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Spies keÃ©p e

on ANC â\200\224

GOVERNMENT spy net-works are strongly suspected of infiltrating the African National Congress with secret agents despite its unbanning three years ago.

Evidence pointing to ongoing penetration of the ANC and other extra-parliamentary organisations was revealed in parliament this week by Democratic Party MP Mr Kobus Jordaan, a former senior government constitutional official.

And the ANC said it was aware the government was still infiltrating the organisation. The ANC revealed it had recently protested to the government about the ongoing use of double agents.

â\200\234As far as we are concerned it does not level the playing fields. We are concerned at why this should continue to happen when we are in the process of negotiation,â\200\235â\200\235 ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said.

MNC admits efficacyâ\204¢ -tof â\200\230swartgevaarâ\200\231

| DENNIS CRUYWA
Political Staff

IN one of the frankegt assessments of the effects of National Party propaganda on the coloured community in the Western Cape, a senior ANC member has admitted that the â\200\234swart gevaarâ\200\231 tactic has found some resonance.

Former United Democratic Front (Western Cape) executive member Mr Ebrahim Rasool, writing in the April edition of the ANC publication Mayibuye, said some coloured people viewed the ANC as an African organisation.

â\200\234Historically and perceptually it is seen as a â\200\230themâ\200\231 rather ' than an â\200\230usâ\200\231 organisation.â\200\235

One of the problems facing the ANC was that, unlike the UDF, it was not seen as having risen organically out of the struggles in coloured communities.

The government has been accused of continuing to infiltrate the ANC more than three years after unbanning the organisation.

DAVID BREIER, Political Staff

The ANC says it is especially aware government agents are still operating in its armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe and in the self-defence units.

But there are also growing suspicions in political circles that the government has infiltrated the ANC at a much higher level, including the National Executive Committee (NEC) and even the National Working Committee (NWC).

Mr Jordaan's anonymous Deep Throat tipoffs led to the exposure of the Inkathagate scandal in 1991 and more recently included allegations that government agents were working for Inkatha and the Bo-

-phuthatswana government.

He told parliament his latest

tipoff was that infiltration of

extra-parliamentary organisations and homelands is still very good.

The government was kept well informed on other parties' programmes and strategies, Mr Jordaan's Deep Throat told him

President F W de Klerk has said abnormal covert activities had ended. And he fired a number of senior Military Intelligence officers last year after the Goldstone Commission raided an MI front involved in anti-ANC activities.

Mr Jordaan said he accepted

Mr De Klerk's assurance that covert activities were used for security reasons, not to gain an advantage over political rivals.

Its culture and many of its traditions are seen as African with no cultural or linguistic roots in much of the Western Cape.

Violence was another issue which had an adverse affect on confidence in the ANC.

The government has been fairly successful in its attempt to communicate the conflict and bloodshed as a result of a simple battle for power between the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party.

The result was a vision of a violent and frightening future, characterised by inexplicable and bloody conflicts.

Another common perception, according to Mr Rasool, was

that an ANC government would benefit only Africans and that coloured people would have been worse off than before.

This attitude is exacerbated by the attitude of business which, despite our efforts to the contrary, continues to inform coloured people that the ANC is insisting on the employment of Africans at their expense -

Some of the most serious results of years of anti-ANC propaganda could be found in religion, Mr Rasool wrote, adding that the 'possibly ineradicable' impression was the ANC belonged to communists, said to be evil and godless.

APQqa_

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But Mr Jordaan suspects Mr De Klerk is not being told the whole truth by members of his government.

He said the government could be classified into two groups - the hawkish Mr Her-

nus Kriel (Minister of Law and Order) and Mr Tertius Delport (Minister of Local Government) group and the doveish Mr Roelf Meyer (Minister of Constitutional Development)

group.

â\200\234Will people with a Delport/Kriel orientation feed everything to the State President if they donâ\200\231t agree with what Mr Meyer is doing? I have my doubts,â\200\235 said Mr Jordaan.

He said the governmentâ\200\231s ability to infiltrate the ANCâ\200\231s NEC and NWC depended on the effectiveness of the governmentâ\200\231s security system. â\200\234One must be realistic; over the years it has been shown to be effective,â\200\235 he said. g

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Bending rules
turel

for_

There has been an atmosphere
of sweet reasonableness this
week at the multiparty talks at
the World Trade Centre in
Johannesburg.

JOHN MacLENNAN
Political Staff

LL the countryâ\200\231s political

groups came to grips

with each other on seri-
ous issues for the first time this
week and discovered something
called give and take.

They also found â\200\224 from the CP
~on the right, to the PAC and SACP
on the left â\200\224 that it was exciting
to break out of the mould of our, |

conventional politics. 7

Up to now the Nats and the CP have
been confronting each other with sterile old
arguments in the House of Assembly and
the only forums available to those outside
parliament have been Press conferences
and rallies.

Now, if the progress measured this week
is a yardstick, many of them will soon be
confronting each other in parliament and
already they seem to be practising for the
day.

]]Sele ates to the talks at the World
Trade Centre have started using parlia-
mentary terms. They wanted to know
whether the â\200\234houseâ\200\235 would agree to this or]
that, one referred to â\200\234honourable mem-
bersâ\200\235; they used points of order and some
were ruled out of order.

â\200\230ahead. Every delegation professed itself
'delighted with the progress.

â\200\230The most heartening development from
the forum is that is has charted a way

- This was achieved only through a new
and unifying sense of compromise. Dele-
gates sensed Rome was burning. The
knew that the process would be damaged,

perhaps irreparably, if they failed to move ahead. That's why they were all prepared to bend the rules, terminology of resolutions and procedure to ensure there was something for everybody. .

Inkatha won agreement, for example, that the form of state we are to have will take precedence over all other business before the negotiating council. Instead of talking about the re-incorporation of the TBVC states, the resolution on transition raises their future. The council will also address self-determination, thus satisfying the rightwingers, and the ANC managed to get approval for the use of the term constituent assembly.

With only two exceptions there was no tough talk and the chairmen kept appealing to the delegations not to use emotive language. Both speakers rose on the issue of violence and many expected there would be galkouts as they lashed the ANC and

Mr Leon Wessels of the NP (Minister of Manpower) took on all delegations who talked peace while endorsing violence. He said: "The peace must be won against those ! whose words and deeds sustain a climate of intimidation and violence."

The other speaker was provided by the CP, which seems to have a serious schism; First deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg agreed to abide by the chairman's request that one of the party's thorny resolutions

be referred to a committee, rather than have it hold up proceedings. But then the

CP's steaming rightwinger Mr Schalk Pienaar flew off on a tirade with all those ringing phrases which the NP can no longer af-

ford to use ... "murder machines" S "terrorists". Lidyer ~ He said: "We detest the fact that they are here. We are appalled and abhor their callous killings. Their deeds fill us with outrage and repugnance." : The CP would like to see the talks scuppered and there was speculation that he hoped his attack would so enrage the PAC,

esp@ci_alhy, that it would depart in a huff.

'He faile

. But the PAC was forced off its soap box in a leveling process which is one of the main features of the parliamentary legacy which is now starting to feature at the multi-party talks. Mr arney Desai of the

PAC said that when it came to violence his organisation had the cleanest hands. When the delegates guffawed he said: I hear laughter .. , and ploughed on with a defence.

Critics of the talks will say that nothing of real importance was agreed. For example, delegates could not even agree on the name of the forum, what to do about violence or on details about the way ahead. All these are being referred to the planning committee and the negotiating council the engine-room of the forum. &

But the critics are wrong. There was broad, sincere and determined agreement that the forum marked a last chance opportunity and that every effort had to be made to keep the show on the road.

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Page 1

That's why the chairmen were so anxious to prevent fighting talk and why delegation leaders were so keen to compromise. It was especially Mr Cyril Ramaphosa of the ANC who made efforts to ensure that piffle did not thwart headway. So you saw him

Suggesting that self-determination be written into a resolution (to satisfy the rightwingers) and going along with the Inkatha insistence that the form of the new state unitary, federal or whatever take top priority in the follow-up talks.

Mr Ramaphosa referred to a new spirit beginning to unfold and urged delegates to be responsive to IFP concerns. For this he was thanked sincerely by the man whom many would regard as his political enemy, IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose,

The talks were fascinating also for the glimpse they gave of the future parliament. Several indications were provided at the World Trade Centre. The new parliament will have only a very small sprinkling of whites; the fringe crazies on the far left and far right if they make it will have very little impact on the increasingly moderate majority where the ANC, NP and even IFP now find themselves; there will be a lot more women in the seats of power even if they are not allowed to say very much, and the rough edges will be shaved off those who make the most aggressive noises in and outside parliament at the moment. :

The forum is also putting the focus increasingly on the leaders of tomorrow. We are now seeing their capacity for political wisdom, brokerage and statesmanlike behaviour. Stars include people like the IFP's

â\200\234MrJoe Matthews and Dr Frank Mdlalose, -
the ANCâ\200\231s Mr Rama hosa, Mr Thaho
Mbeki and Mr Mac Maharaj and the Afri-
kaner Volksunieâ\200\231s Mr Andries Beyers. Even
â\200\230tâ\200\230hose who are sometimes painted as ogres,
Uncleâ\200\235 Joe Slovo of the SACP and the
PACâ\200\231s Mr Bennie Alexander, sounded emi-
nently reasonable most of the time.

Look forward now to rapid movement.
The hard work completed at Codesa forms
the foundation for the first transitional
structures by mid-year and the process is
right on schedule, '

(At the end of it all, the NPâ\200\231s Dr Dawie de
Villiers_ described the events as very en-
couraging, â\200\234especially the goodwill{ the
willingness to compromise, to give and
take. If that carries on we will make pro-
gress.â\200\235

a laugh with talk of â\200\230clean handsâ\200\231.

Dr Dawie de Villiers described events as encouraging.

77And Mr Ramaphosa said one of the major achievements had been the determination to keep all parties on board, in spite of provocation. â\200\234The spirit of co-operation made it difficult if not impossible for those parties who wanted to spoil the process to jump ship. Some parties wanted to make things difficult, but when they realised we were serious they had to change their minds. We are happy all this will underpin â\200\230negotiations on the way ahead.â\200\235 '

Mr Barney Desai of the PAC raised Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg agreed to referral of a thorny CP resolution.

Minister of Manpower Leon Wessels hit at ambiguity on violence.

Dr Frank Mdlalose of the IFP â\200\224 one of tomorrowâ\200\230s leaders?

Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, ANC, made efforts to keep up the headway.

T\â\200\224\E â\200\230 GusS 2\â\200\230%â\200\234 â\200\230?5

â\200\224All SA parties should be reassuredâ\200\224

TWELVE or so years ago, when the US Secretary of omies and are replacing statist policies w
ith free market

systems.â\200\235 :

_If all this sounds too altruistic to be coming from either a
diplomat or a politician, Mr Moose allowed some self-inter-
est to reveal itself: â\200\234An Africa made up of stable democrat-
lc governments is important to American prosperity be-
cause of the potential markets it represents for increased

State, Mr Warren Christopher, and the National Se-

curity Councilâ\200\231s specialist on South Africa, Mr Tony

Lake, were scions of the Carter administration, their state-

ments on the country would spur many in the National Par-
ty leadership to reach for their Mausers, so to speak.

At the time, there was little love lost between the NP

government and those who have now returned to positions : HUGH ROBERTON in Washington Ameri
can exports, which in turn means additional Ameri-
of power in the US administration, and the deplorable elec- 14 : ; : : can jobs. . !] ; :
tion campaign which Prime Minister John Vorster waged mendable commitment to their principl
es in their time out â\200\234We need to be concerned about Africa because what hap-
with the Carter administration as the focal point of his vitu- of power and, indeed, are sa
ying exactly what they alwa pens in Africa affects us.â\200\235
perative outrage stands as testimony to the fact. â\200\231 have said about South Afrlca,.t
hat makes them trustwort y What Mr Moose had to sa underpinned the broad forei
In all they now say and do, Mr Christopher and Mr Lake, and reliable people to do business
with. policy guidelines which l;,'e,sident Clinton has alreagg
and others of that era, appear not to have changed their . And if the Chpt_on-admnms_trqtlo
n can be trusted to keep drawn â\200\224 and which President Carter before him made the
views one iota. This week, when the new Assistant Secre- its word on policies and principle
s, then what its foreign pinion of his foreign policy. But, some might ask, what faith
tary of State for Africa, Mr George Moose, went through his policy leaders were saying more
than a decade ago and can be placed in a foreign polic establishment which rose
confirmation hearing in the Senate Africa sub-committee, what Mr Moose said in his statemen
t to the Senate this to prominence under the inept atiâ\200\231ministration of Mr Carter?
his general statements of policy were vintage Carterian ut- week have a reassuring ring for
all parties in South Africa, _ While Mr Carter had many faults, standing up for princi-
terances which a little more than a decade ago would have but especially for many whites wh
o have been discouraged ples was not one of them. His provincial outlook often limit-
caused paroxysms of anxiety, if not rage, in Pretoria. by Africaâ\200\231s recent political
history and who may view with ed his understanding of the power at his disposal, and how"
Yet by many accounts relations between Washington and some misgivings the prospects of demo
cracy, human rights to use it, but nevertgeless he achieved some historic foreign
Pretoria today are better than they have ever been. It and free enterprise under a black ma
jority government, = - policy breakthroughs â\200\224 the Camp David Accords among
would be glib to ascribe this solely to the fact that the NP _Somg excerpts from Mr Mooseâ
\200\231s testimony make the them. Then, as now, there was a pervasive acknowledgment
has at last come to accept the wisdom of men like Jimmy oint: â\200\234In Africa, it is cle
ar to me that our top priority must of Mr Christopherâ\200\231s diplomatic skills and Mr La
keâ\200\231s analyti-
Carter, Andrew Young, gyrus Vance, Warren Christopher, to encourage and consolidate the spr
ead of democracy. cal talents.
Tony Lake and the many others who set in place the first . â\200\234It is imperative that w
e use our influence and our mate- But way above all this is a recognition in Washington, as
truly aggressive anti-apartheid policy in the US. rial su;:rort to encourage in Africa gove

governments that recognize much among Republicans as Democrats, that in the guage of the
The plodding evolution of NP thinking towards enlightenment and ensure the basic human rights
rights which are the necessities of the US through the difficult aftermath of the Cold War will be a
ment simply does not explain the atmosphere of trust and the very foundation of democracy. \ set
of unvarying principles.

confidence which now seems to permeate relations with the \200\234We will not allow our assistance
assistance to be used for the support of dictators. They ought to provide as much reassurance to South African
Clinton administration. \201ort of dictators and we will use the full weight of our influence
as they do to Americans, the more so because those

And so one is drawn to the possibility that it is precisely the urgency to end dictatorial practices
who espouse them have held to them steadfastly for far

because the foreign policy leaders of Washington today \200\234It is important that we continue
to work with African leaders longer than the NP leadership has found comfort in democ-

have not changed their views, have demonstrated a commitment. governments that are sincerely trying
to reform their economy, human rights and real free enterprise.

WEEKEND

raus |

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Strange reaction
~ from the ANC

SOUTH Africans attempting to travel
through the Transkei in recent days
â\200\224 particularly those who believe the
territory has never been anything but
part of the country at large â\200\224 would
have been rightfully indignant at the
border chaos. :

- However, the indignation expressed
by the ANC about the blockade of the
â\200\234homelandâ\200\235, and its protestation that
the TBVC territories should only be
reinco-porated once the tricameral
system is removed and a new
constitutional dispensation has been
agreed on, is less than honest.

The ANC, the PAC and, in fact, all
opposition parties were opposed to the
original development of the Bantustans.
Nothing should have changed to reduce
that opposition which, basically, was
anti-apartheid. -

Since then, the stark realities of the
homelands scheme have demonstrated
that the plan was not only racist. It was
unworkable, economically unfair. And it

offered a playground for corruption.

Billions paid in tax by South Africans
of all races have been swallowed up by
administrations which have shown little
regard for accountability about how
that money has been spent.

- _In the case of the Transkei, the

Goldstone Commission has found

evidence â\200\224 as yet uncontested â\200\224 that
the PACâ\200\231s Apla military wing has been

. operating from the territory and has

established bases and arms caches
there. R : i

One would have thought that finding
would have been a strike in the ANCâ\200\231s
favour. The notion of the PAC fuelling
violence from an â\200\234illegalâ\200\235 homeland
could surely have been used by the
organisation for its own propaganda.

Instead, the ANC appears to be
defending the autonomy of General
Bantu Holomisa in a most curious way.
Is it because the general sheltered Chris
Hani when he was on the run from the
security forces those months ago? Or is
it anxious not to antagonise
Transkeians, who could be a
considerable source of support in the
first multi-party elections?

Those Transkeians, however, will
have to be returned to the fold before
they may be of any use to any party as
voters. And, surely, the sooner that
happens the better for their own future
and the future of a re-united South
Africa. : :

For the ANC to argue that the
homelands should only be
reincorporated once the present
â\200\234apartheidâ\200\235 constitution is replaced by
one negotiated after multi-party talks
shows another flaw. If the homelands
are to be brought back into a unitary
South Africa, their leaders â\200\224 or, better
yet, the proper representatives of their
people â\200\224 need to be part of the total
negotiation process. And soon.

% Weekend Argus, April 3/4 1993 4

Plot? Itâ\200\231s bulldust,
says General Tienie

Weekend Argus Correspondent

FORMER Military Intelligence

head General Tienie Groenewald has rejected as â\200\234bulldustâ\200\235 allegations that he was the power behind a covert plot to manipulate homeland leaders.

The allegations were levelled by Democratic Party MP Kobus Jordaan in parliament this week. He claimed he had been given information which proved General Groenewald

ad used politicians like Mr Rowan Cronje and Mr Walter Felgate in attempts to control homeland leaders.

Mr Jordaan claimed Mr Cronje unsuccessfully tried to influence Ciskei leader Mr Lennox Sebe but â\200\234had more successâ\200\235 with Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope, when he was a%pointed adviser to the Mmabatho government.

Mr Felgate was said to have been used by Military Intelli-

ence to manipulate Chief

angosuthu Buthelezi.

General Groenewald, a member of the federalist anti-ANC alliance Cosag (Concerned South Africans Group), said Mr

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Jordaan had been â\200\234fed disinformationâ\200\235 as part of a plot to drive a wedge between Cosag members. Both Chief Buthelezi and President Mangope are involved in the alliance.

â\200\234To think a very liberal person like Walter Felgate could be used by MI is laughable. And to suggest that a strong character like Chief Buthelezi can be manipulated by anyone is just as ridiculous.â\200\235

The general said he had not seen Chief Buthelezi in more than a year and met Mr Cronje only during Cosag sessions.

He would like to see Mr Jordaan's documentary and would like to know where the information came from.

He hasn't got it in him to get that sort of information. It has been fed to him.

General Groenewald said he met Mr Jordaan when the MP was involved in constitutional planning in the mid-80s.

At one such meeting Mr Jordaan told a group of the SADF's top brass neither he nor the government had the faintest idea about where the

T g o

reform process was headed.

THE WEEKLY MAIL, April 23 10 29 1993

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] 1 ; . ~ 1 required of a general secretaryâ\200\235. Â¢1

Who relace Hani? ===

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: secretary Chris Hani. 6 o WiMau oz - TS : â\200\230mabk.mm,"waissaid

~ Whoever assumes Haniâ\200\231s mantle remain peaceful, orleading 70 000 : Â¢ Uganda. A member of the SACPâ\200\231s . gies v ,

Wik : ! : T ; A number of contenders could | e . to lack oratorical bnlhanceâ\200\230Colli
~\202gi~\202es

â\200\230may preside over an upsurge in support ple in the singing of Hamba Kahle - - inner circle, she has been tipped by say he is most suited to the role of the

for'theSACP,whichisridingawaveof Urmbkhonto, he looked the leader. replace Chris Hani as SA CP observers as aâ\200\234woman to watchâ\200\235, S Lot asanchorandbaclmopm

sympathy after the assassination, .But Shilowa is reportedly being hi of. but his deputy, Charles She is a good public speaker and a e charis;natic figures like Hani or

. AMarkinor survey of political opin- groomed for Cosatuâ\200\231s top job when Jay - 2 member of the partyâ\200\231s negotiating team Shilowa. Butthey feelgum t that he

ion shows that 31 percent of blacks Naidoo stands down, Ngakula, is the frontrunner. at the multi-party talks. But she is (:v;a. 'yh h conikidenv sy

would perhaps vote communist in an Raymond Mhlaba. An old party By STEPHEN LAUFER unlikely to make the top position Iâ\200\230:â\200\231eâ\200\230,â\200\231" Brow with the tas thâ

\200\231eaf1:o g

election, while eight percent would def. stalwart who was a Rivonia trialist and : because she is still â\200\234ideologically mgHtlppeq tolemerge e "â\200\230â\200\234â\200\234â\200\230;

initely vote for the SACP. The figures a member of Nelson Mandelaâ\200\231s inner make the running. He is an academic, immatureâ\200\235, as one observer put i. ner. He is likely to accept the job, if

for the Pan Africanist Congress are 23 circle on Robben Island, Mhlaba is a and he is not a n African. He has said on Blade Nzimande. Described as Somewhat reluctantly. :

and six percent respectively. Popular figure regarded as a solid party more than one occasion that he is â\200\234very articulate and an exceptionally Ngakula was t.>am.|ed in the 19 805

Officially, the SACP leadership has man. But because of his age, his â\200\234happy being a n intellectualâ\200\235. clear thinker who takes the crowd along - and confined to Ciskei.

Having become

notbegun to think about who will be the appointment as general secretary would Thenjiwe Mt hintso. Once aclose with himâ\200\235, Nzimande is deputy ANC involved in ANC and SACP unde r-

next general secretary. The issue is like- be no more than Stop-gap measure. confidante o f Steve Bikoâ\200\231s, Mthintsois chairman in the Nata} Midlands. . ground work, he was sent for military

ly to appear on the agenda of the partyâ\200\231s Jeremy Cronin. Politburo member well-liked, not least for her credentials But Nzimande is also described as training in the Soviet Un!on, l_atertakmg

strategy conference in May, but party Cronin, an able speaker and the partyâ\200\231s whic h include a stint in Umkhonto being ideologically close to hardliner charge of the MK operations in Lesotho

sources say initial discussions will take leading theoretician, is also unlikely to weSizwe and as ANC representative in - Harry Gwala. As one party insider put set up by Hani. :

place at this weekendâ\200\231s = :

- political bureau and central

- committee sessions.

The short list will proba-

bly include the following:

Sam Shilowa. Highly

articulate, he has been the

assistant general secretary

of the Congress of South

African Trade Unions

since 1991 after a meteoric

rise through the ranks of

the Transport and General

Workersâ\200\231 Union. His mas-

sive shaven head and deep, |

resonant voice were much

in evidence during the
Hani memorial march and
the lying-in-state in the
FNB stadium. Whether
exhorting marchers to ,

Hani sla

â\200\230armed struggle

SOUTH African
Communist Pa;t/[y
general secretary, Mr
Chris Hani, yesterday
criticised the Pan
Africanist gongress
for continuing _the
armed struggle an

-isolation 9fttho;_sgâ\200\224.Â\$m-ï¬\202

called for the political -

rupting, the peace

: process.

24 ad-

Hani was
dr?:ï¬\201rsing th'ousands Of
African National Con-

gress supporters o the

Rand before 2
E:::ch to Modderbee

5 e a memor-
Prison whe ed 10

liver
*_mdumme â\200\230 â\200\230,F]eâ\200\230~~"

ms PAC on

manding the release of
political activists.

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He was reacting s

Mondayâ\200\231s SABC-TV l:n
terview of Azani

Liberation

hief, Sabelo Pha-

;;m zrt(x:o said 1993 would

be the 2004 year of the great

THE CITIZEN

264/93

; (ANC supporters) here

(A_PLA) that armed ac-

200224Hani slams PAC

FROM PAGE 1

storm200235 in which APLA

(the PAC200231s ili

wing) would step up the

armed s e

200234Idon200231t accept people

200230calling for war and I

don200231t accept the PAC200231s

talks of the years of the

great storms, because I

feel we have achieved

something in this coun-

try, where those who

oppressed us in the past

are actually talking to us

and showing readiness

to negotiate for demo-

cratic elections.

200234The ambushing of

ordinary White kids and

women along some of

the highways, is some-

thing that is not accept-

able. And, I am saying

to these comrades

t every member of

the ANC should be a

combatant, a fighter for

peace,200235 Mr Hani said.

The PAC200231s national

organiser, Mr Maxwell

Nemadzivhanani reiter-

ated the stand of

- phone interview that the

zania to stop supporting
- APLA. '

tion would be intensi-
fied this year. -
Mr Nemadzivhanani
told PAC supporters at
the Border region that
there was nothing to be
gained from the nego-

tiation table which â\200\234we

have not gained from
the battlefieldâ\200\235, g

â\200\234That is why we must
intensify the armed
struggle as we negotia-
te,â\200\235 he said

APLA yesterday war-
ned South Africa to
â\200\234keep awayâ\200\235 from Tan-
zania or â\200\234face the conse-
quencesâ\200\235.

~ Speaking from the
Tanzanian capital of
Dar es Salaam, APLA

spokesman Romero
Daniels, said in a tele-

South African Govern-
ment would achieve
nothing by asking Tan-

Tanzania has been
used as a base for more
than 30 years by APLA

~and its political wing,

the Pan Africanist Con-
gress, as well as by the
African National Con-

gress and its armed

wing, Umkhonto We
Sizwe.

â\200\234The regime is only
up to its dirty tricks of
harassing and destabilis-
ing African countries
north of the Limpopo.

â\200\234They have tried to
intimidate Transkei
with failure, now they
are coming here. We
have our roots here and
Pretoria cannot have

~* things their way. Their

time is over,â\200\235 said Mr
Romero. â\200\224Sapa.

| affirmative action

) ONE has developed a theory of how one can deal with what is clearly one of the most difficult tasks in all contemporary multi-ethnic societies – how to reduce disparities among ethnic communities and how to reduce ethnic conflict, two goals that are not always compatible. Broadly speaking, affirmative action means laws, regulations, administrative measures, court orders and other public interventions and private measures to provide certain public and private goods on the basis of membership of a particular ethnic or racial group. Affirmative action is intended to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor, but rather to bridge the gap between groups. Four countries that have adopted programmes are India, Malaysia, Sri Lanka and the US. In these four, these policies have become controversial. Some opposition comes from: who are racist, "who believe one group is superior to another, but their criticisms are of no serious concern. The Moderate Serious Concerns come from those who want to build a non-racial, colour-blind society and who are therefore uncomfortable with the idea that benefits should be allocated on the basis of race or caste or ethnic identity.

Two are also objections from those concerned that individual merit will be downgraded when admissions to universities and jobs are given

out on the basis of group membership. These are genuine concerns that need to be addressed.

The kinds of interventions adopted in each of these countries were wide-ranging. Basically, there are two somewhat differently orientated affirmative action policies.

We must call one affirmative action. This includes all policies to eliminate discrimination, race/ethnicity policies intended to ex-

Affirmative action
quotas do not solve
the basic problem

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financial aid to students qualified for tertiary education but who could not otherwise attend universities, loans to businessmen in disadvantaged communities, subcontracts to minority businesses, and so on. These improve access to education and employment, they entail positive efforts by universities, government and the private sector affirmatively to include groups that had been previously excluded and the beneficiaries are intended to be members of those groups. A second set of affirmative action programs emphasizes fixed quotas upon: designated groups. They set out to ensure that distribution of education, employment, income and wealth among individuals will be in proportion to the population of each ethnic group or race in the country. According to this view of affirmative action would ideally be

in the haste to fill quotas, standards are lowered and far some to erode the notion of equality of opportunity for all. The performance of institutions declines as a downward levelling occurs. Moreover, when beneficiaries constitute a majority of the population, as in the case of Sri Lanka, the response of the excluded social strata can impair the political order.

A second set of issues raised in each of these cases is the relationship between affirmative action and other policies intended to reduce disparities among groups. In several of these countries there was a tendency to regard affirmative action as the

intervention to deal with inequality

issues. Affirmative action policies often addressed needs of aspiring middle classes to the neglect of policies

and programmes aimed at needs of
lower social classes

Indra, for example, the (4
meat did little to create a
society universal elementary
education which would have

moved into the modern professions
and into the middle class on their
own. Similarly, in the US affirmative
action did not address needs of the
inner city, of unemployed black
youth single mothers

Affirmative action can become a
substitute for addressing the large
issue of inequality

A third issue is the issue of pref-
erences on identities and on the way
in which people organise to make
demands. Once preferences or quo-
tas are established, people will
choose as if there are bene-
fits to be derived :

The system of preferences vary-
ably strengthens identities on the ba-
sis of race, religion, language and
caste. It is in the self-interest of poli-
ticians to mobilise group claims and
group lines, and for individuals to
assert group claims and group iden-
tities. The creation of a caste-blind,
colour-blind society is difficult so
to achieve under the best of circum-
stances is made more difficult
when the government allocates
benefits in education and employ-
ment on the basis of group membership

ship;
In the US, affirmative action was
initially

for blacks, but other
beneficiaries were
beneficiaries were American

Although each of these groups suf-
fered from discrimination, or more
accurately some members of these
groups suffered from discrimination,
they were included on the list of
beneficiaries

But the beneficiaries included
very diverse communities, from the
disadvantaged Mexican Americans and
Puerto Ricans, to better educated
more prosperous Cubans, Asians
Americans were included on the ba-
sis of historical discrimination,
though a large part of the Asian
American community today includes
educated migrants who came to the
country after 1965 and who them-
selves did not suffer from the disad-

vantages of an earlier generation .

Similarly, in India benefits were extended to backward classes who do not share the same disabilities as the scheduled castes and tribes and who are often among the prosperous rural landowners. X

These costs of affirmative action are made higher when policy-makers neglect a central feature of any programme to reduce inequality what Amndre Beteille, quoting the British social historian Tawney, described as not just eliminating disabilities but creating abilities

All too often affirmative action

programmes were directed at mechanically filling slots with people of the appropriate colour, or language, or sex without regard for enabling those chosen to have skills needed to perform satisfactorily

All too often well-meaning people have selected people for

with little regard for whether they are adequately prepared Universities cannot and should not provide education that should be delivered in secondary schools And employers should not be asked to hire people who lack at least minimal skills However, employers, medical schools, engineering schools and universities can often provide the additional skills through bridge programmes and in-house training programmes to enable those who fall short to meet the standards of universities and employers -

(I have edited excerpts from an address by W.M.T. political scientist professor Weiner to the Urban

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