

# Political hopes <sup>STAR</sup> boosted strike spirit

## 28 JANUARY 1991

**A**MID major political developments last year, trade unions, after a two-year lull in strike action, leapt into a scenario of mass spontaneous uprising with higher expectations and renewed shop-floor confidence in challenging employers.

The February unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SACP and the release of Nelson Mandela ushered in a militant mood and a strong spirit of optimism. Mass marches, rallies, stayaways and demonstrations were seen in every province.

It was in this euphoric climate, coupled with mass political mobilisation, that worker expectations increased and, consequently, industrial action escalated.

Evidently, workers believed they would have more bargaining power in a less repressive climate, thus becoming more assertive on the shop-floor and reviving Cosatu's living-wage campaign, which seemed to have subsided.

The length of strikes at OK Bazaars, Southern Suns, Nampak and Zebedelia Citrus Estate (between 40 and 87 days) bore testimony to workers' confidence and militancy.

Nactu's National Union of Wine, Spirit and Allied Workers, with no previous strike history, held out for 34 days in a national wage strike.

Workers in the public sector and parastatals too, though not well organised, joined the strike wave.

Thousands of teachers took to the streets in a significant demonstration which forced the Government to grant teachers' unions some recognition and opened negotiations on such matters as salary scales and job security.

Hospitals, post offices, municipalities and railways were hit by major strikes.

Attempts to include public sector employees in the Labour Relations Act added impetus to their actions.

Some unionists say the high level of industrial action was also due to Cosatu's move away from the centre stage of politics — a role it had assumed when political organisations were banned in 1988.

While the political changes may have raised expectations of a post-apartheid dividend, employers argued that the average 14,5 percent inflation rate and a declining economy made union wage demands "ri-

**Four million 'man-days' were lost last year as a consequence of strike action alone — a 25 percent increase over 1989. SHAREEN SINGH looks at the context in which industrial action took place.**

diculously high."

Despite hardened management attitudes, soaring retrenchments and a poor economic climate, union militancy was not crushed.

But towards the latter part of last year, violence on the Reef severely affected the union movement. With their lives at stake, union members were forced to engage in a more urgent battle to defend themselves, over and above their wage struggle.

Clashes in the community had spread to the shop-floor, effectively weakening union strategies.

Several strikes had been aborted as union members became the targets of warring factions.

In Sebokeng, 19 members from

the National Union of Metalworkers were killed. They were on strike at the time at Union Steel Corporation. Several Iscor workers were also killed shortly before the union had planned to go on a legal wage strike.

Cosatu accused employers of using the violence to crush workers' militancy.

The federation had to focus much of its attention on the violence and on defending its members.

A marked increase in violence between strikers and non-strikers, or scabs, was also a major problem with unions once again attacking employers for ignoring their warning of the dangers of employing "scab" labour.

Touching on this issue, Cosatu's Workers Charter Conference in November agreed that a new constitution should include a demand for no dismissals and no "scabs" during procedural strikes.

A significant development last year was the Cabinet's acceptance of the Cosatu/Nactu/Saccola (CNS) accord on the Labour Relations Act (LRA). The labour federations and the employer body accepted this as

a victory after more than two years of campaigning for changes to the LRA.

But for Cosatu and Nactu the campaign around the LRA does not end here. The federations say many other worker-rights battles still have to be won: in particular, trade union rights for all workers and the extension of labour legislation to the bantustan homelands. Although the CNS accord makes provision for civil servants, domestic workers and farm workers, the Government is still resisting this.

Also significant was the federations participation in the National Manpower Commission — a definite shift in their firm position against participating in state structures. Labour consultants believe this has set a precedent for future relations between government structures and the federations.

With well over 70 000 workers retrenched last year and massive retrenchments in the pipeline this year, unions will focus attention on job security, improved retrenchment packages, training, restructuring of companies and disclosure of company figures. □



# Cosatu clashes with State over economic forum demand

**T**HE Congress of South African Trade Unions' demand for the formation of an economic forum to deal with economic issues in the transition to a non-racial democracy, a call which tended to be submerged in the furore surrounding this month's anti-VAT strike, has paved the way for a new battle front between Pretoria and the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance over control of the economy.

In the strike's aftermath, Cosatu and its anti-VAT allies threatened "sustained action" over VAT, but debate within the alliance is pointing increasingly towards an even more fundamental showdown with government on overall economic policy.

Cosatu, has expressed fears that the Government is hastily restructuring the economy to protect the interests of whites, and ensure that a new, non-racial government would not be able to meet the economic needs of the underprivileged majority.

Jay Naidoo said: "By restructuring the economy during a period of transition, the Government is trying to ensure that the democratic movement enters political negotiations with one arm tied behind its back. This is unacceptable to us."

The roots of the union drive for a macro-economic negotiating forum, or an economic policy forum, lie in last year's watershed tripartite agreement between Cosatu, the National Council of Trade Unions, employers and the State on new labour legislation.

Parties to the agreement acknowledged the need to "discuss, in an appropriate forum, the impact of labour relations issues on the economy".

In the interim, Cosatu and allied organisations have moved with speed to formulate their proposals for an economic forum, but not before dealing with some prickly tactical questions raised by the concept of such a forum.

Chief among these were:

- How to link the alliance's participation in constitutional talks (which are, in any case, bound to impinge on the economy) with Cosatu's campaign for a separate economic forum.
- Whether Cosatu should attend the

A new battle is looming between Pretoria and the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance. **MIKE SILUMA** reports.

multi-party talks as a separate entity or as part of the ANC-SACP alliance, given Cosatu's determination not to be relegated to the spectators' stand in the talks.

■ How the forum would relate to existing advisory bodies such as the State President's Economic Advisory Council and the National Manpower Commission.

The forum — which would include the Government, the main political parties, the unions and organised business — would deal with macro-economic policy, including VAT and the Budget; socio-economic needs, including housing, health and welfare; and labour market policy.

This means that the forum cannot get off the ground without the participation of Government and the employers. But what are their views on the matter?

While the employers and Government say they are committed to some form of "appropriate forum" to discuss labour and other economic issues, they have not put forward their views on its structure and functions.

Bobby Godsell, the labour spokesman for the employer body, the SA Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs, said no agreement had been reached on what would constitute an "appropriate forum".

The Government, for its part, seems to believe that any forum on the economy should be subordinate to the political negotiation process. Before being moved from his portfolio as Manpower Minister this month, Mr Eli Louw said the Government's view was that "while organised labour and organised employers are important players in the economic debate, they are not the only ones", and that there was a need to link up economic initiatives with constitutional talks.

16/1/11



# Buthelezi pins peace hopes on Mandela talks

DURBAN: The leader of the Zulu-dominated Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, warned yesterday that any hopes of reconciliation in South Africa depended on peace between his faction and the rival African National Congress.

He told a rally he hoped his first meeting with the deputy president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, would stop conflict between the rival black opposition groups.

The leaders are scheduled to meet in three days for the first time in decades.

"I am going there to ring the bells of victory of peace against war and revolution," he said.

The leaders are old friends turned political rivals. They have spoken by telephone but have not met since Mr Man-

dela's release last February after 27 years in jail.

Their supporters have fought fiercely in eastern Natal province, the traditional Zulu homeland, and 5000 people have been killed in five years.

Fighting spread to black townships near Johannesburg in August, claiming another 1000 lives.

The violence has strained relations between the ANC, considered the largest black opposition movement, and the white-led Government of the President, Mr De Klerk, during talks on setting up full negotiations on ending white minority rule.

Inkatha and the ANC both oppose the apartheid system of racial segregation and white dominance but differ on how to fight it and on the poli-

cies of a future South Africa.

Inkatha opposed the ANC's now-suspended armed struggle and has criticised its campaign of strikes, protests and other mass action, saying it created a climate for violence.

Inkatha favours a free-market economy and promotes Zulu nationalism, while the ANC advocates more leftist policies.

Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi have both called for peace.

But the fighting has continued despite high-level meetings by delegations seeking to improve relations.

The ANC previously rejected meeting Chief Buthelezi, accusing him of spreading the fighting beyond Natal to broaden his influence.

Inkatha accuses the ANC of using intimidation and vio-

lence to try to dominate the black opposition movement.

Meanwhile, a South African human rights organisation, echoing charges by United States and Swiss-based groups, accused police yesterday of inciting fratricide in black townships.

Lawyers for Human Rights, which pursues law suits for poor blacks, published 30 affidavits from residents of Phola Park, a Johannesburg shantytown, alleging police repeatedly shot at ANC followers during clashes from September 10 to 13 in which 80 people died.

Some affidavits said that the death toll included three whites who had joined Zulus rampaging with guns and spears through the huddle of rickety shacks housing 25,000 people.

AP, Reuters

*The Australian*

28/1/91



# Rise to the challenge

28/07/94  
14/1/11

**T**ODAY IS not only a great day for the ANC as it goes into its first full national conference on home turf in a generation. It is also a great day for South Africa, because it reinforces through the convening of a major event that politics can be played to democratic rules again in this country, and that opposing groups have the full freedom to meet and deliberate, to mount campaigns and appeal for public support.

The pressure on the ANC, however, will not let up. The conference at the University of Durban-Westville brings to the end the transition phase for the organisation. It must now begin to play to the rules of an ordinary political party.

The challenge the ANC faces is whether it can rise to the occasion in the full glare of domestic and world publicity. The ANC will be tempted to remain a disruptive resistance movement, unwilling to compromise until victory for all its goals can be attained. But such a course would not serve the interests of the country, whatever benefits it might bring to the ANC itself.

There comes a time when the role of destructive opposition to the old system gives way to constructive building of the new. The ANC needs to demonstrate through its policy, strategy and tactical decisions this week, as well as in its election of a new leadership, that this moment has now come.

The country cannot go on waiting while the ANC continues to play a stalling and obstructive game. South Africans are impatient — now that statutory racial discrimination has gone — to create a political system demonstrating that apartheid is dead.

There are already influential members within the ANC ready for that more constructive role. It is up to the grassroots delegates to the conference to turn that mood into a groundswell. If they do, the ANC will be ready for its next great place in the country's history — as part of the national government.



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## Accentuate the positive

**T**OMORROW'S meeting between Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi should have taken place almost a year ago. If it had (and it nearly came about last March) it could have had more significant impact and many lives might have been saved. Still, it is an encounter which has the potential to achieve much — if both sides bear in mind bigger issues than mere political points-scoring.

The country's two pre-eminent black leaders have enjoyed a cordial relationship in the past and both share broadly common aims. The objectives of the ANC-Inkatha meeting should be to stress what the organisations have in common and move towards some sort of united front based on their joint aim of a democratic South Africa. They can agree to differ on matters of tactics, such as sanctions and the shape of a future constitution. But the legitimacy of each, and its right to differ, must be mutually recognised.

It was a failure to respect these things — initially among the more radical elements of the ANC — that led to the delays and excuses of the past year and allowed their rivalry to degenerate into crude "Xhosa-Zulu" conflicts and such tragic loss of life in Natal and on the Rand.

The initial aim tomorrow should be firstly to bury the symbolic hatchet. But that will not offer any instant panacea. Even more important will be to set up a continuing dialogue and joint structures to deal with future grass-roots differences in a calm and orderly way.

The ANC already enjoys such a relationship with the Government; it would be ironic if it fails to do the same with Inkatha, a fellow black movement which is also entitled to a place in the new South Africa. Both Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi can gain in stature if they (and the large delegations accompanying them) opt for a statesmanlike approach.



# Mandela, Buthelezi buoy peace talks hopes

IN KATHA and the ANC go into tomorrow's peace talks in Durban buoyed by conciliatory weekend statements by their leaders.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela told followers at a meeting near Zwerinet that the ANC was not attending the talks with accusations but rather to make appeals to forget the past and concentrate on the future.

Mandela said the ANC and Inkatha had tried to wipe each other out in Natal, but neither had succeeded. By killing brothers and sisters, blacks in Natal had allowed opponents of government security forces to

Business Day reporter

"come in under the smokescreen of this violence to start killing our people".

Inkatha leader and KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi told a youth rally in Umzimbe that he was going to the meeting in the hope of peace.

"We want reconciliation and we will find reconciliation because reconciliation is right for South Africa," Buthelezi said.

Mandela will lead an ANC delegation of 20 people, while Buthelezi heads a 70-person Inkatha group to tomorrow's discussions.

The fatal violence claimed more than 8 000 lives in the past seven years, while several thousand more died in recent Inkatha-ANC clashes in the Reef.

Sapa reports that the ANC peace talks with the apartheid government officials continue today after Mandela agreed at the weekend to a request by the homelands' president Lucas Mangope not to visit the strife-torn Bakaagala area.

Mandela announced in and Mangope had reached an agreement on ways to end violence in Bophuthatswa. He did not elaborate.

WILSON ZWANE

THE recent decline in deaths and unrest in the Durban region could be attributed to the fact that ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party supporters there have consolidated large areas under their control.

Durban-based unrest monitor Roy Ainslie says the consolidation of territories by the two organisations has rendered "cross-border" attacks less destructive, as they tend to be "hit and run" attacks.

He expects a much lower toll this month than for the same period last year.

At least 107 people died in the region during January last year. This month's expected figure, says Ainslie, is between 30 and 40 deaths.

United moves to head off END

## ANC-Inkatha talks raises hopes for peace

Own Correspondent

DURBAN - Hopes among Natal residents are rising that some sort of reconciliation will be achieved between the ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, and the Inkatha leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, when they meet in Durban tomorrow after 17 years.

There was particular among the crowds at the ANC and ANC mass rallies at the weekend, in spite of warnings by both sides as well as political analysts that immediate expectations should not be too high.

The war in Natal has cost more than 4 000 lives, left tens

of thousands of people homeless and destitute, and has destabilised large areas, particularly since violence spread beyond Natal to the Reef last year. Many people believe the ultimate barometer of the success of these talks will be a dramatic decrease in violence and deaths.

Both sides are holding cautious briefings today to outline their strategies and policies for the meeting. Mr Mandela will head a 20-member delegation while Chief Buthelezi will lead a 70-member delegation.

ANC names policemen - Page 5.

## Less Natal unrest as rivals consolidate

The decline in deaths, however, does not mean that all is well in the region.

"On the contrary, incidents and tension levels are still intolerably high," Ainslie says.

Another unrest monitor, Rodley Keys, says the situation in the Maritzburg area is bad.

"We have reports of people missing without trace and there are still schools that are not functioning properly because of the high level of tension in the region."

□ To: Page 2

## Unrest declines 28/9/91 B Day □ From Page 1

The police and army presence in the area, "when they are around", acts as a "deterrent" to violence.

Ainslie says police should go beyond "mere containment" of violence and arrest the perpetrators.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that three people were killed in separate incidents in Natal on Saturday.

In Mtatiele, southern Natal, a man was shot dead by police after a police patrol was stoned.

Four men were arrested in connection with the murder of a man who was fired on in Inqaneni near Durban. Police also arrested a man and confiscated firearms after another man was killed at Pateni, near Richmond.

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# 'ANC plot to eliminate police exposed'

LAMBERTS BAY — Police claim to have uncovered an ANC plot — codenamed Operation Prickly Pear — intended to eliminate SAP members and establish military training camps in SA.

Security police chief Lt-Gen Baste Smut said at the weekend that the plot, uncovered last week, included the waging of an armed struggle against Bophuthatswana.

Police arrested three ANC members last week in Johannesburg and Pretoria and uncovered an arms cache, he said.

The weapons found included 26 mini-limpet mines, 26 detonators, six hand gre-

Political Staff 28/1/91  
nades, six igniter switches and a quantity of arms and ammunition.

Police said more arrests were expected and that the ANC was aware that Operation Prickly Pear had been uncovered.

Police could not say when the ANC members would appear in court. They said the investigation was in its early stages.

Sapa reports that ANC spokesman Sakie Macozoma yesterday said: "The ANC does not know anything about the alleged operation. The ANC sticks to the agreement

reached in the Pretoria Minute... the ANC will adhere to the suspension of the armed action as stipulated in the minute.

"The ANC noted that the police have chosen to make the sensational allegation on the eve of our meeting with Inkatha Freedom Party, and thereby maintains a pattern of making allegations of this nature whenever the ANC seems to be on the brink of a new initiative."

The ANC did not know the identities of the alleged operatives, and could not say whether they were ANC members, he said.

See Page 2

## Arm yourselves, ANC defence units told

ANC defence units being set up countrywide are to be armed, ANC Youth League chairman Peter Mokaba says.

In a weekend interview, he said the decision to arm the units was taken at a recent meeting of the league.

The Youth League had attracted 95 000 members so far, who paid a R1 annual membership fee and were required to pay dues of 50c a month.

Mokaba said: "Defence units must arm themselves adequately with everything available, including guns."

"And they must be able to use those guns in instances where life and property need to be defended."

Defence unit members would not go out with the intention of taking life, but he conceded that "in the process" life might be lost.

28/1/91 TIM COHEN 8/Day

Mokaba did not exclude the possibility that these community members might become so angry that the punishment they delivered might exceed the level of self-defence.

"The ANC will never break the Pretoria Minute, but we understand the Minute as suspending the offensive on our part, but not the defensive."

He said problems with the formation of defence units might emerge, "especially when they erupt without the political direction of our organisation".

For example, he said, "we are aware that there are people who have taken up the call in order to conduct their own mischief".

The organisation was aware the de-

fence committees were being infiltrated by "agents of apartheid" who wanted to use the league to discredit the ANC. But, he said, the league was "going on a very rigorous and rigorous cleansing spree".

Criminals would not be handed over to the police, because the police force was "illegitimate".

Instead the community would deal with its own problems.

Law and Order spokesman Leon Mellet said yesterday government would take the matter up with the ANC because the call was unlawful.

He said all people had the right to defend themselves, but this had to be within the bounds of the law.

"People in possession of unlicensed firearms are breaking the laws of the country and they will be prosecuted."



# Institute to 'teach' democracy

Political Staff

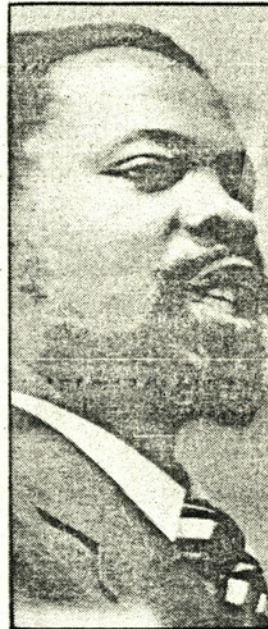
CAPE TOWN — Inculcating democratic values among ordinary South Africans was to be the chief aim of the new Institute for a Multi-Party Democracy (MPD), which was launched in Cape Town last night, according to founder Dr Oscar Dhlomo.

"Our chief task will be working with the grassroots. These are the people who have been neglected (in efforts to change the country) and are the key to whether we transform into a viable democracy," Dr Dhlomo said yesterday.

"We feel we must spend time working with them to enable them to exercise an informed and decisive vote.

"We will not specialise in high-powered conferences involving the leadership elite. The main focus is to work with the grassroots. Our approach is an educational one."

Funds for the new institute would come from



Oscar Dhlomo "working with the grassroots."

the private sector in South Africa as well as "foreign foundations and governments", he said. The institute had not yet finalised a budget.

South African busi-

nessmen had given "great moral support" for the new venture. MPD hoped for greater material support.

"Some have contributed, but their contributions are not what one would expect. We are in a situation where foreign foundations appear to care more for democracy than we do."

Dr Dhlomo rejected suggestions that the establishment of the MPD was a threat to the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa).

"Democracy is a way of life and none of us has been exposed to it in our history. We need as much education as we can manage and it is a good thing that there will be more than one or two institutes doing this."

The institute would be strictly non-partisan and would take no part in party politics.

Former Azapo president Saths Cooper is to be the national president of the MPB.

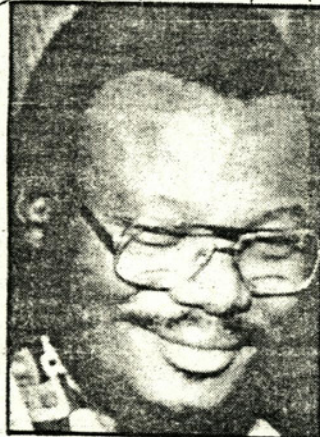
## High hopes ride on Mandela, Buthelezi

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Hopes among residents in Natal are rising that some sort of reconciliation will be achieved between African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi when they meet in Durban tomorrow after 28 years.

The general feeling among the crowds at both Inkatha and ANC mass rallies at the weekend was one of optimism and hope, in spite of warnings by both sides as well as political analysts that immediate expectations should not be too high.

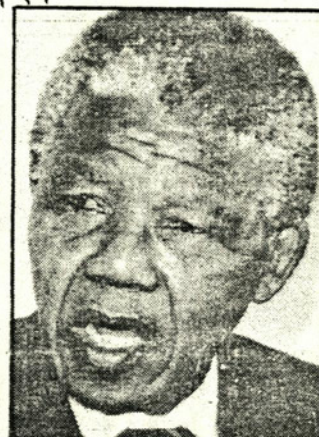
The war in Natal has cost more than 4 000 lives, left tens of thousands of people homeless and destitute and has destabilised large areas



Delegation of 67 ... Chief Buthelezi.

of the country, particularly since violence spread beyond Natal to the Reef last year.

Consequently many people believe that the ultimate ba-



Delegation of 20 ... Mr Mandela.

rometer of the success of these talks will be a dramatic decrease in the violence and in the number of deaths.

The meeting between the

two leaders will start at the Royal Hotel in Durban at 10 am.

Both sides are holding caucus briefings today to finalise their strategies and policies. Most of the ANC's prominent leaders will be in Durban today for briefings from local leaders, while Inkatha was holding briefings in Ulundi.

Many members of the media, both local and international, have flooded into Durban for the event.

Mr Mandela will head a 20-person delegation, including South African Communist Party head Mr Joe Slovo and Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani.

Dr Buthelezi will lead a 67-member delegation.

● ANC names policemen — Page 3.



# To prison in winter, shorts and barefoot

AT 15, Dikgang Moseneke was transferred from Pretoria Central to Robben Island and became the youngest prisoner there.

This was in 1964.

"My first five years on Robben Island were hard."

"I arrived there in winter in shorts and barefeet."

"You existed because you had a mind which functioned."

Studying brought a lot of fun. He passed standard 8 in 1964 with a first class certificate.

"There was ample time to read."

"In prison evening starts early at 4.30 pm."

"I remember doing Latin while pushing a wheelbarrow."

In 1963 there were only PAC members on the Island.

The African National Congress members came to Robben Island a year later.

## Studying

"Almost everybody came out of there better people."

"Nelson (Mandela) was studying, everyone else was studying."

"You had time to think through problems."

On his release in 1973 he was banned for five-years and placed under a six to six house arrest.

During this time he completed an LLB degree.

When the banning order expired, Moseneke served his articles at a city law firm, Dyason.

"They were courageous I must say."

"Not only was I black and the first black articulated clerk in Pretoria but I had a PAC background."

His admission to the bar was problematic.

The Law Society objected to his acceptance arguing he had a conviction but the judges ruled in

## FOCUS



It's a long, hard journey from Robben Island to the Pretoria Bar. ESTHER WAUGH in this second part of her story, charts the meteoric rise of PAC's deputy president Dikgang Moseneke from his days as a 15-year-old prisoner on the Island.

his favour.

"The precedent used was a very interesting one - in making a decision they relied on a case, The Law Society of the Transvaal versus N Mandela."

## Interesting

"It is an interesting parallel between Nelson and I in many respects - we are both lawyers, both black, both from Robben Island and we met each other there."

Mandela was an African lawyer in adverse circumstances with a lot of animosity around him.

"We are not a welcome species."

"That we are alive and well

today I think is the result of a lot of pushing."

"We need to produce even more lawyers."

"The connection is inevitable," he says.

He cites people like Godfrey Pitje, Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela who were both lawyers and leaders. Robert Sobukwe, himself afterwards became a lawyer and practised in Kimberley.

How come police did not arrest him for being a PAC member after his release in 1973 until the organisation's unbanning on February 2, 1990?

"Because they had to prove that I was a member, one and that I advanced the cause of that organisation, which I was doing."

## Married

Today Moseneke is advocate at the Pretoria Bar.

What happened to his life since his release in 1973?

"I got married and had those guys," he says pointing to a picture of his family.

"They have grown fast - 10 and - 12 years old - attending school."

"I have a wife who is still alive and well."

"I live in Atteridgeville."

"I did lots to build a legal career and kept up with the PAC."

"I was in close touch with guys in jail, those in exiles, facilitated a lot of communication between the two."

"I gave a lot of support to families of guys studying on Robben Island."

About his career in the Pan Africanist Congress he says:

"It was a fairly heavy price to pay at a certain point which I managed to translate into an advantage."

"We turned the tables against our captors."

He was surprised by his ap-

pointment to the executive committee of the PAC.

"I have been primarily a functionary."

"I have been the boy who did the nuts and bolts."

"I was the guy who would ensure that it all goes well, that the guys' needs were taken care of."

Moseneke agrees he was very much a backroom man until the PAC's conference in December.

"A new leadership had to come into place and it did not only happen to me."

"We introduced a lot of strong, young leaders whose faces you are going to be seeing quite a lot."

"We have introduced a lot of professionals and technocrats to come in and help pull the PAC together."

"It is the first time the PAC has had to collect leadership from inside the country in 31 years."

He thinks his responsibility of being the internal deputy leader difficult and challenging.

## Critical

"It is and it comes at the most critical time of our history."

"Responsibilities attached to the post are fairly obvious."

"I see myself as a technocrat; as a guy with certain limited skills in the legal field."

"In the last 14 years I have tried to play my part in that regard."

"I have fought all the battles that had to be fought."

"Now I am called upon full blast to take a political role."

"It is most daunting, most challenging."

For the next two years, he plans to "ensure visible growth of the PAC, to establish very strong party structures and try to facilitate the establishment of a Patriotic Front".

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matthaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg. The production or broadcast without permission of articles published in this newspaper on any current economic, political or religious topic, is forbidden and expressly reserved to The Argus Printing and Publishing Company under Section 12(7) of the Copyright Act 1978. \* Write to the Editor at PO Box 6663, Johannesburg 2000. Nom-de-plumes can be used, but full names and addresses should be supplied or the letter will not be published.