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ambo won t SY ejg]g -
p ANC man S 1"

The ANCâ\200\231s nauonal
be held in June next year

Olivet Tlmbo i
the Tambo arrives in Sou
his first visit 10 the untry in 3(years -
Mr Nelson Mnnde\ 10 attend the 1 national cons! nsultative confer=
M Tom Sebina Yâ\200\234â\200\231 ence which starts tomorrow
d out speculation that Tambo
w South Africa 10 hand
la because

o
fol\owmg a stroke Jast year.
itting that

conference will

LUSAKA -
leader Mr

tative COM :
thls Fnday but will not

obukhulu ; -

eznbambe ibhange inku

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ETHEKWINI - Amadoda amabili aboshwe
ngamaphoyisa aseSouth Africa kulandela

. ukubanjwa kwebhange inkunzi imali engu-

R50 000 abaleka nayo, kuthiwa bekuyizi-
khulu eziqavile ze-African National Con-
gress.

Yize amaphoyisa
engakwazanga ukudalula
amagama alababalisa
I GA likwazile uku-
thola ukuthi bobabili ba-

~ yizikhulu ze-ANC, omu-

nye wabo ungumgcini-

mafa Wegatiha lasc- ;
- Mgababa.

vice Centre Association
(Naca) okuyizhlangano
eyemukela izimali ega-
meni le-ANC kuKagiso
Trust.

Igatsha leS.A. Perm

eliseMzinto hphangwe

- imali enguR50 700

madoda amabili abel
me ngesibhamu sohlobo
Iwe-AK-47 kanye nepi-
stol, afike abamba ime-
nenja yaleligatsha,
uMnuz. A.L. Dalla ne-
ndodana yakhe uDhire;j.
Ngesikhathi ILANGA
lishayela amahhovisi
e-ANC eGoli ngenhloso
yokuthola ukuthi lama-
doda aboshiwe angama-
lungu e-ANC ngempela

yini, isikhulu esikuleli-

hhovisi, esenqabile

ukunikeza igama laso,

siphikile ukuthi ababo- |

shwa laba bangamalungu
e-ANC..

Lesxseh.lakalo sizoshi- -
ya umbuzo ngoba lama-

doda' ab e nge:

nele zxm'kelwe .emaphoyi= ,

seni ngokwemigomo yo-
kuzwelana ekhishwe ngu-
Hulumeni.

Ukudubula okulande-
Iwe wukubaleka kwala-
madoda kuwenze awisa
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ephume esikhwameni

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. ebalekela, amaphoyisa

elokhu elandela. Abantu
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ke ngemali ebiwa ubugqa-
thaqatha okugcine ngo-
kuba kutholakale kuphe-
la imali engu-R1 600 ku-
bantu basendaweni nge-
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maphoyisa. Enye imali |
@ Iphela eKhasini 3 @

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Vil

â\200\234a building sogiegy at
Mzimo and - snatchin;

| 1 They allegedly fired u

the â\200\230police before driving
off and were captured
after a high-speed chase
involving police and traf-
fic officers at Umkomaas.

- â\200\230â\200\230Both robbers were
~positively identified as

ld over
000 heist

emhers of the ANC at-

branch - ofï-\201ce in Natal.
One of them is an office-

~_bearer and occupies a

â\200\234senior post in the specific

branch,â\200\235â\200\231 2 pohce spokes-
.man said.

A spokesman for the

- ANC. southern Natal
~ region said they could not

~ comment before they had

identliï-\201ed the two as theu'
â\200\230members.

Â«â\200\234We know of the.inci-
dent but we do not know
for sure that the arleswd
men are. onr members,â\200\235â\200\231
he said.

â\200\234â\200\234We have a Mr_
Mzimela and a Mr

Luthuli who are officers

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'mtedc,'

: uchcd to & specmc |

POLICE and people suspected to be members of
*â\200\230Askariâ\200\231â\200\231 this week allegedly attempted to ab-
duct two members of Umkhonto we Sizwe when
they forced them into a police car at gunpoint.

The ANC said yesterday the two men, Mr Job.

| Kubu and Mr Madiba Khumalo, were forced into
| a waiting police car and taken to a place near
Hillbrow Police Station where they were inter-
. rogated on Tuesday.

The men had been granted indemnity in May
and were legally in the country.

[By SYMAKARINGE |
Police spokesman Major Ray Harrauld con-

firmed the arrests. He said the men were released
after the police had established that they had been,
gramed mdeemty S

Askari member
â\200\230g â\200\230donâ\200\231t know anythmg about the Askaris

being involved,â\200\231â\200\231 he said.

! Aspokesmmfori-â\202:eANCwaomKnbi-â\201
and Khumalo had earlier in the day met a man

Bld to abduct two MK men alleged

S sucnov

~ called More, whom they clalmed as a ember

of the Askari. More allegedly offered to exchange
information.

â\200\230â\200\234This was agreed and a venue arranged. The

matter was discussed in the ANC office and at

â\200\230moon the (two) comrades went to the agreedv :
â\200\230meeting place,â\200\235â\200\231 thespokesman said.

He said Kubu and Khumalo were r;let by
More and three other people at the meeting place.

~Another man JomedAthem and identified himself
as a policeman.

â\200\230â\200\234He produced what appeared to be a pohce
identification document. He said the comrades
were under arrest and ordered them to a kombi.

â\200\234â\200\234The two resisted, questndnmg why they were being arrested. The policeman and others who

~ had arrived on the scene produced weapons and forced the two comrades at gunpomt to the wait- ing kombi,â\200\235â\200\235 he said.

ey were driven to a spot in Hillbrow and questioned for about 45 minutes before bemg released.

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Why is political violence read as a\200\230

a\200\234TWO men were killed and eight injured at Table Mountain in Natal after a group of Xhosas in a taxi opened fire with an AK47 rifle at a group of Zulus, a\200\235 SAP liaison officer Lt Burger van Rooyen reported to the press this week.

Now this report was made even before any arrests were made to establish the language spoken by the attackers. One would be forgiven for treating the report with scorn. But scorn in the light of deaths is not just there.

It is a universal fact that a human being should take pride in his or her job. A job well done. What then has happened to this basic principle in the security field? Where has the cherished Sherlock Holmes ideal gone to when our policemen appeared to have failed to investigate a case of murder and simply labelled it in ethnic terms?

Is the liaison department in Pretoria tempting us to believe that there is a campaign to downplay political violence into mere ethnic warfare?

Any person who stays in Natal knows that there are no Xhosas who can wage a war against Zulus. But what the police have said to the media has already crossed the oceans and created a false impression.

And the emphatic play on the type of weapon used, the AK 47 apparently looks like it has been intended to paint a picture that it was the ANC that was involved

before any investigation has come up with a\200\230mdmgs Trial by police and unwitting collaboration by the media?

The very same police report does not mention what type of firearms were found in the ambushed vehicle. Were they Rls? We are made ignorant by such blatant omissions.

Matters are not made easier by statements by such leaders as Themba Khoza, the Inkatha Freedom Youth Brigade figure who explained the Thokoza violence in terms of a group of Zulu and Sotho people who were shot at by police.

The statement goes on to reveal that the shootings followed attacks on Zulu houses and shacks by a mob of about 200 Xhosa-speaking people from Phola Park.

Now one would think that there is still a state of emergency that prevents the media from rejecting police versions of what actually happened and analyse

events to give the world the true picture.

The danger in not giving correct accounts of our problems is that instead of helping douse the flames of conflict, it is adding fuel. People cannot continue dying just because of the language they are speaking.

In fact many people find themselves being targets of the political divide and they are tired of getting killed. What they need is assistance to taper the violence. This assistance will not come from the

ege Âçgĩ¬\202&(em.e ethnic warfare?

prevailing style of reportmg unchecked police statements.

I've just opened a delightful

ristmas card from a colleague in Johannesburg working for Reuters. It has a white dove flying through the globe with the bottom line saying â\200\234Let Peace encircle all the worldâ\200\235.

Once we get that state of peace in this country then I will wholeheartedly agree with minister of law and order Adriaan Vlokâ\200\231s message when he visited this city on Monday. He thanked a group of about 500 policemen from various parts of the country for performing stints of â\200\234special dutyâ\200\235 in the city in the control of unrest.

But all people around this area know that the unrest which is bloody violence has not been controlled, save for the spontaneous truce initiated by the community a month ago. When the violence in Greytown, Table Mountain, kwaMakhutha and in areas where it is likely to occur like Indaleni is totally controlled, then I will join Vlok and say thankyou. -

â\200\230How can the police fail over five yearsto

stop the violence with ample teargas and firearms? How can a minister in charge of

them thank an opposite of success? Even

the State President FW de Klerk also

conveys his thanks for a job not well done! Some years ago a top international

executive of Unilever visited this country

and saw the economic and violent mess around us. He commented: If P.W. Botha was running a company in a similar way that he was running South Africa, as an MD I would have sacked him.

When the country is losing people

through political violence then obviously it is running at a loss and it is inconceivable to give a bonus to workers in a company running at a loss.

A country with a profit is one which creates wealth and an environment that makes its people happy. A country that is running on a healthy profit margin makes sure that freedom is prevailing there.

I like the American Bill of Rights, supported by its advocates like Justice Hugo Black: "No country can live in freedom where its people can be made to suffer physically or financially for criticising their government, its actions or its officials".

The trouble with our country is that people were and still are persecuted for criticising top government officials and police. The Mandelas, Gwalas, Sisulus, Sobukwes, Mpethas and the rest were made to suffer physically and financially

Just for saying the country must have freedom for everyone. .

The state president urged all members of the force to help build a new future for South Africa. Let us pray the message filters through

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Police look on as armed Zulus

march to â\200\230peaceâ\200\231

A VIP delegation visited the scene of recent township violence and heard how the authorities did - little to stop the bloodshed. At least 100 people dead. John Carlin reports from Tokoza

ly

IN a visit which reinforced a sense of helplessness and despair, Nelson Mandela, his wife Winnie, various other black leaders, churchmen of all denominations and a dozen diplomats toured this township yesterday where more than 100 people have died in brutal clashes in the last 10 days.

Under the stewardship of the South African Council of Churches, the tour organisers, the VIP party saw more incinerated homes than they would care to remember; they talked to some of the thousands who have fled the violence and sought refuge on the lawns of a local hospital; they stared, or took photographs through their bus windows, as pro-Inkatha dwellers at Tokozaâ\200\231s single-menâ\200\231s hostel threatened them and shouted at them to go away; they talked to amputees and men with axe-wounds on their heads lying on hospital beds. They did not see any dead bodies because after a massive troop deployment Tuesday night things had, for once, been quiet.

Joe Slovo, the head of the Communist Party and close to Mr Mandela in the ANC executive, spoke to a man at the hospital with a heavily bandaged abdomen. Did the man have any solution

to the violence? Mr Slovo asked. â\200\234I've no idea,â\200\235

Every detail may or may not be true, for rumour acquires a life of its own in these circumstances. But what is certain is that police favour the Inkatha men â\200\224 much loved by the white right â\200\224 over the ANC, on which the majority of people in Tokoza, as the majority in black South Africa,

bestow their political favours. It was a measure of the helplessness of the black community, and the ANC, that a five-hour meeting on Tuesday between an Inkatha and an ANC delegation yielded agreement on just one point: [0 call jointly on the government to deploy heavy police and army reinforcements to the area.

The government immediately responded and the people at Phola Park responded yesterday by

shouting abuse and shaking their fists at every police vehicle within sight. The soldiers, however, were tacitly welcomed, benignly ignored, being viewed by residents, as even by most ANC offi-

came the reply. Walking down the hospital corridor Mr Slovo was asked whether he was a sadder and wiser man for the visit to Tokoza. â\200\234Sadder,â\200\235 he replied. â\200\234In any normal country the security forces would deal with this sort of thing.â\200\235

What he had in mind, partly, was the testimony he had heard earlier from the people at Phola Park, a muddy, smelly squatter camp on the fringes of Tokoza whose residents, previously apolitical by and large, have taken militant pro-ANC positions after experiencing wave after wave of attacks by Inkatha warriors in recent months. Again and again, at womii, icau youths, gap-toothed old men told the same story. Police vehicles escorted the Inkatha impis, battalions, to the area and provided transport for the furniture they looted; white men drove the Inkatha men to battle in ambulances or delivery vans; policemen opened fire on the squatters.

cals in afl the townships, as a more impartial and

effective presence.)

Inkatha was less happy about the armyâ\200\231s arrival

but on Tuesday, hitting on a propaganda device

Invoking God's name 10 times, he issued an impassioned plea for black brother to stop killing black brother. With 3,000 men in red bead-bands â\200\224 the Inkatha supportersâ\200\231 identification in battle â\200\224 he denied all responsibility for the violence, declaring: â\200\234Alt the reports that one hears about people with red bands being Inkatha people is just so much political hog-wash.â\200\235

Then, with a clarity few people have he said who he believed was to blame. The ANC had catled for a â\200\234programme of actionâ\204¢ urging supporters to go on a mass recruitment drive, to concentrate power under the ANC leadership. Standard political behaviour, perhaps, in other

latitudes. But Chief Buthelezi saw it differently. -

â\200\234Those campaigns will still cost us many more black lives than we have lost. We can talk about peace until we are blue in the faces, but so long as there are campaigns of this kind, I just do not see how we are going to attain peace.â\200\235

After the speech, the chuet's 3,000 supporters marched triumphantly through Tokoza laden with weapons and firing shots in the air. The police, said to be thoroughly investigating the causes of the township slaughter, looked on

to sow further confusion, some of its officials echoed the ANC cry and accused the police of bias against them. This made it all the more surprising that the Inkatha chief, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, should suddenly turn up at the Tokoza hostel yesterday morning in a police helicopter and accompanied by the Law and Order Minister, Adriaan Vlok all the more surprising because he had turned down an invitation to join the Council of Churches delegation, saying his schedule was full. Thus Chief Buthelezi rejected the chance to do what he has clamoured for all year: to meet Mr Mandela. Persuaded, nevertheless, by Dr Vlok's invitation, he made his unexpected visit and delivered a speech.

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City's hospitals to

Natal

by CHARLES LEFTWICH
Health Reporter

KWAZULU residents will no longer be accepted for treatment at Grey's and Northdale hospitals, and will be transferred to Edendale Hospital unless unfit for transfer.

This is according to a letter from Ivan du Toit, senior medical superintendent at Grey's, to Peter Evans, his counterpart at Edendale.

A copy of the document, dated December 3, was posted anonymously to The Natal Witness this week. Both Grey's and Northdale hospitals were opened to all races in March.

MEC for health services Peter Miller responded quickly and with concern when he heard the letter had been leaked.

We regret the unfortunate wording of the letter, he told The Natal Witness yesterday. It does not convey the

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Nearly full Edendale to

take all KwaZulu cases

spirit of what we are trying to achieve. There are no political or racial overtones in the decision.

In a city region all facilities have to be utilised in a co-ordinated and rational way.

We can't afford to have some hospitals over-stressed to breaking point and others with an easy patient load.

Greyâ\200\231s was staffed and equipped for only 350 occupied beds, but had been using up to 440. Northdale was also operating at above capacity, Miller said.

Evans said that Edendale, with 1 600 beds, was now 98% full.

Asked what the hospitals would do if faced with a major disaster and a sudden need for beds, Miller said the country could not afford â\200\234to budget for outside maximumsâ\200\235.

Patients would have to be sent home early and only the most serious cases would be kept hospitalised.

On the question of the new â\200\234zoningâ\200\235, Miller conceded that political considerations had appeared to play a role in the preference of KwaZulu patients for the provincial hospitals.

He said that at the time of the recent tienp! :s

strikes there were claims â\200\234that Inka-tha supporters felt unsafe going to Edendale, and ANC supporters have an aversion to a hospital administered by KwaZuluâ\200\235.

â\200\234There has also been an element of resentment on the part of people in the immediate vicinity of Greyâ\200\231s and Northdale at being refused admission to make way for people who have travelled across the city from the Edendale valley, when a superbly equipped and staffed hospital was at their doorstep,â\200\235 he said.

â\200\234Greyâ\200\231s is in any case a hospital 80% reserved for private patients.

â\200\234We canâ\200\231t provide State care that panders to the political preferences of patients,â\200\235 Miller said.

â\200\234We will always accept emergencies at the provincial hospitals. But we and KwaZulu have a moral and legal duty to use existing facilities in the best way for all injured and sick people.â\200\235

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â\200\230 ACKGROUND TO THE NEWS

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â\200\230Super-federat

THE anticipated merger of the Confederation of Mining and Building Unions (CMBU) and the Federation of Salaried Staff (Fedsal) in January next year is being interpreted as a revival of the principles of the Trade Union Council of South Africa (Tucsa), the traditional, white-dominated union which collapsed in the early 1980s as the pace of change in the country passed it by.

The underlying principle of the so-called moderate unions is that politics should remain separate from shop-floor activities and bread-and-butter issues. ; ;

The CMBU-Fedsal merger will result in the creation of a new union federation of 400 000 paid-up members, making it South Africaâ\200\231s second largest after the Congress of South African '1"rqde Unions (Cosatu), which has more than one million paid-up members. ;

Fedsal has 250 000 members, mainly clerical workers, of whom 60% are reported to be whites, in 14 affiliated trade unions. The largest affiliate is the 50 000-member South African Association of Municipal Employees.

NIRAC Wiimies)
e CMBU has 150000, mainly blue-collar, members in eight affiliates, the largest of which is the South African Boilermakers Union with 45 000 members.

Their exclusion from the labour accord signed by the employersâ\200\231 body, the South African Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (Saccola); Cosatu, the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) and the State is believed to underpin the idea of a common voice for the so-called moderate unions. -

Fedsal general secretary Piet Heymans believes that there are no problems of overlappingâ\200\231

between affiliates of Fedsal and the CMBU, as has been the case with Nactu and Cosatu. He felt there was no need for affiliates to merge. ;
~ CMBU secretary Ben Nicholson said there was no question of his union disbanding. : :
â\200\234We will retain our specialised missions with respect to negotiations and technical expertise. But we are looking at aligning, or co-operating, with a common structure as a federation, not as individual unions,â\200\235 said Nicholson.

UPSTAGED by the
Congress of South
African Trade Unions
and the National

Council of Trade -
Unions recently, the
so-called moderate or
â\200\234â\200\230sweetheartâ\200\235â\200\235 unions
are fighting back to
regain their former
status. SIZA
NTSHAKALA reports.

Heymans felt the objective was not to create
another Tuecsa.

â\200\234We want to create a strong voice and base for
moderate unionism. The first task will be to en-
lon on the cards forr

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esurgent

The Natal Witness, Thursday, December 13, 1990

â\200\230moderateâ\200\231 trade unions

sure a strong say in the drawing up of labour legis-
lation by the National Manpower Commission
(NMC). At the moment this process is dominated
by academics,â\200\235 Heymans said.

The organisers behind the merger say they
are not interested in an all-white, right-wing
union and hoped to attract moderate black unions.

The Transvaal Allied and Leatherworkersâ\200\231
Union (Talwu) is expected to join the new feder-
a:ion and is currently not affiliated to any feder-
ation.

. â\200\234Black unions are scared of the Tucsa image.
We have to first demonstrate our bona fides,â\200\235 Hey-
mans said. :

. In a separate development, 53 independent
trade unions elected an 11-member steering com-
mittee to draw up a draft constitution for a pro-

posed new federation. This committee is expected to report back in March next year.

This initiative is the brainchild of Talwã\200\231s

Freddie Swartz, who claimed the unions at the meeting represented 800 000 members.

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The KwaZulu-based United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa), which claims 250 000 members, is part of this initiative to create a â\200\234super-federationâ\200\235. However, many labour observers dispute Uwusaâ\200\231s membership claims.

Heymans has welcomed the initiative because â\200\234it is not going to interfere with our merger plans with the CMBUâ\200\235â\200\231. c

He felt they stood for the same principles and united they would be succeed in forming the new â\200\234super-federationâ\200\235.

Swartz felt the â\200\234super-federationâ\200\235 would get off the ground and might even win over some of Nactuâ\200\231s affiliates.] '

Meanwhile, on the periphery, moves to form an exclusive white trade union federation appear to be still on the cards. â\200\230

The white union behind this idea is the Mine Workersâ\200\231 Union (MWU), whose general secretary, qut Ungerer, confirmed the â\200\234all-white, super-union ideaâ\200\235 was alive and well.

However, there is little evidence to suggest that Ungererâ\200\231s idea is more than a pipe dream. -

â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

" THE basic document on

sented at this weekâ\200\231s crucial
ANC Consultative Confer-
ence warns that the Govern-
_ment might be seizing the in-
itiative as the primary
â\200\230â\200\234force for changeâ\200\231â\200\231, and
characterises the negotia-
tions process itself as a

- â\200\234â\200\234theatre of intense strug-
gleâ\200\235.

It indicates that the conference
will be combative in its attitude
towards the Government. The
document rÃ©affirms unequivocally

- the ANCâ\200\231s commitment to mass
action campaigns, the
maintenance of â\200\230â\200\230combat forcesâ\200\231â\200\231,
an Interim Government, and the
retention of sanctions.

A draft copy of the 23-page
tional Democracy - Theses on
Strategy and Tactics of the ANCâ\200\235â\200\231
is understood to be the work,
primarily, of four senior ANC of-
ficials, including International Af-
fairs Director Thabo Mbeki and
Umkhonto we Sizwe Chief of
Staff Chris Hani.

- The document, which will be
hotly debated at the three-day con-.

- ference opening tomorrow, sets
out a broad plan of action for the
ANC in the coming months, and
analyses in detail the develop-
ments since February 2 which
have led to the movementâ\200\231s com-
mitment to a process of peaceful
transition in South Africa.

It is argued that although the
negotiations phase was brought
about at the ANCâ\200\231s initiative, the
situation is â\200\230â\200\230fluidâ\200\235â\200\231 and the
â\200\230â\200\230balance of forcesâ\200\231â\200\231 with the
Government is subject to con-
tinual change. There is a grave
danger that President FW de Klerk
and his negotiators are seeking to
supplant the ANC as the â\200\230â\200\230force
for changeâ\200\231â\200\231, and buy time in or-
der to â\200\234â\200\230evolve schemes intended
to compromise the depth of the
process of democratic transforma-
tionâ\200\235â\200\231.

Constitutional trickery is being
planned in this regard, the docu-

ment argues.

, The document proposes the

i retention of a hard line on:

strategy and tactics to be pre-

ANC strate
lcomba

â\200\230â\200\234mobilise the peopleâ\200\231â\200\231 throughout
the process of negotiations. This
includes the right to demonstrate,

. strike, demand the repeal of

repressive. legislation, and â\200\230secure
the return of exiles and political
prisoners - essentially, to â\200\230â\200\230deepen
the crisis gripping the apartheid
systemâ\200\231â\200\231; s

* The demand for an Interim
Government and the convening of
a Constituent Assembly to draw
up a new constitution, the estab-
lishment of Defence Units in
townships; 3

* The maintenance of
Umkhonto we Sizwe â\200\230â\200\230combat
formationsâ\200\231â\200\231 and structures of the
political underground until such
time as a transfer of power is
achieved;

* The need to mobilise the
broadest possible front of people,
including those in the homelands
and in state structures such as the
army and police;

* The need to strengthen and
structure alliances, particularly
with the South African Com-
munist Party and Cosatu, but also
with less committed allies; and

* The continuation of pressure
on the international community to
maintain sanctions.

The document recommits the

organisation to the provisions of -

the 1955 Freedom Charter, includ-
ing the redistribution of wealth.

It acknowledges that strategic
thinking has shifted on the ques-
tion of a seizure of power in South
Africa. Because of pressure on
Pretoria, the document argues, cir-
cumstances are such that a trans-
formation might be secured

through negotiations. However,
While in the past we pursued the
objective of seizure of power, and
pledged to enter negotiations if the
situation arose, the approach today
has definitely changed. We have
entered negotiations as a viable
mechanism for the transition to a
new order, under the new situa-

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* The right to vigorously

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1321'2Â«} @, Â»

- Strategy and tactics .. Chris Hani (left) and Thabo
M

beki.

tion, and we pledge to pursue the
perspective of 'seizure of power -
armed and/or otherwise - if the
situation changes.â\200\231â\200\231

The document acknowledges
that the ANCâ\200\231s organisational ca-
pabilities require urgent attention,
and says the leadership is duty
bound to consult closely with its
membership. The ANC also needs

o â\200\230â\200\230sharpen its strategy and tactics
as well strengthening structures
pertaining to negotiations in the
narrow sense.

â\200\230â\200\234This means, first and fore-
most, ensuring consistent political
leadership to our negotiating
teams, the mastering, on the part
of the movement as a whole, of
the art and science of parley,
ability to assess and utilise a given
balance of forces as well as con-
sistency and- flexibility at the ne-
gotiating table.

â\200\234In order to ensure that we
give leadership to the whole pro-
cess, and not find ourselves
responding to initiatives from the
other side, we need to deploy. such
resources as are necessary to the
area of negotiations and act with
deliberate speed in the formula- -
tion of our policies and ap-
proaches to various issues.â\200\231â\200\231

It concludes that South Africa

â\200\230â\200\230has entered a decisive stage in the struggle for national liberation. The strategy and tactics of the ANC must ensure that this advance is as rapid as possible, leads to genuine democratic change, and places the democratic movement at the vanguard of this process.â\200\235â\200\231

The â\200\230â\200\230main tasksâ\200\231â\200\231 facing the ANC during the transitional period are:

- * A rapid advance towards the transfer of power through the adoption of a constitution negotiated by an elected Constituent Assembly;

- * The establishment and maintenance of an Interim Government to supervise the transition;

- * The defence of gains won, particularly the ANCâ\200\231s recently achieved â\200\230political spaceâ\200\231â\200\231 in South Africa; and

- * A stress on the involvement of â\200\231the massesâ\200\235â\200\231, particularly with regard to â\200\230â\200\230running their own lives

and . Improving socio-economic conditionsâ\200\235â\200\231.

â\200\234â\200\234â\200\234It is primarily the strength of the ANC and its allies and not the integrity or otherwise of the forces in power, which will guarantee the success of the process of transition,

â\200\235â\200\231 the document concludesâ\200\230eÃ©

13

KWAZULU Deputy
Interior Minister, Mr
Samuel Bekizizwe
Jamile (60) said in the
College Road
Supreme Court on
Tuesday that he had
called his dismissed
driver a terrorist be-
-cause of his associa-
tion with â\200\234â\200\230girls from
the United Demo-
cratic Frontâ\200\235â\200\231.

Jamile, who is facing

â\200\23015 charges of murder, at-
tempted murder and in-
citement to murder, was
testifying during his
defence. He and his co-

DET

/F%Â¢

accused, Mr Msijzi
Hlophe (19) are appearing
before Mr Justice
Mitchell and two asses-

SOrS.

Jamile said he called
Mr Laurence Nitshalint-
shali - a key witness in

the trial and the dismissed.

chauffeur of Jamile - a
terrorist because he used

to see Nishalintshali talk-

ing to certain women in
Clermont: â\200\234â\200\230I knew they
were . Comrades. of the
UDF.â\200\231,

Evidence was led ear-
lier in the trial that both
Jamile and -Hlophe told
Nitshalintshali of their in-

volvement in the lullmgs

. of prominent Clermont

residents. :

Jamile said he stopped
trusting Nitshalintshali as
he feared he could be
bribed by the Comrades
to kill him. :

He said their relationship had gone sour shortly after Ntshali started working as his driver, as he realised he was not capable of driving a car properly,

and sometimes refused to

carry out normal instructions. ;

the hearing continues.

says top ANC

LUSAKA - African National Congress leader Mr Oliver Tambo has no intention of stepping down as president of the organisation to make way for his deputy

It is not true that Tambo will step down. It is such a happy occasion,

can only be national conference.

A national consultative conference

is scheduled for this Friday but will not start until 4 a.m.

It had now been

Tambo won't step down,

man Sebin

The ANC's national conference will be held in June next year.

Tambo arrives in South Africa today - his first visit since he left the country to attend the national conference which starts tomorrow. Â

* Local ANC spokesmen
Mabasa said last night differences between the organisation and police over

* Tambo's reception at Jan Smuts Airport

today had been resolved.

He said that he had invited the world to meet him in 2020

Any ANC member who wants to be elected must be at the airport to be elected

didmtusebusestogeti-202\en,becmof
d\elackofparkingspweforbusesatdle
airport. - Africa News Organisation and
200\230Sapa. ! Lh W RENL DauNb e

Township tour faces angry hostel Wellers

lus chase

\ i nÂ»t)
(\\ \\ By .â\200\231)""* 1

andela

JOHANNESBURGâ\200\224A delegation of high profile political and church leaders, ambassadors, editors and other dignitaries yesterday toured East Rand townships and squatter camps but were turned away from Zulu-dominated hostels by angry inmates chanting â\200\230Mandela awayâ\200\231.

African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela had become the focal point of the visit, but angxg hostel dwellers in an ugly mood

. amidst police and troops forced the two bus-loads of dignitaries to retreat.

Twenty people a day have died on the East Rand this month, in fierce interecine fighting with crude weapons, gun battles and night attacks on homes, according to an S A Institute of Race Relations preliminary report.

The Rev Allan Boesak, S A Communist Party secretary Joe Slovo, Pan Africanist Congress secretary general Benny Alexander, author Nadine Gordimer, former MPs Wynand Malan and Helen Suzman, and former NGK moderator Prof Johan Heyns were among dignitaries on the tour organised by the S A Council of Churches.

The delegation was met by chanting, ululating crowds in Phola Park, | and stopped to talk to residents, some of them armed, as they picked their way past stinking heaps of rubbish, pools of water and burnt-out shacks.

Dying

Mr Mandela and his wife, Winnie, were addressing the crowd with senior dignitaries outside two pre-fabricated | iron huts when their roofs collapsed

_under the weight of about 30 people. -

No one was injured, but the erowd and dignitaries surged away from the huts for fear of being caught by the collapsing iron. d

Squatters blamed Inkatha supporters for recent violence and showed Mr Mandela cartridges they alleged po- || lice used to aid Zulu attacks.

The cavalcade toured past fire-gutted homes in Thokoza, one with five dead chickens strewn across the lawn. â\200\230Chickens for Saleâ\200\231, read a sign on a nearby gate.

At Thokoza hostels, SACC general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane went forward to negotiate entrance for the dignitaries, but was told by inmates neither the ANC nor Mr Mandela were welcome.

â\200\230Away Mandela, Awa Chikaneâ\200\231 they chanted, carrying p acards saying, â\200\230ANC you must be nearer yourâ\200\231 goal â\200\224 more Zulus are dyingâ\200\231.

One hostel dweller said there would be â\200\230big fightingâ\200\231 if the ANC entered | the hostels. ; ; : 3

The small group of Zulu men and |, women, some with crude vtv?@'po . sang and danced when the delegation headed back the way they came.

â\200\230We donâ\200\231t want to talk to them (ANC). They

must talk to Chief (Man-gosuthu) Buthelezi,â\200\235 an angry man said.

Another said there was no need for the leaders. to meet because of â\200\230the violence, but- they should come and address people together.

He blamed Xhosa Phola Park squatters for start-

ing the violence. Earlier, ious squat-

ters gathe when the cavalcade arrived in Zonkeziwe squatter camp, accompanied by a large media contingent often driving three abreast along the dusty roads in efforts to get near the dignitaries.

| Boss

In Phola Park, one squatter said Mr Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Dr Buthelezi must meet to effect a lasting peace in the area.

â\200\230If the Zulus see their
boss meeting our boss, |
they might be satisfied,â\200\231
she said.

Earlier in the day, Dr
Buthelezi and Law and
Order Minister Mr
Adriaan Vlok addressed
thousands of Inkatha
supporters in Thokoza.

Dr Buthelezi was in-
vited to attend the
SACC tour, but on Tues-
day declined, citing a
tight schedule and the
late arrival of the invita-
tion as the main rea-
sons.

Dr Boesak said the
fact the IFP leader
chose the company of
Mr Viok above that of
church leaders indicat-
ed he was part of a Gov-
ernment alliance and
not truly committed to

\

THE pattern of events
taking place in South
Africaâ\200\231s Black town-
ships at present is simi-
lar to that which pre-
vailed in 1986, when
the ANC called for a

Â«Black Christmasâ\200\235 and .

townships ungovern-
able, according to in-
telligence analysts.
â\200\230These analysts said the
same revolutionary ingre-
dients are present - the
calls for mass -action, in-
timidation to get rid of
existing Black councils,
the creation of structures

_from street to regional le-

vel, targetting of the
police and security forces
for attack and propagan-
da, the formation of so-

called â\200\234defence commit-

teesâ\200\235, mass marches and
meetings and other steps.
Even the â\200\230terminology

are two fundamental

was similar, down to the
use of the phrase, Black
Christmas in 1986, when
the ANC was talking of -
liberated zones and of 2
rapid takeover of the
The analysts say there -
dif-
ferences at present.
The first is that the
ANC is no longer 2
banned organisation, and

therefore entitled to take

such actions within the
law that are permitted to
all other organisations.
The second, which was
present to 2 slight degree
in former times, â\200\230is that
the different groups are
now violently vying with
each other for power and
support in the Black areas
ahead of the negotiation
process, SO as to maximise

their posi

tiation table, a development which has spilled over into ethnic violence..

The police, the Indian, and Black .

policemen in

have been targetted for

attack and propaganda to -

and make them join the ANC, because the or-

ganisation realises that as

long as a strong, disciplined force is in place, the revolutionary objective of assuming control of areas and making them ungovernable ~ will not succeed,â\200\235 said an analyst.

â\200\234The same strategy was used in 1986, when the ANC was thwarted by good advance intelligence and the imposition of a State of Emergency,â\200\235 he said. -

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: Câ\200\230\
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S

However, as part of the political tactics being employed by the government as it moved towards a new

â\200\230South Africa, the State of

Emergency been dropped, and other measures such as the declaration of areas as unrest areas, were being used to achieve the objects that were achieved by the State of Emergency.

There were, however, certain disadvantages which were apparent in applying the current measures as against emergency regulations. -

When previously ' -apâ\200\224 5 7

plied, it was shown that

use individual areas
had to be declared as un-
rest areas, the tendency
was that the violence
merely shifted to new
areas once the measures
taken in an affected area had
proved effective,
- According to the ana-
lysts, this proved to be the
case during the recent up-
surge of unrest on the
Witwatersrand, where
certain areas were de-
clared unrest areas before .
the violence shifted else
where, only for violence
to flare up again in the
original areas once the
measures were lifted,
with Tokoza being 2
- classical example of
this. e

The Government had
also not reverted to mass
detentions of the kind
used in the period of un-
rest between 1984 and
1986 - which although un-
popular with the ANC
and the international
community, had a decid-
ed positive effect in curb-
ing the violence, when
"ANC fronts in South
Africa, were put into dis-
array by the detentions

and other measures. :

COMMENT

â\200\230now, but none deserves as much

_honour as ANC president Oliver
~ Tambo.

Telephone (011) 474-0128

Wrong move.

WO groups of leaders visited
the East Rand to help bring
â\200\230peace and sanity to that very
depressing area.
. With one group was Inkathaâ\200\231s
Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and
with the otî\201hr the ANCâ\200\231s Mr Nelson
~ Mandela. :
That there â\200\230were two different

parties, separately addressing the

two fighting factiou, defeated the
object of the exercise.

It was therefore not snvlrprisingâ\200\230
~that the hostel men spurned â\200\230one
group.

~ The South African Council of

/ Churches organised a delegation of

political and .community leaders
and diplomats to tour the l'aVi\202ge'!
area.

Buthelen had been mVited to Join

this group, but he chose instead to =
attend a meeting near Phola Park
with Law and Order Minister :

- Adriaan Viok.

nously believed that -

the visit â\200\230would help to put out the

fires. We cannot say with honesty
that the visits achieved their goal.

If anything we fear these hqg!ess

peopleâ\200\230*â\200\230migĩ¬\201t feel motivated 10 con-
tinue the fight after checlâ\200\230lilig their
respeeĩ¬\202yeleg:@-

that W
peopleâ\200\231s desperateâ\200\230 yĩ¬\202lm for
help. %

â\200\230 OUTH Afrien has beew wel-Q_
gomxng its returningsonsand,', Âf
daughters for some â\200\230months

â\200\230Whether one agrees with lus
politics or not, he deserves -
for the manner he guided the ANC
through its darkest years to now
when it is out o eshadows. :

COMMENT 1
Tambo's return

AFRICAN National Congress president, Mr Oliver Tambo, returns to South Africa today from 30 years in exile.

He guided the organisation internationally while leaders like Mr Nelson Mandela were in jail.

From the ANC point of view, his contribution to the organisation was immeasurable.

He left South Africa for Bechuanaland (Botswana) in March 1960 after the government announced the ANC would be banned.

= He was involved in establishing Umkhonto we

\ Sizwe bases in Tanzania and became ac >

president on the death of Chief Albert Lu-

\ thuli in 1967, taking the full title of president-

< general in 1977.

Like Mr Mandela, with whom he had a legal practice in Johannesburg in the 1950s, he became something of a legend.

~ But whereas Mr Mandela spent 27 years in

« jail, earning himself the title in the foreign

C media of the world's most famous political

-prisoner, and a reputation among Blacks as the «Father of the Nation», Mr Tambo had a less heroic and a less imposing. status internationally during his years away from South Africa.

Of the two, Mr Tambo obviously had the greater role to play in the decades in which he kept the movement together and acted as its roving ambassador.

Mr Mandela was a symbol; Mr Tambo was the ANC in living flesh. -

As its president, Mr Tambo had responsibility for the armed struggle; thus, he also had responsibility for acts of terrorism perpetrated in the name of «liberation».

As president, he also led the campaigns to overthrow the existing order.

Yet if many Whites do not regard him as a benign figure, ANC supporters hold him in the highest regard, the ANC Youth League claiming that he «ranks among the greatest political figures of our times. His sagacity,

maturity and humility are the marks of a towering personality imbued with a deep sense of justice and an inspiring love for the peopleâ\204ç.

Certainly, he is a leader whose steadfast belief in his people and the aims of his movement - has ensured him a noteworthy place in the history of this country.

Today, some of his hopes are about to be realised, with a new South Africa that will be democratic and non-racial.

Tragically for him, he suffered a stroke in London in August last year. This affected his speech and his left side is partially paralysed.

He is thus returning to a triumphant welcome, but is no longer capable of playing a leading role in the ANC's affairs.

Thus, while Mr Mandela has emerged from jail to lead the ANC in the absence of Mr Tambo, bestriding the world stage as an internationally acclaimed fighter for freedom, Mr Tambo can no longer carry the burden of office. ;

Predictably, Mr Mandela has ceased to be the legend he was while in jail.

He is no longer a god, but an ordinary, though highly astute political leader, faced with the

~ problems of negotiations with State President De Klerk, maintaining the impetus of the talks, and dealing with issues ranging from township violence to mass protest and mobilisation.

And his problems will be accentuated when the ANC becomes a political party, vying for support with other political parties.

He will be the first to acknowledge his and the ANC's debt to Mr Tambo, but the future lies in their hands, not in Mr Tambo's.

Nevertheless, it will be an emotional homecoming for Mr Tambo, and the ANC intends to get the utmost mileage out of it.

We do not begrudge them their joy at Mr Tambo's return. Indeed, we welcome him back as a Black nationalist leader who played a major role in events that helped to bring about the changes that are transforming South Africa.

We hope, despite his illness, he will be able, as an elder statesman, to play a moderating role in the ANC and in the creation of the new South Africa.

%

Flashback Oliver Tambo meets Pres Julius Nyerere and Pres Samora Machel.

Welcome to

to pay for it in plenty
of blood. But it will
com.â\200\235 Most South

been banned in this
country for decades.

First banned in 1954,
the Government has
steadfastly upheld the
clampdown on Tambo's
views.

Oliver Tambo with Archbishop of Cante
Dr Robert Runcie

the ban was exercised was illustrated by a RI100 court fine imposed on the Star in 1983 for quoting Tambo as saying he could not be legally quoted.

Today, â\200\230â\200\230Comrade
ORâ\200\235â\200\231 will receive a heroâ\200\231s
welcome. Sadly, little will
be seen and heard of this
legendary leader during a
three-week visit.
Recovering from a
severe stroke he suffered
in August last year, the
revered ANC leaderâ\200\231s

oury,

speech has been affected
and his right side partially
paralysed.
Throughout the dark
years of the ANCâ\200\231s strug-
gle, Tambo has kept the
movement together and
acted as its roving ambas-
sador, mustering interna-
tional support for the
organisation in all the
worldâ\200\231s capitals:
He is a devoted Chris-
tian, an essentially non-
violent person but an un-
compromising proponent
J of the armed struggle, a
) sharp thinker, and above

all, an eternal optimist
about the prospects of a

The Sowetan today
publishes extracts from
Tamboâ\200\231s speeches and
Q) rare media interviews,
)d compiled in book form by
his wife, Adelaide, and
published by Heinemann.

* On negotiations'
(}987): If the key to ne-
gotiations were in our
hands, we would long
have used it to open .the
door.

Such measures as have
been proposed for us to
adopt, namely the cessa-
tion or suspension of our
armed struggle or the
unilateral proclamation of
a moratorium, will do
nothing to bring about ne-
gotiations.

*To next page

ST > 0

* From previous page

The Pretoria regime is refusing to bring about negotiations not because there is an armed struggle, but because it is unwilling to give up white minority domination.

* On ungovernability
(1986): Our own tasks are

Charter, we have to break down and destroy the old order.

We have to make apartheid unworkable and our country ungovernable.

* On violence (1986):
We would much rather that no blood was lost, that the country was left intact. But not at the expense of our continued enslavement.

* On sanctions
(1957): Although one does not expect the Government to fall overnight as a result, hitting Nationalists in the sensitive region of the pocket may bring them to their senses more effectively than many more conventional protests which they have ignored.

* On the impact of sanctions on blacks
(1986): It is idle to say nothing should be done because blacks will suffer. That kind of argument displays lack of knowledge, lack of appreciation of what apartheid has been and continues to be.

It is the pain of apart-

heid that we want to stop by ending apartheid. We are not asking for pity for our suffering. We are asking to be supported for

the sacrifices we are

ready to make.

The burden that sanctions will bring upon us are a sacrifice we are prepared to make,

* On mass mobilisation (1983): Because we could not rely on bases outside South Africa, we had to place more reliance on the popular masses in our country.

We have had, as part of our struggle, to develop mass mobilisation, and do this with concentration and con-

- * On redistribution

\
g

how the wealth of our country is redistributed, how the economy of our country is remoulded in

order that all South Africans may thrive and

prosper, should find their solutions in the context of democracy.

These are matters re-

* quiring the . participation

of the people; issues to be

; settled by informed

debate and discussion in a

Q democratic and sovereign

m parliament rather than through street battles.

This is an enormous task but our approach has, as its starting point, our commitment: to democracy.

There are no glib ans-

wers and we are not to provide any.

* On racism (1980): Racism serves to justify exploitative social relations, Therefore, while it is perfectly justified to wage a struggle against racism, it is also impor-

tant at all times to seek a deeper understanding of this anti-human phenomenon to be able to remove its root causes rather than focus solely on the effects.

* On PW Botha's reforms. (1987): . Of course he dresses up this naked and increasing spiral of brutality with the contention that law and order are a necessary precondition for his brand of reform. One wonders: is there anyone who is still prepared to

(1987): The issues as to

- W -

buy such an empty pack-

age of meaningless promises?

* On black empowerment (1971): And who are the blacks in South Africa? They are the people known, and treated, as kaffirs, tSpcoolli@sâ, and â, together with those South Africans whose total political identity with the oppressed Africans makes them black in all but the accident of skin colour.

* On unity (1958): A united struggle is our best answer to apartheid, which threatens to destroy South Africa. We have the task of bringing peace and happiness to all the people of this land.

* On black/white relations (1958): The political conflict is developing a dangerous black versus white complexion. Such a situation no doubt suits the present Government, but it does not suit the ANC and has to be avoided.

* On destabilisation (1983): We must see destabilisation as part of the attempt by the South African regime to carry

out their old ambition of dominating southern Africa economically and politically, Smuts did it. Verwoerd did it. John Vorster pursued the same objective, and then came Pieter (PW) Botha with his idea of a constellation of states. :

It is an old dream,
They are trying to weaken these countries economically, to keep them economically underdeveloped so as to increase their dependence upon South Africa:

* On relations with the USSR (1981): The enemy likes to squeal that we have been fighting with either Soviet-made weapons, Or communist made weapons. It does not matter what weapons they are. But we are glad to have them, and shall

TR

Comrade OR

continue to use them if they are effective - and they are.

* On relations with the SACP (1981): Ours is not merely a paper alliance but a living organism that has grown out of struggle. We are not the same.

Our experience is that the two influence each other. The ANC is quite capable of influencing, and is liable to be influenced, by others.

* On the PAC (1983): ..

My attitude towards the

PAC is that it is not & worth even discussing.

* On Mandela's incarceration (1980): He and the other jailed na-

tional leaders have a presence in the consciousness of our people and of the world public, so powerful that it cannot be explained except in terms of the indestructibility of the cause to which they have surrendered their liberty and offered their lives - the cause of the oppressed majority in South Africa, the cause of Affrica, the cause of progressive Â° mankind.

Oliver Tambo...home after being in exile for 30 years

2 13

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander were among the leaders who responded to the SACC's invitation to tour the troubled Tokoza township

ARMED Inkatha followers marched in protest against the South African Council of Churches' peace tour of the troubled Tokoza township on the East Rand yesterday.

on the East Rand yesterday.

By KENOSI MODISANE

and Sapa

What was meant to be a 200-day

of peace turned into political rallies as Inkatha and ANC followers displayed their party flags and exchanged epithets in the streets.

55 S

in the township was

i Pic: MOFFAT ZUNGU

Inkatha on the march

over
SACC
visit

The presence of the South African Defence Force averted what could have been an ugly scene at the entrance of the hostel gates when Inkatha followers objected to the peace tour convoy, led by the Rev Frank Chikane, entering the hostel.

The protesters displayed

rotest over peace tour

placards accusing the
SACC of bias towards the
ANC. And some hurled
expletives at Chikane and
Mandela.

Some of the placards'

read: 'SACC - When will
you be brave enough to
condemn the ANC when
they do wrong?' and
'Inkatha shall not sur-
render to the ANC's bru-
tal force.'
Newsmen and dig-
nitaries in the convoy

were forced to hurriedly

leave the hostel en-
route to the army barracks

when residents and the
hostel dwellers exchanged
strong words.

The convoy was
forced to turn back and
follow an alternative
route to Natal Spruit Hos-
pital where ANC deputy
president Mr Nelson
Mandela addressed resi-
dents who had followed
the procession.

Inkatha leader Chief
Mangosuthu Buthelezi,

who turned down the

SACC's invitation to join

the tour, arrived with Law

and Order Minister
Adriaan Vlok earlier in
the day. For

complicity

Vlok made an urgent
appeal for peace in
Tokoza after a brief tour
of the strife-torn area.

I wholeheartedly

support Dr Buthelezi's

plea that violence must

end now,â\200\235â\200\231 Vlok told
-several thousand Inkatha

ers. -
Earlier, Buthelezi
made a similar call for

ace.
Vlok also conveyed

his and State President

FW de Klerkâ\200\231s con-

- dolences to the families of

more than 80 people who
have died in fierce clashes

between Zulus and
T Xhosas since last Friday.

However, the huge
crowd near the Tokoza
police station let out cries
of disbelief and hissed
when Vlok said the SAP
were impartial in protect-
ing township residents.

The Ministerâ\200\231s state-
ment was made in the
wake of allegations and
counter-allegations from
both factions about police
in the
violence.

â\200\230% Phe-â\200\230crowd, 'however, .

applauded when he an-
nounced new plans for
protecting township resi-
dents. : .

These plans included
troop and police reinfor-
cements and the appoint-
ment of a senior police
officer to deal with al-
legations of police collu- ;
sion.

Vlok requested the In-
katha supporters to return
to the hostels and stay
calm. He assured them
the police would do their
utmost to protect them.

But, Inkatha leader
Chief Buthelezi added
afterwards that although
people were asked to be
peaceful, this did not take
away â\200\230â\200\230their inalienable
rightâ\200\235â\200\235 to protect them-

selves from attack. .

After both men spoke,
thousands of ululating Inkatha supporters danced
and marched back to their
hostels.

_ Police prevented a
confrontation when they
stopped a crowd of Zulus
from approaching a small

,_group of singing ANC
supporters nearby.

ik o WIINVESS: 5 S35 P 5.

ANC rejects personal meeting between Mandela

The southern Natal branch of the ANC does not want them to, would be right after deep consultation not support a one-to-one meeting between - Jones - within the structures:- " :

Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthe - If and when the regional office recommended. * The ANC southern Natal regional office Buthe, according to the congress regional office - recommend a meeting it would call for the ANC " had, however, called for grassroots dialogue office in Durban... national executive to accompany the ANC between the congress and the IFP,

- Reacting to reports in the press.. on Monday deputy president, and Buthelezi to be asked. about the possibility of mass day morning, spokesman Cyril Xulu said: * accompanied by his councillors. = = « - - action 1985 1984 roundly condemned at this week - | 1984 We are a movement of the people. We don't 1984 1984 Idon't 1984 think it is correct to say the time is - end 1984 IFP conference 1984 Xulu said: 1984 There

think it is going to crack the violence in any night at the moment, 1985 1985: said Xulu - The time will be mass action for sure. 1985 1984 Sapa:

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has re-elected Chle - Mangosuthu Buthelezi as leader of the party and - : dedicated themselves to fighting for a multi-party democracy . g ; 3

- 1984: At a special congress at Ulundi at the weekend the IFP resolved to create regional and provincial structures. The central committee 1984 directed by the - president 1985 was mandated to establish a transition - commission to look at the formation of the national

structures.

The delegates said because the going 1984 could get tougher before negotiations start producing benefits 1 for South Africa" they made themselves 1984 available to the president .. as leader of the IFP to pick up or put it down and for him to direct and to command PR

They also called upon Buthelezi to 1984 lead us his followers, and to lead all the members of the IFP,

- through our own internal transitional period and into ..

1984 the politics of negotiation using all the discretion he

1984 in his own wisdom desires to add to the elected and

Commitment to establish a multi-party democracy 1984 and | would avoid all constitutional forms 1984 of giving 1984

the new head of state the kind of draconian powers

that the present state president has mentioned. 1984 ;

; ; 1984 1984 hey called for: a

1984 Organisation for Africa and the European Community to lift = 1984 sanctions and stop call

3 for further sanctions.

is called upon the ANC: ;â\200\230as~ 3
one of the possible major'
â\200\234playersâ\200\235in the politics of .

.-negotiation to make. its >
-own call for an early i e

to the PAC to join the>;
â\200\230negotiation process. %

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December 13, 1990

ECHO

Probe into Reef carnage

JOHANNESBURG â\200\224 Top-level investigations began yesterday into the violence which killed 52 people when Zulus and Xhosas clashed at Thokoza and Phola Park squatter camp on Tuesday.

Law and order minister Adriaan Vlok, accompanied by kwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, flew by helicopter to the tense townships adjoining Alberton early yesterday for an on-the-spot look at what happened there in recent days.

They were to be followed later by ANC vice-president Nelson Mandela and newly-elected Pan Africanist Congress president Clarence Makwetu, who were to go there at the invitation of the South African Council of Churches.

Police have categorically denied claims they had instigated attacks by armed Xhosas on Zulus living at Thokoza hostels. It has been claimed that a 3am attack started the wave of violence on Tuesday.

- The war-ravaged East Rand townships were quiet overnight in the wake of a commitment by senior ANC and Inkatha representatives to end the carnage. â\200\230]

Yesterdayâ\200\231s peace initiative followed a meeting on Tuesday afternoon between Inkatha and ANC delegations led by Inkatha Youth League chairman Themba Khoza and ANC national executive member Penuell Maduna. At the meeting, chaired by Lieutenant-General Louw Malan of SAP headquarters, the two delegations undertook â\200\234to work for peace and to promote peace and stability which are in the best-interests of allâ\200\235.â\200\224 Sapa.

i â\200\224â\200\224

Tambo near to end
of 30-year exile

By Patil Waldmeiy in Johannesburg

MR Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Con â\20278s (ANC) and its most prominent remaining exile, returns to South Africa today for the first time In three decades,

~ Mr Tambo, affectionately known by his initfals O.R., has been partially incapacitated since he suffered a stroke last year, and scems unlikely to a3sume an active leadership role within the organisation,

He will remain in the titular role of president unti] the ANC elects a new leadership at a conference to be held next June. Mr Nelson Mandela, designated as deputy to Mr Tambo after his release from prison last February, fs likely to remajn the ANC's de facto Jeaders.

None the less, Mr Tambo's personal Influence over Mr Mandela - the two men were partners in South Africaâ\200\231s first black law firm in the 1950s - should not be underesti- mated. Mr Tambo, a moderate nationalist figure within the ANC, is expected lo live with Mr Mandela at his Soweto home, and could counter the radical influence of Mr Mand- ela's wife Winnie and hey close assocfate, Mr Peter Mokaba, ultra-radical leader of the South African Youth Congress,

Mr Tambo is to delivey the opening address at this week- end's ANC consuliative confer- ence, the first to be held inside South Afrlea since the ANC was banned fn 1960, He has made few other public appear- ances since his stroke in August 1989, and the Friday address will provide the best opportunity yet to gauge the extent of his disability,

Diminutive and soft-spoken, Mr Tambo lead the ANC dur- Ing the mid-1980s, when it car- Hed out guerrilly attacks on

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â\200\231vlâ\200\230anâ\200\230lâ\200\230hor friend of Mandelui

clvilian targets

Africa, waged campaign to
render the countryâ\200\231s bla

in South
ck

townships ungovernahle by
harassing and murdering hlack
town councillors and fostering
boycotts of rent and service

bayments.

Called on to defend these

activities, Mr

Famho - g

devout Christiog unee accepted

as a candidate for
- always appeared

able, He eventuully

ordination
uncomfort-
dissociated

the movement from attacks on
â\200\234softâ\200\235 targets, bt only after a

number of Âçiviling

deaths,

Mr Tambo's lesistance cre.
dentjals aye Impeceable: tried
in the celebrated 1967 Treason
Trial, he was lanned and even-

tually left South

Africa in

March 1960, He has lived in

exile, mostly in Tanzania, Zam-

bia and London, und travelled

widely in the west
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Page 20

and castern

new world,

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- Peace effort '

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Mandela demo
JOHANNESBURG; Angry

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Âçhurch-sponsorad dale-

visit Âç **

fails after
Zulus insytl

Mandelas

By Christopher Munnion
in Johannesburg

ZULU hoste) dwellers chased
away a delegation of Church
leaders, diplomats and politi.
clans, including Mr elson
Mandela,dunâ\200\231nu "â\200\230peace mis.
sionâ\200\235 to Johannesburg's To-
koza township yestmlqg)

Chief Mangosuthy uthe-
lezi, the Zulu leader, had made

a i-\202ylng visit to the area with
Mr Adriaan Viok, Law. and

nder Mimâ\200\230stgr. earlier in the
day to meet with an unÃ©nthusi.
astic reception from residents,

The visits by Chief Buthelezi
and Mr Mand(:la. deputy
leader of the African Natjonal
Congress, did not coincide, but
it was clear by the end of a
tense day that both their mis.
sions had fajled. â\200\230

The ugliest incident
occurred as a 50-strop South
African Council of C urches
delegation approached the
Zulu hostels, scene of fighting
which left 65 People dead the
Previous day. More thap 100
people have been killed in the
township in the past week,

Mr Mandela, hjs wife, Win.
nie, the Rev Alan Boesak, the
writer Nadime Gordimer and
Mrs Helen Suzman, a former
MP, were in the dele ation,

â\200\230hey were greete by a pha.
lanx of Zulu men carrying tra.
ditional weapons, includin

Wwooden staves, who blockade
the road leading to the hostels
and set up a war chant as the
delegation approached in cars,
A Zulu woman stepped in
front of the Mandelasâ\200\231 car and
lifted her skirt in a delibentely i
insulting gesture, After a few
lense moments the delegation
drove away and police moved

inand sealed off the area.
â\200\224â\200\224

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[3/12/70 -

'ownship tour... Chietâ\200\230 Buthelezi hslens as the Ltw and Order Minister, Adnaan Vlok
. talks to reporters

GIREPEP - SUERAE % 13 SRR IFI). 7 P

! latest flashpe

David Beresford

. in Johannesburg

N THE eve of the
return from exile of
the African National
Congress's President,
Otiver Tambo, South Africaâ\200\231s
black leaders appeared to be
ing no headway in efforts
to end the political fruding
which has caused the -ccent |
carnage in the: Transvaal.
Both Nelson Mandela and the
Zalu leader, Chief Man: mh-
Buthelezi. went o
peace missigas 0 Thokozz
int in the t\.v r-
ship violence on the East ANG.
Bu: Mr blandela and his nÂç.11~
a peace delegation arganised
b the Seuth African Councili aof |
Churches â\200\224 were driven off by
supporters of Chief Buthelezl.
The gdeath toli in Theko:a
rose to 124 in 10 days. with the
announcerient by police carly

yesterday that another five
corpses had been discovered.
Later Chief Buthelezi flew into

the township by helicopter with
the Minister of Law and Order.
Adriaan Vlok.

who gathered near the
Thokoza police station, brand-
ishing sticks and spears, to
hear the two men -- when he
told them that the security
forces remained impartial.
But he was cheered when he

Mr Vlok was jeered by a:
| crowd of several thousand Za-

: 3!\'1\ t\200\230\ il

would then the reiterations
he brought in to hal:

into a demand" s
ing. lay down your arms.\200\235
Buthelezi told the crowd.

The chief urged them to give
\200\234every co-operation\200\231 to the
church party. including Mr
, Mandela. But when the church
| cavalcade. led by the SACC gen-
eral secretary. Rev Frank Muth-
| kane. later attempted -
s preach to sy
| Thokoza

disking placard

}andela: Awas
..}n; oing â\200\234ANC.
nearsy vour 2od -
aw dving.â\200\235
Chantic srenes are cpected
rodar in Johannesburg wien
Mr Tampo returns aome 0
South Africa after wmore than 3
years in cxile. Sguabbiing de-
veloped vesterday bereeen
autharines anc lh-â\200\230 ANC over
arrangemen:s for his recept: nn
Police were .mlstmg that onls
few dozen people could bv

; allowed wnect him.

aAr Tambo is tÂ¢ open the
ANCâ\200\231s three-day consultative
conference in the city lomor
rong. It appears thar hie ingencis
setrfing in the counwy. The
ANC was reported vestorday o
have bought a plot of land on
which a nouse is te be built lor
him in the township of Watt-
ville on the East Rand.

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. MRS S

our months of

ship slaughter i
cal inertia and police
brutality have done

weh to sully the vision of a
rave new South Africa which
wimed so near when Mr Nel-
i Mandela, deputy president
f the African National Con-
ress (ANC), left prison last
ebruary.

Breathtaking progress has
Ircady been made towards
holishing apartheid: Pretoria
as said it will repeal sll dis-
riminatory legisiation, much
f it during the parliamentary
rsson which begins in Febru:
ry; repression has eased and
ome political prisoners have
cen released and exiles
rought home; anti-apartheid
touns have been allowed to
rganise {reely.

lLast weekend, for example,
wllice stood by while the ultra-
adical Pan Africanist Con-
mess {(PAC) gathered to pro
note the slogan Yone settler,
e bullesâ\204¢. And tomorrow, the
nest powerful black grouping,
b ANC, will hold its first con-
ultative conference in South
Miea for 30 vears
liut despite such evidence of
wopress, there are signs of
nertia on both sides; since the
N suspended its armed
truggle against white rule,

Pretoria and the ANC
weian lo have put the new
sulith Africa on hold

alks o o new constitution
wmed for varly next 1

a dikely to be delayed. The)

nol begin at all untu

'k and white leaders alike
slve lo stop the violence
hich has tortured black towny-
Jhips since August, leaving
Â¢ i) peeple dead and the fub-
pieof social life in taters.

'hat violence has given
sonth Alricans a glimpse of a
Lral, Jawless society where

yeman life is held in contempt;
e their leaders have, in lurge
aeasure, responded with noth.
l maore than mutial reerumni:

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ownship violence, and the
o & of political will to deal

l at, has so far proved an

uperable obstacle to the
acay South Africa. ANC offi-
juls admit that the carnage -
which they believe has been
inspired by Pretoria to weaken
themm - has done the move-
ment untold political damage.

In Soweto or Thokoza, the
East Rand township which has
scen the worst violence, resi-
dents blame the ANC for fall-
ing to protect them. Many
believe its decislon to suspend
the armed struggle on August
& led directly to the fighting
which began only days later,
If the ANC has lost support,
Inkatha the Zulu political
party led by Chief Mangosuthu
Buthelezi - has undoubtedly
gajned it. In the Transvaal,
where its strengtih appeared
negligible before the violence,
Zulu migrant workers have
tlocked to Inkatha, whose offi-
cials have often led the Zulu
otfensive.

Pretoria, for its part, stands Â°

cullty at the very least of fail
ing to do enough to separate
the warring partics. In some
instances, police have certainly
incited violence, and in many
others they have watched it
happen. Eventually, they
assumed their proper role as
peacekeepers - but only after
800 people had died. And in
Thokoza, where scoros have
died in the past week, there is
renewed evidence of sccurity
{urce misconduct.

After months of dithering,
Mr FW de Klerk, the presi.

IMKATHRA

As the ANC convenes,
Patti Waldmeir looks at
Q Africa in transition

Barriers to
a brave

â\200\230new vision

Violence in South Afrlca's black townships threatens to stall the progress that has been made towards abolishing apartheid

dent, and Mr Mandela have finally found the political will to deal with the slaughter. Hoping fervently that their warm personal relations will carry them through to a solution, the two men have met several times recently to discuss security force misconduct, and the ANC's campaign of â\200\234mass mobilisationâ\200\235 which Pretoria blames for destabilising black townships

But violence alone cannot account for the recent loss of momentum in negotiations, Confusion within the ANC has also played a role, both in preventing more rapid progress and, apparently, in weakening Pretoria's resolve to seek an early deal with the ANC

â\200\234The government did to think that first prize was to cut a deal with Mandela. Then they began to ask, â\200\230Can you cut it with him? Now some of them are asking, â\200\230Do you want to? " says one of the country's most prominent political commentators.

Ministers have clearly been appalled at the ANC's lack of organisation; and the fact that ANC membership is off by 200,000 well short of its goal of 1m - has made them doubt that it has over-

whelming popular support. Mr Mandela's conduct has also given cause for concern, The 72-year-old ANC leader sometimes contradicts himself in public, and often contradicts his colleagues, many in Pretoria doubt his ability to guarantee mass support for a negotiated settlement,

Indeed, the three-day conference finds the ANC in considerable disarray. Its leadership is fractious and poorly coordinated, combining released prisoners struggling to readjust to the pace of life outside jail; returned exiles who have spent decades away from their homeland; and internal leaders who were at the front line of the

battle against apartheid, but

, shunted aside by the
s and prison leaders,

Inevitably, as the ANC
moves beyond the liberation
struggle towards the sponsi-
hilities of government, its
united front is beginning to
dissolve. The Congress of
South African Trade Unions
(Cosatu) and the ANC with the
ANC and South African Com-
munist Party (SACP) forms the
so-called tripartite alliance
which has begun to assert its inde-
pendence, and civic associa-
tions which form the backbone

of ANC support in black town: i
ships have expressed their
frustration with the movement
by acting unilaterally.
Tensions at the top are com-
pounded by what ANC officials
admit are serious signs of dis-
affection in the ranks. Many
ANC supporters opposed the
decision to suspend armed
struggle, and believe too little
was exacted for this conces-
sion. They complain that their
leader acts autocratically, tak-
ing decisions in secrecy.
One of the aims of the con-

ference is to consult the wishes
of members, through their
elected branch representatives,
and at least as important -
to be seen to be doing so.

No doubt there will be some
bloodletting between the
ANC's two main camps: insy-
rectionists like Mr Ronnie Ki-
rils (one of two white members
of the national executive) and
Mr Chris Hani, chief of staff of
the military wing, Umkhonto
we Sizwe: and those who
believe there is no alternative
to negotiation, including
M Thabo Mbeki, chief diplomat
and Mr Jacob Zuma, one of the
most talented negotiators

In the end, Mr Mandela will
be called on to straddle the
divide. The conference will
probably conclude an apparent
conciliation, and the
ANC will reaffirm its commit-
ment to negotiation

But not, say ANC officials,

negotiation at any cost. Sensitive to the charge that Pretoria has outmanoeuvred it consistently since talks began, the ANC could threaten to pull out unless certain conditions are met, such as the release of remaining political prisoners and the return of exiles. Progress has been stalled for months because of a dispute with Pretoria over continued recruitment and training of ANC guerrillas.

But the ANC knows that it cannot do what Mrs Winnie Mandela has threatened: "Go back to the bush and take up arms against the white man." Its armed struggle was never more than an irritant to Pretoria: and clever diplomacy from Mr de Klerk has largely deprived the ANC of the sanctions weapon (lifting sanctions will be discussed at the conference, but consensus still looks distant).

ANC officials seem intent on a show of strength to frighten Pretoria. Some top officials talk of calling in blacks into the streets of white South Africa early in the new year. But recent ANC marches, which attracted only 20,000 in Johannesburg and Pretoria together, make this look like wishful thinking.

The ANC's key problem - leadership dominated by elderly exiles and former prisoners who lack a sense of urgency and, in many cases, basic competence - cannot be

solved at this conference. Lead:

Leadership elections have been postponed until next June; until then the dead wood may continue to block the way to a post-apartheid South Africa.

In the end, though, a deal must be done. Whatever they may say, neither the ANC nor the governing National Party can survive on its own - and the third main player, Chief Buthelezi, cannot afford to abstain when those two parties

share out power. But the process may well take years, and the chances are that South Africa in transition will remain a frighteningly violent place.

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" by Lakela aunda " ~ tragedy, â\200\230a
THE: business' commu.-' shock. "t 41 %6 \
nity has reacted with .. â\200\234we â\200\234:were â\200\230:â\200\234working

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too shocke o fOr.
~ Words. But what can one#
today is nothing=

formal meeting . Commerce

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S President

.. of the Nat-
~lonal Chamber of Indus- -

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ation of prominent busj- - accomplish.: &
nesswoman Majoy Mcoyi. - Mainly. throu

* The executive director
of the Pietermaritzburg;
Chamber of Industries i contacted. â\200\230us;.: & e
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. businesswoman
â\200\224 enterprising and had

â\200\234 great determination.fj

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Yy and a lot of progress
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f Industries. I

Political writer Shaun Johnson said

conference

OPINION

CSTHA

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nd-guesses this w

weekendâ\200\231s historic

he question facing the

ANC

UNDERLYING all the
fraught tactical decisions
to be faced at the ANCâ\200\231s

historic â\200\234homgc_omingâ\200\230;â\200\231f
conference this weekend is on
the most profound psychological
importance to the movement.

For 72 hours, 1611 delegates
will step off the rollercoaster of
this yearâ\200\231s frenetic events, and
seek an answer to a single ques-
tion: does the struggle for change

" in South Africa still take the form
of a â\200\234national democratic revolu-
tionâ\200\235, or have developmentâ\200\230ts al-
lowed for the adoption of a â\200\234refor-
mistâ\200\235 approach which can still
lead to a fundamental transfer of

wer?
poln other words, they will have
to ask themselves: are we doing
the right thing in negotiating with
the Government on its terms, or
are we being manoeuvred into
making unacceptable compro-
mises which run counter to the
ANCâ\200\231s long-held positions? :
matter involves much more
character in revolutionary rhetoricâ\200\231.1

It will do no less than dictate the

attitude and approach next year

at the negotiating table of ;e

torialâ\200\231s principal challenger for

power. It will also shed some light

on current balances of influence

within the ANC. i

n its pre-Consultative Confer-
ence edition, the ANC's journal
Mayibuye looks searchingly at
this question:

Our definition of South African
society and the nature of the rul-
ing class will determine whether
we still see the struggle as a na-
tional democratic revolution, the
main content of which is the liber-
ation of the black people, and
Africans in particular. Or would
we, in the context of negotiations,
talk about reform as our ap-
proach?

Mayibuye concludes that the
gathering will have to pronounce
on this. For it is on the basis of
agreement on these issues that the
Conference will have to deal with
the thorny questions about forms
of struggle and the forms of trans-
fer of power envisaged. The cru-
cial issue in this regard is: have
we entered negotiations as a tac-

tic, or as a strategy? Given the
changes since February 2, do we
see a negotiated transfer of power
as the most probable outcome of
the present phase?

Contrary to recent speculation,
the fact of negotiating is not in it-
self the source of a split be-

" tween militants and moderates

within the ANC. All, including
those in the ANC underground, en-
dorse the initiatives taken by the
ANC leadership thus far.

But the conference will be seek-
ing to attach a vital nuance to this
agreement: it will establish a posi-
tion between those who fully ac-
cept the bona fides of the Govern-
ment, and those who remain deep-
ly suspicious. The potential for
compromise on present and future
obstacles which are and will be
manifold will thereby be estab-
lished.

It is likely that the historic ANC
gathering will enter the history
books as a fightingâ Mayi-
buye's phrase rather than a
conciliatory conference. This atti-
tude will infuse the debates on the
key areas isolated by the ANC
leadership for special attention on
the agenda: negotiations and the
suspension of armed struggle,

" ANC strategy and tactics, vio-

lence, organisation-building, international isolation, and the programme of action for 1991.

The question is the extent to which militancy will win the day.

There is some dissatisfaction in ANC circles, for example, about the basic document on strategy and tactics, which will be presented at the conference. Some ANC members believe it is vague and inconclusive.

One source said it failed to give real direction. Others called it â\200\234overgeneralised, triumphalist ... pretty much useless.â\200\235 What is required, militants believe, is a de-

-tailed programme for practical

action to weaken the Governmentâ\200\231s position in preparation for real negotiations.

It is argued that the resurgence of mass action, particularly in the form of the current â\200\234Peace and Freedom Nowâ\200\235 campaign, will influence the conference and lead to a significant â\200\234beefing upâ\200\235 of the document before resolutions are adopted. â\200\234The document as it stands is unlikely to be decisive in determining the way ahead,â\200\235 said one source. â\200\234At a mass level there is a seething anger, and it will be difficult to hold back the will of these people to have their voices heard.

â\200\234We are concerned to re-emphasise that nothing De Klerk has done since his strategic retreat in February has changed the contradictions that are at the base of South African society. So we have to come up with strategies and tactics which are best able to unlock the right doors.

â\200\234The Governmentâ\200\231s job is to make sure we identify the wrong doors. The masses are our battering ram, our means both of defence and attack.â\200\235

There is concern that negotiations have been elevated to the status of the ANCâ\200\231s prime means of activity and even, in some cases, an exclusive means. .

Many delegates will be pushing

for the involvement of the masses to be upgraded dramatically, thus lessening the emphasis on the exclusive dealings between the leadership and the Government.

Much hinges on the wording and tone of the Programme of Action which emerges on Sunday. Many delegates will be urging an unequivocal document which re-gains the identity of the ANC, and ensures that ordinary activists feel involved in the process

T&A» P(J 2,

By EsmarÃ©
van der Merwe
and Kaizer Nyatsumba

Angry stick-wielding
Zulus yesterday warned
Nelson Mandela that a
war would break out if he
were to set foot in a To-
koza hostel while on a
peace mission to the
strife-torn East Rand.

Mr Mandela was part of a
60-man delegation of politi-
cal,â\200\231 pommunity and church
7 leadsys and . dlomats tour-
ing k. *t Rand toy~ships at
.the invitation of &ae South
African Council of Churches.

The Tokoza hostel crowd
was so hostile that the dele-
gationâ\200\231s vehicles had to be
turned round.

.Hours â\200\230earlier, Inkatha
Freedom Party leader Chief
Mangosuthu Buthelezi told

[andel

about 1200 armed Zulus at
the nearby township audito-
rium that the killing of
blacks by blacks was â\200\234a
shame to the whole of black
South Africaâ\200\235.

Chief Buthelezi visited the
area with Law and Order
Minister Adriaan Vlok after
having turned down an invi-
tation to form part of the

SACC delegation, which in-

cluded top leaders of the
ANC, PAC, SACP and Azapo.
~ Mr Mandela and his wife,
Winnie, received a heroâ\200\231s
welcome inâ\200\231 Phola Park be-

fore travelling to the hostel '

in: Tokoza township, where

lu leaders shouted at a
media contingent to leave
the area, saying: â\200\234We donâ\200\231t
want the ANC here. Other-
wise we will fight to die.â\200\235

Placards read â\200\234ANC you
must be closer to your goal
â\200\224 more Zulus are dyingâ\200\235,

a

and â\200\234SACC when will you be
brave enough to condemn
the ANC when they do
-wrongâ\200\231. i s

Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s presence.
overshadowed the SACC tour -
Park, Zonkâ\200\231zizwe, "
Tokoza and the Natalspruit Â® -
But the crowds -
which gathered to listen to' "
him were disappointed. He' il _ _

i Ml\,gil lokâ\200\234who flew over
â\200\234Ka

of Phola

Hospital.

did not address them. o
At Phola Eark,j;resideâ\200\230nts
sang
(Buthelezi) isitroubling us.â\200\235
During '

pÃ@acefi¬\201:i.ithex\â\200\230"â\200\230ine'gated nor
{nvalidated peopleâ\200\231s right to
defend themselves.

He said he had come to
Tokoza after an urgent re-
quest from a-'delegation of

IFP leaders in Tokoza, who.

had alleged the SAP were in-
volved in the violence.

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in Xhosa: vi- \201atSha : ,
.. ingat Tokoza Police Station,

his visit; Chief !
Buthelezi called on his sup- "
*, porters to lay down:arms;.
. but warned that his plea for
the{ were refused entry. 7

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terated accusations of a

yâ\200\234t\
Vlok, who not only agreed to
accompany him on the tour,
but also suggested that Mr
Mandela be invited to come

along. Mr Mandela declined.
Chief Buthelezi said he

â\200\230could not{attend the SACC

e he had to pre- |
i KwaZulu Legis-

tour
side overt

lative Assembly meeting.

tie! and: Tokoza with
Chief: Buthelezi â\200\230before land-

xpressed hisâ\200\231 and President
de Klerkâ\200\231s condolences to the
families of the dead.. = â\200\230

But the crowd shoï- \201fedâ\200\230i;?f-'~3;'Â\$*i?ecun

Â«Liar!â\200\235:and booed Mr Vlok
when he denied allegations
of police partiality. Chief
Buthelezi, however, accepted
Mr Vlokâ\200\231s assurances.

At a press conference
after the visit, SACC gene;alâ\200\231
secretary Frank Chikane rei-

â\200\234third forceâ\200\235 involvement in .
the township violence.

" He said a Buthelezi/Man-
dela meeting would not re-
solve the â\200\234warâ\200\235 unless se-
curity forces maintained law .
and order. T

@ ANC spokesman Miss Gill
Martus-said today the or-:
ganisation was not surprised
by the Tokoza hostel resi-.

dentsâ\200\231 action. There could be
no peace process in a frag-
mernted society. -~ b
Â© S?o,chrity forces patrolling
Tokoza last night were. fired

on by â\200\230an'unknown' group. No,

one'was injured. iy oo
' forces were today
patrolfing the township
which, apartâ\200\231 from last
nightâ\200\231s shooting, was quiet. =
Residents phoned The Stac__
late last night to say there
was heavy -gunfire in some
parts of the township. -
They said they believed it

. was AK-47 gunfire..

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'Â® Peace team barred from Tokoza hostel @ Buthelezi

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condemns violence:

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rather than watching it all on TV. There will be acceptance of the need for the 'ANC to master the skills required by a political party, but it will be argued that this cannot be done at the expense of its liberation movementâ per-

i Sona.

Six individuals can be expected to play a key role in the proceedings â and perhaps even dominate them. Besides the obvious figure of ANC potentate Nelson Mandela, those who will carry great weight are Thabo Mbeki, Chris Hani, Joe Slovo, Pallo Jordan and Mac Maharaj. .

Returning President Oliver Tambo might make important strategic inputs, but will not be fit enough to engage in the hurly-burly of conference-floor debates and politicking.

Crucially, however, Mr Mandela â a master at achieving consensus â will, along with Mr Tambo, present the resolutions to a mass rally near Soweto directly after the conference.

- To him will fall the task of synthesising important differences in emphasis, and presenting them as coherent, unified, and enthusiastic agreement. O

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â\200\230I can smell fire. It must be coming from EI Salvador.â\200\231

Graham Linscott discusses South Africa with a Kenyan academic

HE other evening I met a professor on a pilgrimage. He was Professor Ali Mazrui, one of Africa's leading scholars, torch-bearer of democratic values in this continent and a man whose writings are familiar to thousands of South African political science students.

He was on a brief lecture tour and it was also a pilgrimage be-

cause, as he explained in his Dur-

ban hotel, every African has two homes - the place he was born (in his case Kenya) and South Africa.

- How does he find his other home? Professor Mazrui appears to have mixed feelings.

Race relations are a lot better than might have been expected, he says. Attitudes are much more relaxed than they were in Zim-

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babwe just after independ@nce.

But he is bemused by the intrac-tability of the political question. Are the whites prepared to give up power? Will President de Klerk hold on to his leadership of the white group?

. South Africa is attempting to achieve simultaneously what the rest of Africa is trying to achieve in two stages - with a 30-year time interval. The stages are de-colonisation and democratisation.

Apartheid merely internalised colonialism, he says. African states are groping toward democracy, having decolonised all those years ago. South Africa is attempting both processes at once.

He wonders whether this is possible without hideous violence in

which the African community would suffer most. He does not believe there will be free elections here before 1998.

Professor Mazrui studied at the

University of Manchester, Columbia University and Oxford before taking up his first professorship at Makerere University in Uganda, one of Africa's leading seats of learning until it was devastated during the Idi Amin years.

He was there recently and says Makerere is re-asserting itself.

He is a visiting professor at two American universities and has conducted research on behalf of the World Bank.

Professor Mazrui has always been uncompromising in his criticism of corruption and nepotism in Africa. Calling recently for

two things at once —

public accountability of political leaders and protection of human rights, he published a checklist:

1. How many prisoners have been convicted of political offences in the past five years?

2. How many detainees are in prison right now?

3. How often have educational institutions been closed for political reasons in the past 10 years? —

4. How many leaders of the regime have been tried for corruption in the past 10 years? (He notes wryly that "no trials for corruption" usually means people are getting away with it).

5. What proportion of revenues are spent on armed forces as against education and other social services? 0

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Â«Â¥ want to be there when the people celebrate, when the people celebrate freedom,â\200\235 sings Hugh Masekela, South African jazz-musician-in-exile.â\200\235 Since Presideat de Klerk released Nelsop Mandela, Mr Masekela has indeed beenthctc,mSouLhAi~\201i&,andhaSplayedina Johannesburg club. Meanwhile many progres-sive South African theatre groups and mu-sicians have, in the past few years, performed in Britain. As David Toop reports in the ans pages of The Times loday, the cultural boycott is a shambles. The African National Congress (ANC), meeting this weekend, should voie to dismantle it. :

â\200\234The boycott, like iis sports sister, was designed lo prevent both international artists performing in South Africa and South African artists performing abroad. It produced some pretty rum results. Johnnie Clegg is a British-born musician who moved to South Africa at the age of six. He is militantly anti-apartheid, and has been persecuted for his views. He plays with black musicians, but is white himself. Yet the Musiciansâ\200\231 Union boycotted him for hav-ing played in South Africa. Black South Afri-can groups have no problem playing in Britain.

Despite the release of Nelson Mandela and the that has been made towards dumanzlmg a) eid, t}le _cu.lmrai boycott is

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â\200\234eultural deskâ\204¢ of the ANC, which still talks of â\200\234cultural workersâ\204¢ and the â\200\234cultural struggleâ\200\235. Many in the ANC have made a career out of being â\200\234cultural officialsâ\200\235. Without a cultural boycott, the cultural desk would cease to exist, and they would be out of a job.

Even progressive musicians and artists in South Africa are beginning to question the credentials of this body and its nght io determine who shall and who shal! not suffer from the boycott, suffering which embraces thase in South Africa whose longing for freedom might have been encouraged by visiting overseas artists but has instead been starved. Albie Sachs, the lawyer and ANC activist, recently gave a warning that South Africans, having lived for decades under censorship from the right, should beware of ending up under censorship from the lefi.

As opposition to the current regime frag-

meats, the boycott becomes even more of an anachronism. Artists approved by the ANC are allowed to perform abroad, but what about, say, a Zulu theatre group sponsored by Inkatha, Chief Buthelezi's organisation? Cultural judgments should be made by audiences, by the public, not by political parties or cabals. The ANC's readiness to drop the cultural boycott will be an excellent test of its