said.

Natal Nay o) Gotbne st
e |

: ~ Witness Reporter ~ ANC there is a reaction,â\200\235 Thomp-
THE African National Congress son said. .
was responsible for the unrest on Thompson also blamed 'the
the Natal south coast, which was deaths of three people on the
being made worse by the interfer- south coast last Sunday on the
ence of white people, National ANC and said Inkatha had.never
| party MP for the area Aubrey preached violence or attempted to
Thompson said yesterday. take power through the barrel of a
| ~ Addressing the extended public gun. _ ;
committee, Thompson launched a . DP.MP for Durban North Mike
scathing attack on the DP MP for Ellis described the attack on Gas-
Durban Central, Peter Gastrow, throwas â\200\234iniquitousâ\200\235 and defended
and DP member Roy Ainslee, and theunrest monitoring done by Roy
declared that Inkatha and .the Ainslee. ;
police would not stand by â\200\234with He took issue with suggestions
their arms foldedâ\200\235. . by Thompson that the DP was anti-
â\200\234The ANC are losing out in my police. â\200\234The DP does hold the SAP.
constituency notwithstanding in high regard and it is indeed a
_their radical white support. . pity that there is a small element
â\200\234They seem to think that they which brings the SAP into disre-
can draw up hit lists and kill at pute,â\200\235 Ellis said.

will. Yesterday Gastrow refuted Nat-
~ â\200\234No sir, the police nor Inkatha ional Party criticism of Ainslie
will stand by with their arms and said the unrest monitoring

folded. For every ac'tion of the quhehad done was excellenty -
Isolating Inkatha â\200\230unwiseâ\200\231 & i

Witness Reporter } outstanding leaders. Ak
â\200\234THE decision by-the external wing Â«president F.W. de Klerk, Mr
of the African National Congress " Nelson Mandela and Chief Minis-
in 1984 to try and isolate Mangosu- ter Mangosuthu Buthelezi are out-
thu Buthelezi and Inkatha was un- standing personalities of which
wise and it would be unwise to any country would be proud.â\200\235 -
bind Nelson Mandela to that deci- He quoted veteran ANC activist
sion, Democratic Party MP Denis Archie Gumede as saying isolation
Worrall said yesterday. of Inkatha was a mistaken strategy
Addressing the Extend Commit- because Inkatha and Buthelezi
tee for Natal, Worrall said South were a political reality that could
Africa was fortunate to have three notbeignored.

lovo spells out the im
| x\2 3

ignature campaign

Port

ARPEVILLE â\200\224 The are thatthey (NP)arenot result of the massive Sapa: What about the NP political prisoners. That [C and its allies had prepared to hand over pressures, both inside â\200\230leading the peace is less than six weeks ry right to take South - anything substantial and outside the country, ~ processin South Africa? fromnow. At this stage, rica by force ifitdidnâ\200\231t when it comes tothe that there is no going Slovo: We donâ\200\231t accept does it look to you that ch an agreement with _actual future democratic back to pre-February, the National Partymust t the government will Â» ruling National Party constitution. 1990. lead this process. meetthe ANC demands? anew and democratic â\200\234(Minister of law and And theyrealise that We donâ\200\231t believe they Slovo: (This) isonly an nstitution, says South order Adriaan) Vlok. .. unless they doreach an have any right to preside undertaking. .. The onus rican Communist recently. .. made the accommodation withthe over this process. : is on the m to carry out rty general secretary pointtohisown_ black liberation . We consider that, if this agreement . e Slovo. supporters that if they movement, of which the there isgoingtobe a We've said over and All indications point think that the National ANC is the most peaceful outcome, there over again. .. that if they the NP not being - . Party is prepared to important part, that this must be a consensus do not carry out their epared to hand over hand over South Africa,- countryis facinga amongst all the forces in undertaking. . . the nything substantialâ\200\235 theyâ\200\231re mistaken. holocaust of a terrible this country, including consequences for the len it comes to the â\200\234He said: â\200\230We are not type. the National Party. peace process are really untryâ\200\231s future prepared to hand over . They know that, so But we are not extremely serious. nstitution, added the South Africatothe ANC.â\200\235 theyknow they've gotto prepared to accept that And we will have to \CP leader and senior â\200\234This is how he put it. negotiate. They're forced this white regime, which then consider what our rican National â\200\234Well, we donâ\200\231texpect to negotiate by is still running an response is going to be.)ngress member. them to hand over South pressures. ; apartheid country atall There is no way we can Slovo was interviewed ~ Africatus, butwe feel Itâ\200\231s not that theyâ\200\231ve levels of the socio- embark upon any form of ter a Heroes Day rally we have every right to changed so radically in economic structure, has negotiations on the Sharpeville township, ~ takeit (by force)if we their political got the moral or any future of South Africa itside Vereeniging, donâ\200\231treacha philosophies. â\200\234otherright to preside until the obstacles have - as washed out by settlement,â\200\235 Slovo said They donâ\200\231t want a over this process. To be being removed. rrential rain last to loud cheers from the powerful ANC. They both the player and the Sapa: Violence is still wursday. other ANC members in want a weak ANC. referee. continuing in South The interview took the house. This is why, Thatâ\200\231s our view. African townships. ace in the home of the Sapa: In that case, what simultaneously with Sapa: The ANC'â\200\231

s During the recent
:airman of the do you think the ruling theirtalk and dialogue December consultative killing
sin -
wnshipâ\200\231s ANCbranch, ~ NPis presently with the ANC, many of conference setan April ~
Johannesburgâ\200\231s. . -
here the rallyâ\200\231s attempting to achieve them are doing 30 deadline for'the Alexa_ndr
a township, it
yeakers and a Sapa politically? _ everythingthey canto government on a number was widely al
leged that"
porter took refuge Slovo: Well, I think they weaken, and even of issues, including the â
\200\230Inkatha had bussed in.
om the downpour. areinadilemma. possibly destroy, the return of all exiles and supporters,
who then
â\200\234All the indications They realise thatas a ANC. the release of all took part in the
fighting.
- - : _ What is your thinking on
this?
Slovo: â\200\230We've long
maintained that these
red headbanded thugs
| have become
" instruments of those who
want to weaken and
eventually destroy the
ANC, and of those who
want to destroy the
whole peace process.
When we met Vlok and
(defence minister
Magnus) Malan, we
insisted that if the
government is serious in
its quest for peace, it will
have to take steps to
ensure that these impis
are not allowed to do
what theyâ\200\231ve been doing -
up to now. :)
And that is to parade
with their so-called
cultural weaponsina
provocative fashion,
which inevitably leads to
violence.
Asfaras we are
concerned. if the

- government doesnâ\200\231t take

measures to disarm
these aggressive units
which are bent on killing
and destruction and
burning and so on, we

will have to consider our
responses.

" We certainly cannot
hold the people back
from their desire. . . to
defend oneself with
whatever one can.

Our supporters and

our people cannot stand
by and allow this to
continue as it has.

Sapa: An article in the
SACP journal
Umsebenzi at the end of
last year spoke about
forming self-defence
units in the townships. Is
this the kind of response

ance of the ANCâ\200\231s
for a constituent assembly

defend themselves, and
to act in defence of the
people.

You can make your

" own guess what that

might mean for the
future of the peace
process.

The onus is on the
government to take steps
to prevent the situation
getting out of hand.

Sapa: What specifically
did you discuss with
Vlok and Malan in Cape
Town last Friday?

Slovo: We went there to
discuss the violence, and

~we made two points:

Firstly, that they must
phase out the (single sex
hostels, transform them
into civilised
accommodation for

SACP general secretary Joe Slovo

you have in mind?

Slovo: Absolutely.

People have a right to
defend themselves.

We as the leaders of
the people have a duty to
~ ensure that they can
defend themselves.

We have said before
...we are going to take
steps if this kind of
carnage continues, to
enable the people to

families, because they
are the seed-beds of
violence. = -

Secondly, they must
take steps to prevent
armed bands roaming
the streets of townshiy
and inciting violence,
and actually carrying
violence.

Sapa: And what was th:
response?

see page 9

e

N

MO [{}))

in Mandela

JOHANNESBURG â\200\224 The State has withdrawn its right to call additional witnesses to testify that Winnie Man-

dela participated in crimes of kidnap

and assault previous to the kidnap and assault of three men and a youth for which she is facing charges in the Rand Supreme Court. :

Explaining the surprising development, State advocate Jan Swanepoel yesterday said the â\200\234similar fact evidenceâ\200\235 he had planned to lead via

seven additional witnesses would not

be heard. ,

This decision had been made in view of Mr Justice M.S. Stegmannâ\200\231s ruling that the admissibility of the additional

evidence was only provisional and, that

after hearing the testimony of the seven witnesses over two to three weeks, their evidence might be rejected, Swanepoel said. 4

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ey

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State changes tack

sa|o\Jl
trial

He said the State was also aware of how the new evidence might prejudice the defence of Mandela and her co-accused, John Morgan, Xolisaw Falati imttii her daughter, Nompumelelo Fa-

atl: ;

All four accused have pleaded not guilty to charges that they kidnapped and assaulted Kenneth Kgase, Thabiso Mono, Pelo Mekgwe and child anti-apartheid activist Stompie Seipei at Mandelaâ\200\231s Diepkloof, Soweto, house on December 29, 1988. ; :

In an earlier development yesterday, a statement alleging Mandela watched while members of her Mandela Foot-

ball Club bodyguard severely sjambokked the four victims was accepted as admissible evidence.

Mr Justice Stegmann ruled in favour of the State's application to find an indicting statement made to police by Morgan, Mandela's driver, admissible..

The judge said it had been proved

| the statement was admissible during a trial-within-a-trial lasting several days. He said he would give his reasons for the ruling later.

Mr Justice Stegmann earlier made it clear the document would be not used as evidence against the wife of ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

" The document could only be used against Morgan himself, he said.

The court yesterday heard the testimony of the last State witness, Captain Fred Dempsey, who spearheaded the kidnap and assault investigations.

Questioned by George Bizos for Mandela, Dempsey said Nora Moahladi had testified during the trial of Jerry Richardson last year that Mandela slept at her home in Brandfort in the Orange Free State on the night Stompie and the others were sjambokked in Soweto.

Moahladi however provided police with a different date for Mandela's night in Brandfort when she was questioned during investigations leading to present trial, Dempsey said. '

'he hearing continues. Sapa.

'WW 22 a/â\200\230?/

Strong early supp

Slovo interview

_ from page 8

Slovo: They said they were addressing the question of the phasing out of the hustels, and that health minister (Dr Rina) Venter had been appointed by De Klerk to investigate that aspect.

On the question of armed groups carrying cultural weapons, they said the law made it difficult for them to act because of judgments that people can walk around with dangerous weapons, unless you can prove that there was an intention to assault.

We told them they are the law, and that itâ\200\231s no use blaming the law, (because) they have the power to make the law.

And if they tell us that that is the law, then the law is just an ass.

Sapa: (What about) the ANCâ\200\231s signature campaign, launched countrywide on Heroes Day, demanding a constituent assembly and interim government.

Slovo: I would say the signature campaign is perhaps one of the most important campaigns that we will run this year. <

Basically, bÃ©cause it draws attention to the divide, which is enormous, between ourselves and the government on the path to a democratic South Africa.

We know only one path, and that is to give the people a chance to elect their representatives to decide their future.

That is the only democracy we know, and that is the only democracy the civilised world knows. :

Therefore the campaign. . . to demand a constituent assembly, of which the signature campaign is the launching pad, is of fundamental importance. .

We've been very disturbed recently by the retreat. . . made by various representatives of the government on the question of the so-called - democratic constitution for which they are working.

We are worried when we hear President de Klerk tell his supporters in the (recent) Maitland by-election that the National Party has the power to prevent the adoption of a constitution which is contrary to its own values. . : ;

And we know what those values are.)

Weâ\200\231re also worried by the continuous references by the minister of constitutional development (Dr Gerrit) Viljoen to an insistence that they will never

_allow an â\200\230unsophisticated majorityâ\200\231, as he calls them, gain control of this country.

We think this is a racist statement and certainly has racist overtones. ..

We regard it as our major task in the coming period, apart from the signature campaign, to create - abroad patriotic front around this issue of the constituent assembly.

In pursuance of that, for example, we are having further discussions with the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and Azapo.

(Slovo said the ANC had recently met representatives of a non-independent bantustan who had earlier met De Klerk) and we reached a common understanding that eventually the only way forward is through a constituent assembly.

Sapa: What do you hope to achieve with the ANC signature campaign? How many signatures are you aiming for? v : .

Slove: We haven't targetted a figure, and it is not even so much the question of the number of signatures.

It becomes a framework within which we motivate our organisational levels to mobilise people around the signature campaign.

It is not like a petition to the government, because we have long passed the stage where we petition them.

It is an assertion by the people. Sapa
ort for campaign

The ANC announced in Durban last rallies in southern Natal which had at-

Friday it had more than 200 000 backers for its Signature Campaign so far. This, it said in a statement, is to ensure the people's demand for a constituent assembly and interim government is taken notice of by all who truly believe South Africa will be free from

apartheid.

It added that as the vanguard of the liberation movement, the ANC had launched the campaign at more than 20

sands.

tracted people in their tens of thou-

Natal ANC leader Jacob Zuma and Ebrahim Ebrahim, recently released from Robben Island, led the rallies.

All of the gatherings were conducted in a peaceful atmosphere, even

though in some cases members of the

security forces broke up meetings or did their utmost to provoke the people, the ANC claimed.

â\200\224Sapa

ANC willing to sacrifice inflow
of foreign capital â\200\224 report

JOHANNESBURG â\200\224
The ANC and its allies
are aware that their
mass mobilisation
campaign is likely to
hamper the flow of
capital into South
Africa, according to a
report released by the
South African Institute
of Race Relations.

The report, Spotlight
on Mass Mobilisation, is
written by Dr Anthea
Jeffery.

An ANC member and
university researcher is
quoted as saying the
ANC is aware that â\200\234mass
mobilisation will put off
foreign capital. .. We do
not want capital to come
into South Africa. . . This
is well understood by the
leadership and is part of
the equation.â\200\235

Other ANC and MDM
views were that: â\200\234We
need further mass action
and the resultant
ungovernability so as to
speed the demise of the
NP state;â\200\235 â\200\234The present
disenchantment of -
foreign capital is
unimportant because

_people will always be

attracted to the wealth of
this country;â\200\235 and â\200\234Any
suffering at present is
part of the price which

people must pay for their

freedom.â\200\235

Jeffery said the ANC
did not seem to
appreciate or fear the
consequences of its
policies; â\200\234the danger
that the investment tap
â\200\224once turned off â\200\224 is
not easily turned on
again.â\200\235

The ANC was
concerned that, without

mass mobilisation, the government may endlessly delay negotiations. This, they believe, is what happened in Namibia where â\200\234for ten years the state used the negotiation process to deny people the right to

-self-determination.â\200\235

The ANC was therefore determined to continue with mass mobilisation until an ANC government came to power, and probably beyond.

The opinions of other

organisations on mass mobilisation were also canvassed by Jeffery. She found that Inkatha believed â\200\234the unstated goals of mass mobilisation are to destroy rival black organisations and ensconce the ANC in power.â\200\235 :

A senior State official was concerned that the aim was to â\200\234disrupt the country, make compromise impossible (and)...enable a takeover by the ANC.â\200\235â\200\224
3 Sapa

to anarc

. Nineteen-ninety began on a note of hope and optimism, marked by increasing confidence in the prospects for a stable and secure South Africa. . Mass mobilisation now casts a sombre shadow across that hope, presaging - in the eyes of many commentators - at minimum escalating instability, at worst a slide into irreparable ungovernability.

. These chilling conclusions on South Africa's current state of political health have been reached by Dr Anthea Jeffery, a special research consultant to the South African Institute of Race Relations, a body that is well-known for its careful research and sober judgments.

" Dr Jeffery wonders whether mass mobilisation has not actually acquired a momentum of its own that no organization is in a position to stop.

&' She notes that in the field of education there is now widespread consensus that the mass action programmes unleashed in the schools have become " unstoppable in its destructive impetus.

- There is a concern, she says, that if mass action continues unchecked, even if the combined forces of all the major players subscribing to a new non-racial constitution will fail to stem the tide... "for the fabric of society will

have been fatally undermined and the new state will be left to govern over

m:

the ashes,"in the words of a senior state official.

< But, despite all this evidence pointing to a gloomy future, the ANC persists with mass action and seems determined to implement it with ever-

increasing vigour.

Dr Jeffery describes the goals of the ANC's mass mobilisation programme as follows: (The summary has been extracted from her report on mass mobilisation published by the Institute of Race Relations)

The goals of the ANC strategy of mass mobilisation cannot be considered in isolation from its history: for the two are closely inter-linked.

During the period 1961 - 1973, the aim of mass mobilisation, as reflected in the ANC document Operation Mayibuye, was to generate, in conjunction with Umkhonto weSizwe, an armed insurrection of the people, aimed at the forcible overthrow of the apartheid state.

Following the failure of this model, the Soweto

uprisings and the ANC -

visit to Vietnam, the emphasis shifted to conscientisation and organisation, on the 'people's war' model. Mass action was seen as an important means of increasing the pressure on the government, which was also to be weakened by armed action (through Umkhonto weSizwe) and international sanctions: thus leading to the ultimate transfer of power to the people.

Since July 1989, the emphasis has shifted again. At a meeting in Lusaka (Zambia), attended by the ANC, UDF and COSATU, it was recognised that the government would shortly try to regain the political initiative by releasing Mr Mandela and launching a process of credible negotiations.

The MDM response was that it must retain the initiative, hold the moral high ground and dictate the pace and agenda of negotiations through a variety of strategies, including increased mass action. The subsequent lifting of the ban on the ANC on 2 February 1990

has entrenched this thinking. :

The overall goal of the ANC remains the transfer of power to the people. Negotiations are seen as a strategy towards that goal; and mass mobilisation as an

important means of putting pressure on the government in the context of negotiations.

Mass mobilisation is now seen as essential to ensure that ANC demands are met and not emasculated.

lated: to guarantee that the ANC receives a fat plate at the negotiating table (senior CAST official).

This goal - to put pressure on the government at the negotiation table - is now the primary one. Within this context, the immediate aims are two fold:

- * compel the state to abdicate its power, acquiesce in the establishment of an interim government and agree to the ANC demand for the creation of a constituent assembly, elected on universal franchise and charged with the task of drawing up a constitution for the new South Africa; and

- * to ensure that the negotiation process does not become bogged down, as happened in Namibia, where - in MDM perception - the state, for ten years, used the negotiation process to deny people the right to self-determination (senior COSATU official).

The longer-term goal is

to achieve a new dispensation which accords po-

wer to the people of

South Africa; and contains no vestige of neo-apartheid, no mechanisms perceived as designed to preserve white privilege and predomi-

nance.

Mass action is seen as a powerful weapon in the attainment of these goals. There is a firm conviction that it gives the ANC significant clout, conferring on it the strength of the battalions it needs at the negotia-

ting table: especially

now that it has formally

suspended its armed

struggle (senior ANC official): = Wey

Other important goals are to:

- * emphasise the mass character of the ANC's support and the relative isolation of the racist minority regime (senior ANC official);

- * confirm the power of the people and give them a sense of controlling their own destiny, particularly important given the neo-colonial relationship which has prevailed between the white government and its black subjects (senior ANC official);

- * promote participative democracy, with active involvement of all sectors of society in policy-making and implementation (senior ANC official);

hy Vst gy

statement of grievances, particularly important in a situation where people are denied the usual avenues of political expression (senior regional ANC official);

- * engage in the struggle for power in a very tangible sense and compel the state to negotiate, rather than decree (senior regional ANC official);

- * generate support and increased membership, not simply of an armchair kind, but of militants forged and tempered in the struggle

(ANC member and academic, citing the ANC publication, Joining the ANC);

(ANC member and academic, citing the ANC publication, Joining the ANC);

- * prevent the ANC from becoming an elitist organisation

nisation, out of touch
with grassroots grievance
and concerns (senior
COSATU official);

- * give the people a sense
of their own power, born
out of the knowledge
that they themselves -
through their own ac-
tions - have compelled
the capitulation of the
apartheid state (senior
ANC official);

- * retain the dominance
of the ANC within the
black community and

-ensure that its position is
" not usurped by other

contenders for power
(senior: political corres-
pondent);

- * satisfy more radical
supporters â\200\230that -
notwithstanding the
suspension of the armed
struggle - the ANC has
not gone soft on the go-
vernment but remains a
liberation movement, de-
dicated to the transfer of
power to the people; and

- * compel the collapse:of
homeland
ments and black local

IS ek authorities, thus eroding.

â\200\234the supportâ\200\230base of the |

state, rendering parts of

- -the country ungovernable

.ble â\200\230and paving the way
for the emergence of
- ' ANC-approved alternati-

Ves.

Other aims, not publicly |
acknowledged but sus- -

pected by other groups
and observers, are to:

- * destroy the power of
Chief Mangosuthu But-
helezi and Inkatha;

- * further discredit the
police and army and un-
dermine the limited legi-
timacy of the govern

ment; and :

- * create a climate of fear and instability, as well as

the perception that the ANC alone can control

and limit this - and must therefore be given pride of place in the new South Africa (senior In-

katha representative). i

As one government spokesman has put it, the aim is to â\200\231disrupt the country, make compromise impossible and force the need for radical approaches or bring about a collapse, which can enable a takeover by the ANCâ\200\231 (senior state official).

The SACP element within the ANC. also has its own agenda. In terms of the SACPâ\200\231s current policy document, The Path to Power, it still sees mass mobilisation as playing a vital role in ultimate mass insurrection, spearheaded by Umkhonto weSizwe and aimed at the violent overthrow of the state and existing order (senior police officer). :

govern- -

- * expand the basis of political activity from a small core to a broad base in the community (senior regional ANC official);

- * raise political consciousness and make a very strong and public

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Free State.- Liyaghu~

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Ldpad in Â¢

Staff Reporters

massacre the ANC hÃ©s blamed
a â\200\234Third Forceâ\200\235 fÃ©gĩ¬\201 township
terror, while the Ministry of
'Law and Order lays the blame

Government,â\200\235

Twelve eople were shot
: I cold blood yesterday ac-
:Svo:g]:rÃ©gg_) pglice, and medical
. workersâ\200\234said a furth

Sled bter . rther threg

' In a statement the ANC said

it had warned the police of a

- planned attack on the Alexan-

dra vigil but the police
was â\200\234lukewanĩ¬\201?â\200\231po o g

'In the wake of the Alexandra

-on opposing factions and not the â\200\230

le had
glf:pbaby, :â\200\230a%e at least another

18 had been seriously injured.

~ The ANC alleged that town.
ship violence was orchestrated

[

- Law and Order Ministry

'byks_l;adoâ\200\230wy t;lements in an ef-

fort to destabilise the ANC and
the entire peace process. =~
â\200\234The intended consequence of
such a reign of terror is that the
ANC and other progressive for-
mations will not be able to or-
ganise people into a powerful
body able to challenge the sta-
tus quo,â\200\235 said the statement.
While the Civic Associations

of Southern Transvaal (CAST)

threatened to arm communities
in reaction to the massacre,
stry spokes-
man Brigadier Leon Mellet said
the â\200\234opposing factionsâ\200\235 respon-

sible and not the Government

had to bring the violence to an end. !

Brigadier Mellet said the

arming of communities would only generate more violence.

Police are searching for a

man who has been identified as having taken part in the attack. Police today maintained that the death toll stood at 13, and denied that a six-month-old baby had been killed. -

Reports yesterday said 15 people killed including

The killings occurred at

about 4.20 am when unidentified people

At the

attackers opened fire on mourners who were holding a funeral vigil for a victim of the recent factional violence in the township.

Seven members of the Congress of South African Students are among the dead, Cosas publicity secretary Ncane Ntuli said. 3

At a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, CAST president Moses Mayekiso told the Government his organisation would have no alternative but to yield to demands that communities be armed to protect themselves if the Govern-

the State via the SAP and its

o

ANC blames Third But

ment failed to stop the violence within two weeks.

- It emerged at the conference that the protective means envisaged by the CAST leadership would centre around the formation of disciplined defence units.

In a statement CAST said:

â\200\234We. cannot divorce the so-called â\200\230Third Forceâ\200\231 element in the ongoing violence from the Government, and we assert that President de Klerk must bear ultimate responsibility for the actions of the so-called â\200\230Third Forceâ\200\231 elements.

â\200\234The direct involvement of

security forces, as was evident in Daveyton a few days ago, â\200\230must be noted by the international community . . .â\200\235 Brigadier Mellet said police â\200\234had so far found no evidence of the existence of the â\200\230â\200\234Third Forceâ\200\235 4 !

The ANC said those who had attacked the vigil had worn uniforms, had used automatic weapons â\200\234with great expertiseâ\200\235 â\200\230which suggested thorough training. i

Police found AK-47 cartridge cases, a .38 special revolver and

.25-calibreâ\200\231cartridge cases at |

T

ceâ\200\231 for Alex massacre

_The Star Thursday March-28 1991

â\200\224Hfe scene. 1 {

In a statement, the police |

public relations division in Pretoria said the attackers. had

started shooting blindly at the

mourners.

â\200\234One of the alleged attackers has already been identified and is being sought by the police,â\200\235 the statement said.

The Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, has ordered a special investigation. The team would consist of five black and five white police officers. :

â\200\230! 'he SAP deplores this sense-

les) attack,â\200\235 the statement
ad.ed. The police request any-
oy { with information to contact
Brigadier Wally Snowball at

- (011) 23-4779.