

The Daily News

THE DAILY NEWS, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1991

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Significant step

LAST week's agreement between President de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela does more than formalise the suspension of the armed struggle by the African National Congress — it is a significant step toward the ANC's becoming a political party rather than a "liberation movement."

A political party which seeks to join multilateral negotiations does not simultaneously infiltrate armed men, create underground structures and pursue an agenda of sabotage and insurrection. Nor does it usually have a vast body of exiles outside the country or members in jail merely for their political convictions.

The agreement should mean an end to the ANC's dualism. It has to educate and discipline its membership into a new role. The Government has to play its part by proceeding with the in-

demnity to exiles and the release of political prisoners. (There is little new in President de Klerk's agreement that orderly "mass action" should be allowed to replace violent action — he has been allowing street demonstrations for more than a year.)

There will no doubt be hard-line elements in the ANC who resent being deprived of the aura of a "liberation struggle", even though it was taking them nowhere. There will no doubt be snags in the return of exiles and the release of prisoners. But the momentum has returned to the political process and the pace is likely to quicken. Those who drag their feet will be left behind.

The agreement restores the ANC to the status it had before its banning 31 years ago. And at last real negotiations are a prospect.

An ill omen

THE course of the trial of Mrs Winnie Mandela bodes ill for the future of justice in the new South Africa. Here the wife of one of the most prominent people in the country, a world figure, faces serious charges, including abduction. A key witness disappears inexplicably and apparently pitches up in Harare. Two other witnesses decline to give evidence. The inference is clear: those who testify against certain people may be subject to intimidation and threats, a proposition borne

out by many other examples of intimidation, assault and murder. If this is to be the pattern for the future it is a grim prospect. Justice must be administered impartially and fearlessly. It must protect the weak, sometimes against the powerful. It must not be manipulated or distorted. It must not be placed under populist pressure, such as chanting mobs. The alternative is the law of the jungle, and a loss of freedom for everybody.

Parcel bomb

THERE are many unanswered questions relating to the ghastly death of Mr Bheki Mlangeni, the unsuspecting ANC lawyer who switched on a walkman sent to him in the post only to be blown up by a miniature bomb hidden in its earphones. What murderous mind schemed this up? Was this an aftermath of the Civil Co-operation Bureau's dirty tricks campaign?

Who was the real victim intended to be? Captain Dirk Coetzee? Could a parcel bomb like this really travel undetected through the post to various addresses over a period of months? A full investigation is needed. The Harms Commission findings did not allay public suspicions over hit squads. This incident will create more disquiet.

Beseiged councillors find ally in Inkatha

SCWETAN 25 Feb 1991

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At a rally attended by more than 35 000 Inkatha supporters at Jabulani Amphitheatre on Saturday, councillors and mayors received a standing ovation and a mock 21-gun-salute.

Introduced as guests of honour, Kwa-Zulu chief minister Chief Gatsha Buthelezi joined them for photograph sessions.

Buthelezi assured them of IFP support - something they have been yearning for for sometime.

The councillors have been ostracised. Some have had their houses petrol-bombed. Others have had their businesses boycotted.

Last year Cast embarked on a concerted campaign to end the councillors' jobs.

While some resigned, others remained defiant, especially those in Soweto. Even mass action campaigns could not change their minds.

Those that resigned criticised the Transvaal Provincial Administration for "legitimising" Cast by overlooking them, particularly during negotiations

By DON SEOKANE

over power cuts.

Buthelezi strongly lashed out at the campaign to oust councillors.

"It is shameful that campaigns against local authorities have cost us so many lives and such heavy losses through the destruction of so many homes," he said.

"We respect the right of people to offer themselves for these council positions and we respect the right of people who want to vote for them to do so.

"We respect you for the positions that you hold," Buthelezi told the councillors.

The councillors have accused Cast of being undemocratic, pointing out that its leaders are not elected.

They have urged Cast and any other organisation that opposes them to contest their legitimacy through the ballot.

They argued that the reason for the low turnout in their elections is that people have been intimidated and told not to vote.

In a message of hope to councillors besieged by rent boycotts and power cuts, Buthelezi said that he expected that people would no longer be intimidated after his meeting with the ANC.

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Buthelezi: Harare document a blunder

KWAZULU'S Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Saturday rejected the Harare Declaration, saying it will prove to be a blunder if allowed to proceed.

Buthelezi was speaking at a rally attended by more than 35 000 Inkatha Freedom Party supporters, many heavily armed with an assortment of traditional weapons.

Speaking at Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto, he said the Harare Declaration will not offer the kind of democracy that everybody in the country will accept.

He also rejected calls for an interim government and a constituent assembly.

"There is nothing that justifies the thought that a one man one vote system of government in a unitary State employing winner takes all politics is the only democracy fit for mankind," said Buthelezi.

The proceedings of the rally were brought to a standstill when the councillors were introduced. Jubilant Inkatha supporters welcomed councillors with gunshot salutes.

Even Buthelezi was temporarily startled when the gunfire erupted and Inkatha supporters cheered the councillors. He was heard asking an aide: "What are they doing now? What is going on?"

PAC rejects ANC's pact, seeks strategy review

SCWETAN 19 Feb 1991

The PAC yesterday called on the ANC to review its strategies for constitutional negotiations.

The agreement - concerning the armed struggle and mass action, among others - between the Government and the ANC, announced on Friday, was rejected by the PAC at a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

The organisation's general secretary, Mr Benny Alexander, said the agreement meant the

process of change remained "firmly in the hands of white people with the African majority hopeful spectators".

The agreement was also rejected on the basis that the Government and the ANC were prescribing how liberation movements "could achieve freedom from oppression".

The PAC said the exiles and political prisoners referred to by the agreement did not include PAC exiles and prisoners. The PAC also rejected the

Government demand that it would have to join negotiations before its prisoners were released.

However, both Alexander and PAC information chief, Mr Barney Desai, stressed that although they disagreed with the ANC's accord with the Government, this would not jeopardise the prospects of a "united front" meeting of liberation movements.

A joint committee had been established with the ANC to investigate setting up a "united front". - Sapa.

Patrick Laurence on Winnie Mandela and her new challenge from the State

Trials of a formidable fighter

Nomzamo Winifred Mandela, the pivotal figure in South Africa's cause celebre trial, is an imposing woman with a baronial taste for beautiful clothes and expensive jewellery.

In the first six days of the now adjourned trial, Mrs Mandela, who pleaded not guilty to charges of kidnapping and assault, commanded attention as she entered the courtroom. Her regal bearing, good looks and carefully chosen apparel were difficult to ignore.

On each of the six days she wore different outfits, ranging from smart, discreet suits to bolder, flowing garments with a traditional African motif.

Winnie or Zami, as Mrs Mandela is known to friends, does not cower when she is under attack. She has not been compared to Argentina's Eva Peron — or, perhaps more accurately, Isabelita Peron — for nothing.

Her enemies, noting the devoted loyalty of her world-renowned husband, Nelson Mandela, have remarked nastily that she has "bewitched" him. They want to see her burnt, metaphorically speaking, at the stake.

Mrs Mandela's power within the ANC — which she has served in one capacity or another for more than 30 years — was reflected in the appearance in the public gallery of high-ranking ANC leaders.

On each of the six days ANC notables, ranging from Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC's army, to internal leader Walter Sisulu, watched proceedings from seats near Mr Mandela.

They came, of course, to express solidarity with Mr Mandela but in so doing they publicly declared their sympathy for his wife.

The visitors included people who were sharply critical of Mrs Mandela barely two years ago when the controversy first broke over her alleged role in the kidnapping and assault of a 14-year-old boy — who was later found dead in the veld with his throat slit — and three young men.

The presence of these upper echelon ANC members contravened their own unequivocal injunction at the time to the community to "distance" themselves from Mrs Mandela and abandon her to her fate.

In her biography of Mr Mandela, Fatima Meer — a close family friend of the Mandelas — devotes a chapter to Mrs Mandela. Professor Meer characterises her as "the most troublesome and the most wilful" of her mother's four daughters. She notes that the young Winnie was "large and strong" and able to put boys to flight in stick fights.

Looking back at the younger Mrs Mandela — she married Nel-

son in 1958 — one is struck by her courage and tenacity, her refusal to bow before the seemingly invincible power of the apartheid state.

Left to fend for herself after her husband's incarceration in 1962, Mrs Mandela rapidly became a target for harassment by apartheid apparatchiki who sought to fetter and tame her. Part of the harassment was prompted by Mr Mandela's stature as a major anti-apartheid leader. But part of it was inspired by Mrs Mandela's own status as an ANC leader: when the ANC was banned in April 1960, she was on the national and provincial executives of the ANC Women's League, the national executive of the pro-ANC Federation of South African Women, and chairman of the Orlando branch of the ANC in Soweto.

Her life from the early 1960s to the mid-1980s is a shameful chronicle of harassment by the bully-boys of apartheid.

In October 1975 her banning order expired. It was a critical time for South Africa's anti-apartheid movement. After a period of dormancy following the crushing of rebellions by the ANC and the PAC, the Black Consciousness Movement had emerged to take up the struggle.

A lesser person might have chosen that moment to retreat, arguing to herself that she had done

her bit and that younger, stronger people were ready to take up the banner.

Not so Mrs Mandela. Blending into the burgeoning Black Consciousness Movement without abandoning her commitment to the ANC, she helped found the Black Women's Federation and

the Black Parents' Association.

The Soweto student revolt of 1976 had the apparatchiki in Pretoria in a nervous state. They responded with a wave of "preventive detentions". One of the people picked up was Mrs Mandela. She was detained in August of that year. When she was released more than four months later, she was served with a new restriction order.

In 1977 she was banished from her Soweto home to the small township of Phatakahle, near Brandfort in the Free State. At the time human rights activists protested, declaring that it was cruel to send a woman away from her home when her husband was in jail. It was doubly cruel, they objected, to send Mrs Mandela, a Xhosa-speaking African who was fluent in English, into a Sotho-speaking village where the second language was Afrikaans.

One can still hear the mordant riposte of Jimmy Kruger, the Minister of Justice at the time. Mrs Mandela, he mocked, had proclaimed her belief in black soli-

darity, let her find solidarity with the black people of Phatakahle.

Mrs Mandela endured. In 1985 she returned to her house in Orlando West, Soweto, in defiance of her banning order. The authorities, sensing trouble, decided on a tactical retreat. They amended the order restricting her to Brandfort, giving her permission to live anywhere in South Africa, except Soweto.

Mrs Mandela spurned the compromise and returned to Soweto, defying the authorities to do their worst. Skirmishes ensued. Mrs Mandela won, returning to her home triumphantly.

But then Mrs Mandela, by now an international celebrity and the focus of adulation from young comrades as the "mother of the nation", stumbled and — and in the eyes of her growing number of foes — fell.

She appeared to endorse the cruel "necklace killings" by proclaiming that oppressed black people would liberate themselves from bondage with their matches and necklaces; she surrounded herself with a bodyguard of young men, the Mandela United Football Club, which reportedly harassed Soweto residents who did not pay obeisance to her.

Objections were raised, first in whispers and then vociferously. They reached a climax after four people — a teenaged boy and

three young men — were taken in December 1989 from a manse in Soweto to Mrs Mandela's home in Diepkloof, Soweto, where they were allegedly assaulted.

The pro-ANC Mass Democratic Movement issued a statement, accusing her "football team" of conducting a reign of terror and declaring that she had abused the trust and confidence of her comrades and violated the spirit and ethos of the democratic movement.

It was a low point in Mrs Mandela's life. She fought back, however. Within two years she was once again a powerful, if controversial, figure in ANC structures, having been appointed head of the ANC's department of social welfare and elected to the executive committee of its powerful PWV region.

Her admirers believe her political career still lies ahead of her; that her fortunes, having reached a nadir in 1989, are on the rise again and that even the highest positions in the ANC are not beyond her grasp.

WINNIE MANDELA AND HER NEW CHALLENGE

FROM PG 1

She is not without powerful allies in the ANC, especially in the ANC Youth League, and the possibility of her succeeding her husband as the leader of the ANC cannot be discounted. But her fate as a politician as well as person is contingent on the outcome of the trial. □

Foreign trade links multiply

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — SA established 13 new missions abroad in the current financial year — seven in Eastern Europe and six in Africa, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha told Parliament yesterday.

The European missions were in Sofia (Bulgaria), Prague (Czechoslovakia), Bratislava (Czechoslovakia), Zagreb (Yugoslavia), Ljubljana (Yugoslavia), Warsaw (Poland) and Bucharest (Romania).

Botha did not name the African countries involved, but sources said they could include Madagascar, Morocco, Zaire, Senegal, Togo and Ivory Coast.

Trade between SA and the frontline states was increasing "tremendously" and the number of visits of SADCC officials visiting Botha had become virtually "unmanageable".

ANC, PAC relations sour after agreement

RELATIONS between SA's leading liberation movements soured yesterday when the PAC denounced the ANC's armed-action accord with government and announced the postponement of a "patriotic front" conference.

At a news conference yesterday PAC general secretary Benny Alexander called on the ANC to review its decision to participate in the all-party conference with government and other groups.

Alexander said the government/ANC agreement, announced on Friday, on the armed struggle and mass action meant the process of change would remain firmly in the hands of "white people, with the African majority hopeful spectators".

Neither the ANC nor government had any right to decide or prescribe the method used by broad liberation movements to achieve freedom from oppression, he said.

"In the absence of the ballot, the bullet cannot be abandoned," he said.

The accord only made reference to prisoners and exiles who were ANC members, which was a departure from the UN Consensus Declaration and the Harare

TIM COHEN

Declaration which demanded the unilateral release of all political prisoners, he said.

In spite of the agreement, the "obnoxious" indemnity terms still remained.

"A senior government official" said the PAC would have to join negotiations before its members would be released from jail, Alexander claimed.

This was confirmed by the government/ANC agreement and was "unacceptable political blackmail", Alexander said.

It was "necessary for the ANC to review its decision to participate in an all-party congress which was clearly designed to sidetrack the people's democratic demand for an elected constituent assembly".

A recent Organisation of African Unity meeting had asserted that a prerequisite to future talks was a "conference of the oppressed". The ANC had announced that such a conference would take place on March 21, but it could not be organised by that date.

Despite the clear difference between the ANC and PAC positions, he said, such a conference should still go ahead.

Local government groups join forces

THEO RAWANA

SA's leading black local government organisations are to amalgamate to form a "formidable force" against intimidation headed by the UDF-aligned Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal (Cast).

United Municipalities of SA (Umsa) president Henock Ngakane said his organisation and the Urban Councils of SA (Ucasa) would have a stronger voice against Cast, which has been campaigning for the resignation of black councillors.

"The two organisations will meet on March 9 to decide on a date for amalgamation. Umsa wanted a mandate from its membership for an alliance with Ucasa, but instead received an urgent appeal for full amalgamation with them," Ngakane said.

"The amalgamation will be of benefit to both organisations because we will also have a stronger voice when talking to government and the TPA," he said.

Ucasa national organiser and Alexandra mayor Prince Mokoena said: "With the new dispensation coming, we need to speak with one voice."

"When we go into the stage of one local government for all, we need to go as one."

He said in the new structure black councillors would be joining people who were well-versed in politics.

"They don't have to contend with, and have never been asked to resign as was done to us by Cast. All they have to contend with are their ratepayers," he said.

Cast vice-president Kgabisi Mosunkutu said the amalgamation of the organisations was "of no importance to the liberation of our people."

"The only importance is that their grouping together will make it easier for us to remove them — we'll need to identify only one organisation."

"But what they are doing clearly points to a collusion between government, the TPA and the councillors. (Transvaal) Administrator Danie Hough has already called on councillors to organise themselves," he said.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

19 FEBR. 1991

Dangers

AS has happened with all the agreements between the African National Congress and the government, the ink is hardly dry when there are arguments over interpretation.

The African National Congress says the mass campaign to force town councils to resign is now accepted as a legitimate form of political pressure.

Not so, says State President De Klerk. Efforts can be made democratically to get town councillors to resign, but they must not be intimidated into doing so.

Besides, the ANC remains subject to the law and cannot do anything that breaches the law.

What the agreement said was that the working group agreed that people had the right to express their views through peaceful demonstrations and that it was "urgent and imperative" to eliminate violence and intimidation from whatever quarter that accompanied mass action.

We doubt, however, whether violence or intimidation will cease.

But the main point that is overlooked is this: Mass action is historically used by revolutionary organisations to mobilise the masses.

Even by accepting "peaceful" mass action, the government has legitimised this tactic.

It is, therefore, a victory for the ANC that will have serious consequences, since mass action and mass mobilisation are intended to enable the ANC to control the townships.

The State President has warned the ANC several times to desist from mass action, since it can lead to violence.

But the government has now conceded that mass action can continue.

Some observers suggest that the ANC made the major concession by agreeing that suspension of the armed struggle means there will be no further infiltration of men and materials by the ANC, no armed attacks, no creation of underground structures and no training inside South Africa.

But the ANC has made it clear that it intends to continue training its men outside the country, switching Umkhonto we Sizwe from a guerrilla force to a conventional one.

Moreover, the ANC could continue to train its cadres in Transkei, as well as Tanzania and Angola, since Transkei is theoretically independent.

In any case, training its men in South Africa is really not desperately important when one considers that more than 5 000 trained guerrillas are to return with the ANC exiles.

The ANC will thus have a far bigger, highly trained force in South Africa, and it will be one that the government, if negotiations failed and the ANC took up the armed struggle once more, would find it difficult to deal with.

Furthermore, since the ANC's caches of arms do not have to be handed over — there was no agreement on this point — one can assume that Umkhonto will be highly armed.

A phased process to achieve control over these arms would be started as soon as possible, said Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok.

But the fact that the matter has not yet been resolved suggests it is going to be difficult to get the ANC to give up these arms.

The government and the ANC also differ on self-defence units, Mr Vlok saying the government was absolutely opposed to them and the ANC saying they had been approved in principle.

Meanwhile, Umkhonto we Sizwe is no longer an unlawful organisation and membership of it is not unlawful.

All this so that, according to Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee, "with some co-operation" the April 30 deadline for the release of prisoners and the return of exiles can be met and the stage can be set for negotiations.

We wonder whether in trying to achieve this objective, the government hasn't given the ANC too much leeway for its revolutionary tactics.

Umkhonto we Sizwe, it seems, has the opportunity to keep itself intact, together with its armed caches, in case the negotiations do not lead to a solution favourable to the ANC.

The dangers are obvious.

Diatribes against Mandela

THE NATAL MERCURY FEBRUARY 19, 1991
SIR — I feel your editorial of February 11, 1992 headlined: "Unsavory bedfellow" cannot go unchallenged. The diatribe you unleashed against Nelson Mandela, the ANC and the oppressed majority of South Africa is an indictment against apartheid which has brainwashed even the opinion-makers, such as the editors of our country.

I would understand if you were ill-informed about the position of the ANC concerning the Libyan "suspects" in the 1988 Lockerbie bombing. But on Page 2 of the same issue you published a letter by Dr Pallo Jordan of the ANC restating the ANC position on this matter which can be summarised as:

1 The Lockerbie disaster was a tragic incident which resulted in the unfortunate loss of innocent lives;

2 If there is clear evidence of the involvement of the identified suspects, they should be arrested and punished as soon as possible; and

3 The trial should not only be fair and just, but be seen to be fair and just within the context of respect for the sov-

ereignty of all countries. This can only be achieved if the following considerations can be taken into account:

- In the absence of an extradition treaty, the accused must be tried in the country where they were arrested; or

- They must be tried in the International Court of Justice.

You seem to be unsettled with the statement that the purpose of the trial should not be to embarrass Col Gaddafi. What a shame!

I believe the purpose of the trial should be to determine whether the suspects are guilty or not without any political bias. That is one of the pillars of an independent judiciary. Do you believe in that?

You say "when the ANC was banned and resorted to terrorism it was assisted by Gaddafi". The ANC has never denied that it receives support from the international community including Libya. But that it resorted to terrorism is an insult to the overwhelming majority that supports the ANC.

Have you ever heard of the concept of state terrorism? It

is the international community that describes apartheid as the crime against humanity. How then can those who took up arms against this crime be described as terrorists?

You are entitled to your ideas and their propagation but others are also entitled to a different view and its propagation.

HD MAKHAYE

Durban

FOOTNOTE — You have partly misunderstood the editorial to which you refer. The Mercury approved of Mr Mandela's proposal that the International Court of Justice in the Hague could be a venue for a politically neutral trial of the Lockerbie suspects. Considering the nefarious role Colonel Gaddafi plays in international affairs, however, the close association which Mr Mandela and the ANC maintain with Libya should long since have ended. Unfortunately, many of the acts of ANC cadres amounted to straight terrorism and were a disgrace to any legitimate freedom struggle. ANC spokesmen would do well to acknowledge that fact. — Editor.

ANC prisoners make jail break, leave a note

DURBAN. — Two African National Congress members who allegedly robbed a building society, made a jail break at the weekend and left a note for the police.

The note read: "You did not want to give us bail, so we took free bail."

Four other awaiting-trial prisoners refused to join the two ANC members who escaped with six other prisoners from the

police cells at Scottburgh on the Natal South Coast on Saturday.

A police spokesman said the prisoners escaped by sawing through the bars.

The two ANC members were arrested by members of the Umkomaas Dog Unit in December soon after they allegedly robbed the South

African Perm Building Society at Umzinto on the Natal South Coast in December.

The escape of the prisoners was discovered on Saturday morning. A massive search for the prisoners at weekend proved unsuccessful.

A police spokesman said that there was no indications the prisoners had been freed with outside help.

The two ANC cadres — Joseph Memela and Zibusele Luthuli, who were facing charges of robbery and possession of

arms and explosives — made an unsuccessful application last month for bail.

Appeal

Police appealed to anyone with information about the whereabouts of the prisoners to contact police.

Meanwhile, 640 suspects were arrested for various crimes in Natal on Saturday in the second crime blitz in a week codenamed "Operation Guiltwatch".

A police spokesman said 11 unlicensed firearms as well as quantity of ammunition were seized during the operation which started at 4 am on Saturday. — Sapa.

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However, both Mr Alexander and PAC information chief, Mr Barney Desai, stressed that although they disagreed with the ANC's accord with the government, this would not jeopardise the prospects of a "united front" meeting of liberation movements.

A joint committee had been established with the ANC to investigate setting up a "united front" but Mr Alexander said the March 21 date set by the ANC was "unrealistic".

He said a "united front" would precede a constituent assembly and he reiterated that the PAC rejected an all-party conference on the grounds that representatives would not have a mandate from the electorate. — Sapa.

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"There is nothing that justifies the thought that a one man one vote system of government in a unitary State employing winner takes all politics is the only democracy fit for mankind," said Buthelezi.

The proceedings of the rally were brought to a standstill when the councillors were introduced. Jubilant Inkatha supporters welcomed councillors with gunshot salutes.

Even Buthelezi was temporarily startled when the gunfire erupted and Inkatha supporters cheered the councillors. He was heard asking an aide: "What are they doing now? What is going on?"

PAC rejects ANC's pact, seeks strategy review

The PAC yesterday called on the ANC to review its strategies for constitutional negotiations.

The agreement - concerning the armed struggle and mass action, among others - between the Government and the ANC, announced on Friday, was rejected by the PAC at a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

The organisation's general secretary, Mr Benny Alexander, said the agreement meant the

process of change remained "firmly in the hands of white people with the African majority hopeful spectators".

The agreement was also rejected on the basis that the Government and the ANC were prescribing how liberation movements "could achieve freedom from oppression".

The PAC said the exiles and political prisoners referred to by the agreement did not include PAC exiles and prisoners. The PAC also rejected the

Government demand that it would have to join negotiations before its prisoners were released.

However, both Alexander and PAC information chief, Mr Barney Desai, stressed that although they disagreed with the ANC's accord with the Government, this would not jeopardise the prospects of a "united front" meeting of liberation movements.

A joint committee had been established with the ANC to investigate setting up a "united front".

- Sapa.

THE WORLD



Life on South Africa's Margins

Like 7 million other blacks without housing, the Lamolas hope for safety and fight for rights

By John Battersby

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

ORANGE FARM, SOUTH AFRICA

THE Lamola family believes that the road to the new South Africa is going to be long and painful.

"If you can put yourself in the position of a struggling person, you will see that negotiations don't mean very much," says Silas Lamola, a pensive man whose commitment to his community is even more important than goals for himself and his family. "I haven't seen any major changes in the way we live," he says.

Mr. Lamola's quiet skepticism is founded in personal experience. His mood contrasts sharply with the expectation and hope among middle-class blacks.

If the main dynamic in South Africa is a conflict between the old and the new — between the hierarchy and tradition of the tribe and the new values of ur-

banization and Western-style democracy — the Lamolas are caught somewhere in the middle.

Lamola says that it will take generations to correct the distortions created by apartheid. He is convinced that strife and upheaval are as inevitable as the relentless wind that blows dust through the cracks in his home.

"We cannot lead a normal life under such conditions," says Lamola, pointing to the lack of facilities. "We first have to build the community."

Silas Lamola plays a special role in his community. He says he believes in God, but then proceeds in a passionate explanation of the importance of tribal "ancestor worship" and the central role that communicating with the ancestors plays in his decision-making. Perhaps because of his respect for and understanding of his ancestors, Silas is regarded as a natural mediator in the community.

With black-on-black violence raging, the only constant factors in the Lamolas lives are "the community" and their smiling daughter Trudy, who reflects the boundless energy of childhood.

Silas, Emily, and 7-year-old Trudy live in a wood-and-iron shack in this sprawling community of 30,000 about 25 miles south of Johannesburg. In the center of their tiny living room is the cabinet of a 1950s hi-fi set that is used as a storage cupboard. The dirt floor is covered by a carpet. There are no windows, so as soon as the front door is closed (which is essential to keep the dust out)

the house is in darkness. Inside the shack, the walls are covered with newspapers to keep the dust and wind out and the warmth in.

In 1987, the Lamolas lived in Weiler's Farm, a rapidly growing squatter settlement about three or four miles from here. Emily Lamola, a dignified woman with a deep reserve of inner confidence, taught at the nursery school. Silas was a community activist at the forefront of the campaign to resist forced relocation by the government to Orange Farm. The community was unified in resisting continual demolitions, evictions, and arrests.

Because of his activist role, harassment by the authorities forced Silas to move to Orange Farm in early 1989. "Fellow activists told me that, if I came here, I would be on my own," says Lamola. "But I felt I had to come here for my safety."

After the African National Congress (ANC) was legalized last February, Silas became involved in trying to form a branch in Orange Farm. His efforts were thwarted by residents who have aligned with the provincial authorities to try to increase services to their area. Now his energies are devoted to organizing the ANC-aligned local street committees that he sees as vital to the struggle for empowerment.

"Life has changed. If I had a problem in the old days, I would tell my parents and they would summon uncles and elders," he says. "Now if someone has a problem, they come to me — so I have to go to the street committee."

A year ago there were more shacks than permanent homes here. Today homes outnumber shacks. The pink-painted Lamola shanty is becoming an island among the burgeoning houses of an aspiring middle class.

Emily, a member of the Sotho tribe, sometimes desponds. She would like to build a house and seek more of a balance between efforts for the family and for the community.

"She sometimes gets very upset with me," concedes Silas. "But I just can't leave all these people behind."

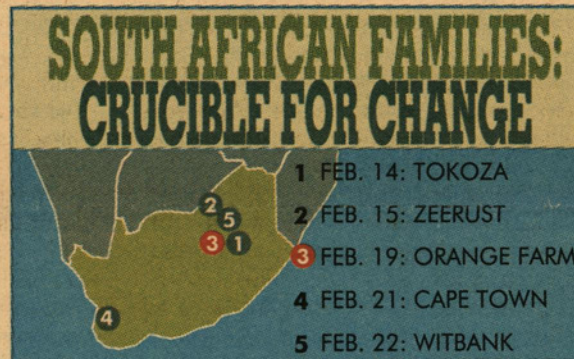
He has tried. After moving to Orange Farm in 1989, he took a job as an electrical assistant. He earned \$300 a month, spent much of his time traveling, and felt like a "fish out of water," being separated from his community. He didn't fit into the business mold and came into conflict with what he saw as exploitative working conditions. "I was soon looked on as a troublemaker, because I was not satisfied with many of the employer's practices," he says. Today he devotes his time to helping Emily run the community nursery school. She earns \$320 a month, and is the sole breadwinner.

On one of this reporter's visits, Silas was going to the city to buy a new suit. He bought the suit and took it home, but found it was too big. He hung it behind a curtain dividing the living room from the tiny bedroom. By the next week, when he was able to go back to the shop, the suit was coated with dust and needed to be dry cleaned to be returned.

"How can we go on living like this?" he asks, glancing at Emily. "For the sake of the family I might build a house here."

That would be a turning point in Silas Lamola's journey from the old order to the new.

THE LAMOLA FAMILY: Silas, Trudy (center), and Emily in front of their shack in Orange Farm. They lived in a squatter area nearby until safety concerns forced them to move here.



He has kept his tiny shack in Weiler's Farm and visits it at least once a week when he attends meetings of the old residents' committee. There he feels a sense of purpose as part of an organized political collective. Through attrition, Weiler's Farm has dwindled over three years from 10,000 to 1,000 people.

They are among 7 million blacks without permanent housing, about one-quarter of the black population. Since the system of influx control known as the "pass laws" was abolished in 1986, hundreds of thousands of blacks have streamed to the cities in search of employment. The prospect of huge shantytowns sprawled around major cities — once the ruling National Party's nightmare — is now accepted as a reality for the foreseeable future.

Lamola has not yet built a shack in Orange Farm and lives in the shanty built by his late father-in-law for Emily's mother. Attempts to mobilize his new community have proven difficult. Residents are acquiring a vested interest in the new-found security of owning land and homes and see the prospect of improving their bleak fortunes. They pay about \$200 for their sites. For \$3,200 (with 95 percent of that amount borrowed), they can buy a hastily built stucco home.



SINGING AT SCHOOL: Emily Lamola leads students at the community nursery school in Orange Farm. Though Silas assists her at the school, Emily is currently the family's only breadwinner, bringing home \$320 a month.