

30 June 1991

Jeremy Brooks
Foreign Service

**Former British prime
minister finally
brings down the curtain**

LONDON. TEARS poured down Margaret Thatcher's cheeks on Friday as she finally brought down the curtain on a unique career.

The former Prime Minister announced she will stand down from the Commons at the next general election. She also made a broad hint that a peerage, with a seat in the House of Lords, would not come amiss.

Her grief was mirrored by delegates at the Tory Women's Conference where minister Chris Patton read out her statement. Women everywhere in the hall removed their glasses and dabbed at cheeks.

Despite the public dismay, allies of both Prime Minister John Major and Mrs Thatcher were privately relieved at her decision. The continual argument over Britain's role in the EC has been causing dissent among the Tories, contributing to Mr Major's falling ratings.

Mr Major, in Luxembourg for the EC meeting, said she would "go down as a very great prime minister indeed". The Commons would be a "poorer place without her and I imagine she will make a positive and valuable contribution in the House of Lords".

The accolades, which

poured in from all parts of the world, were matched by a jubilant Labour Party.

After many bruising battles across the Commons floor, Labour leader Neil Kinnock could still not find a kind word to say about Mrs Thatcher.

She was bowing out of parliament, he said, to avoid "certain defeat" at the next election.

Saying that he would

not miss her, he suggested the decision was "one of her wisest judgments".

"I think she will now begin to fade in real political significance."

After 32 years in the Commons, Mrs Thatcher said she would miss the debate and the companionship but added "whether one is in one House or another, I shall be there".

Mrs Thatcher telephoned Downing Street

have to retire as leader.

The moment was in complete contrast to an earlier TV talk on another channel in which she exulted: "I'm free, I'm free." The words signalled her aim to continue her fight against EC federalism.

So ended a Commons career that began as MP for Finchley in 1959 and saw Mrs Thatcher become the Conservatives' most successful

Tearful *Sunday Tribune* Thatcher bows out

herself at 9am Friday to warn them of her decision, made several days ago but kept secret. Arrangements were immediately made to summon the TV cameras and declare her departure. Friends said she agonised until the last minute.

Later, speaking on Channel 4, she broke down in tears, dabbing her eyes with a hankie as she relived the moment when she knew she would

election winner and longest-serving Prime Minister this century.

She now has a choice of titles if her wish to go to the Lords is granted.

Crucial to the decision is whether she takes a hereditary title that would pass to her son Mark.

Officially, Mr Major will recommend any title to the Queen, but convention allows Mrs Thatcher to tell him her preference.

Tearful Thatcher bows out.

SUNDAY
TRIBUNE

WORLD FOCUS



TEARFUL MAGGIE: Former British Prime Minister Maggie Thatcher wipes away a tear during a television interview this week.

Cops behind arson —

CITY PRESS

30 JUNE 1991

ANC

By SOPHIE TEMA

TUMAHOLE's ANC branch has launched an investigation into allegations of police involvement in attacks on political activists in the area.

The investigation follows allegations of assault and intimidation by policemen and their involvement in the burning of several houses in the township near Parys two weeks ago.

Residents have named several policemen who they claim were seen harassing and assaulting youths they had rounded up for questioning.

Lawyers have obtained statements from eyewitnesses who said they saw policemen wearing balaclavas in the township before the houses were petrol bombed.

They added that after the attacks the policemen were seen speeding away in motor cars.

Residents allege the police targeted political activists who had called for action following water switch-offs in Tumahole which lasted for several weeks.

Among those targeted for arson attacks were ANC branch secretary Otto Moloi; civic association executive

member Ditaba Potsuenyane; ANC Women's League executive member Pontsho Moqholosane, and local ANC branch executive member Dolly Vandi.

Legal Resources Centre lawyers have obtained statements from youths who were allegedly shoved into the boot of a car and driven to the township's community hall where they were assaulted with heavy sticks by policemen.

Police spokesman Col Steve van Rooyen confirmed that he had received complaints from Tumahole Civic Association chairman Ace Magashule and that he had gone to Parys to investigate. He said after lengthy discussions he suggested that people with complaints against the police should submit statements to his office.

But residents chose to make statements to their lawyers.

Statements were also obtained by a Johannesburg firm of attorneys who allegedly overheard policemen plotting to implicate Magashule and other political activists in criminal offences.

Magashule is currently on R1 500 bail in a case where he faces charges of kidnapping and robbery. He is due to appear in court on July 9.

POLITICS

CITY PRESS

30 JUNE 1991

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OF



WALTER SISULU . . . key figure in the election jousting



NELSON MANDELA . . . leads way into the new territory

POWER

TO P52

ANC's Mac back from the cold

Charles Leonard

IN a surprise move the head of Operation Vula, Mac Maharaj, this week announced his return to highpower ANC politics — he accepted nominations from several regions to stand at the organisation's conference in Durban for the National Executive Committee.

Known as one of the most skilled strategists in the movement, Mr Maharaj went into retirement from the ANC's leadership in December last year. That was shortly after his release from detention following his arrest in connection with Operation Vula, the ANC's clandestine plan to establish underground structures and a revolutionary army.

At the time of his resignation from the NEC — the ANC's

highest decision-making body — rumours were rife that he had quit the leadership in protest against the lack of practical steps to secure his release.

Mr Maharaj is still now tight-lipped about his reasons for that decision, saying it was an internal matter within the ANC.

"I am standing because of pressure from several people at grassroots level," he explained.

"On Wednesday I got a call from the ANC's head office to urgently come in. They told me several regions had nominated me for the NEC.

"Things happened very fast and on Wednesday afternoon I took my decision to stand. I have never defined the role I had to play within the movement. All I think is that the line of action one should take is to pursue the movement's strategy towards a total end to apartheid," Mr Maharaj said.

He was the nominee with the most support in the Southern Natal region and also got high

polls in the PWV area, which also nominated him. Although he could not confirm which regions also nominated him, Mr Maharaj was told that other regions also nominated him. Natal Midlands and Border regions are said to have also nominated him.

Although "labelists" in the media would put Mr Maharaj in the militant camp within the ANC, because of his view that mass action is as important as negotiations, he is opposed to simplifying tendencies in the organisation.

"My position is the same as the ANC's official position," he says. "It is in the Government's interest that 'negotiators versus insurgents' division is fomented."

But Mr Maharaj has always been a controversial figure in the NEC before his resignation because he was known as a straight talker — if something bothered him he would say so in no uncertain terms.

His persistent straight talking made him unpopular with some NEC members, and some were pleased when he "retired".

These people won't necessarily welcome him back on board. So it remains to be seen how much support he has on the ground when it comes down to the voting.

The Leon Trotsky lookalike, who has been a Congress movement activist for almost 40 years, is certain to get a lot of support from the disbanded Mass Democratic Movement when the elections take place at the conference. Seen as a main strategist to conceptualise a united front against apartheid; he was the moving force behind the strategic orientation of the ANC underground activists within the United Democratic Front.

In 1987 at the talks between the ANC and prominent Afrikaners in Dakar, Senegal, Mr Maharaj was seen struggling

along with a walking stick which spread the rumour that his kidneys gave him so much trouble that he had to go for treatment in the Soviet Union.

With this perception planted in the South African security establishment it was easy for him to return to the country to launch Operation Vula, which was in his mind very successful.

Because many MDM people were involved in Operation Vula, he can be, unlike other exiles, assured of support from that quarter, an activist said.

Unlike some of the senior members of the NEC who still do not know some of the prominent MDM activists, Mr Maharaj made it his business to know people as far as five layers down in the leadership structures, an activist said.

Mr Maharaj feels there should be "rejuvenation" within the ANC and that it should be manifested in the people elected to the NEC.

Mr Maharaj has supporters and opponents in the movement, although the former have always been in the majority. His strict discipline and his almost consummate passion for the struggle have alienated certain people within the ANC.

As one insider put it: "Mac might be a militant, but he is not a loudmouth. His statements are considered and if he makes it on to the NEC, we will see a lot more mass action."

He became politically involved while reading a BA-degree at the University of Natal in the 1950s. In 1956 he took over the running of the ANC's "New Era" newspaper and then went on to do an LLB at the London School of Economics.

After it was banned, Mr Maharaj remained involved in the ANC's underground. In July 1964 he was detained, severely tortured for several months and in December that year was convicted of sabotage and subver-

sion with other senior Umkhonto weSizwe members.

While on Robben Island he completed a B Admin and an MBA. He was released in 1976 and immediately served with a five-year banning order. Soon afterwards he left the country to join the ANC in exile where he quickly rose to the powerful position of secretary in the Political Military Committee. In this position he co-ordinated the ANC's armed struggle and its underground operations.

From 1987 he co-ordinated these actions from inside the country in the form of Operation Vula until his arrest in July last year. On March 23 this year he received unconditional indemnity and the charges against him and the other Vula accused were dropped by the State.

His emergence from the retirement that never was, has made it clear that Mr Maharaj intends to remain one of the ANC's most important shakers and movers.

SUNDAY STAR
30 JUNE 1991

Young Turks set to oust ANC old guard

By SEKOLA SELLO

A YOUTHFUL home-grown leaders are expected to come to power during the ANC's historic 48th congress at the University of Durban Westville this week.

While the composition of the ANC's new and enlarged National Executive Committee is not yet clear, there is little doubt among the organisation's insiders that many of the home-grown leaders are likely to oust the old guard.

The home-grown leadership, made up of members of the UDF-Cosatu alliance, are increasingly being credited with having caused the final crisis of apartheid.

The old guard has been criticised strongly for having failed in the liberation struggle, particularly armed action, in the last 30 years.

The Cosatu/UDF alliance, formed just over five years ago, is considered by the general membership of the ANC to have played a far more effective role in forcing Pretoria to bring about the current changes.

Among those to watch are unionists Cyril Ramaphosa and Sydney Mufamadi; UDF leaders Popo Molefe, Patrick Lekota, Rev Arnold Stofile, Albertinah Sisulu and Trevor Manuel; as well as "exiles" such as Joel Netshitenze, Gugile Nkwinte and Thozamile Botha.



ARTICULATE ... Num general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, 39, regarded as the best choice for ANC secretary-general.



EFFICIENT ... Terror Lekota, 43, is arguably one of the most capable administrators to have emerged from inside the country.



EVERYONE'S FAVOURITE ... the matriarchal Albertinah Sisulu, 69, has for years been in the thick of ANC and UDF politics.



INFLUENTIAL .. Rev Arnold Stofile, 46, the Border UDF leader, played a key role in the sports boycott.



RISING STAR ... Sydney Mufamadi, 32, a veteran unionist despite his youth, has risen fast in South African politics.

CITY PRESS

30 JUNE 1991

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE historic ANC congress which starts at the University of Durban Westville on Tuesday is about one issue – a swearword no one in the organisation wants to say out loud.

That word is powersharing.

However, issues like sanctions and the armed struggle remain dear to the hearts of many in the ANC, and will no doubt feature prominently during the five-day congress.

It is a racing certainty that the establishment in August of a united patriotic front, comprising traditional anti-apartheid forces, will be readily endorsed by congress.

Old habits die hard, but these days nobody really believes that sanctions will be re-imposed or that the ANC still places a high premium on the armed struggle. At least for the time being.

Last December's consultative conference also cleared the decks of contentious issues such as the leadership's tendency to hold – at whim – what Nelson Mandela calls “private” talks with government.

The two-hats debate will also come under serious discussion. Indicators point to the congress endorsing the policy of leaders serving in dual positions in the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance.

The vexing question of the current violence will predictably result in the government and Inkatha being held largely to blame.

What remains to be seen are the kind of resolutions passed to attempt to force the government to act more effectively in bringing to book those responsible for the killings – especially since ultimatums and deadlines issued in the last six months have failed to achieve the desired results.

Getting away from this immediate horror, the ANC will want to think long and hard about the fact that sanctions are collapsing daily, and that many African countries are falling over each other to trade openly with Pretoria.

In December Thabo Mbeki presented a paper on sanctions in which he suggested phasing them out on a point-by-point political trade off.

Such a move would have given the ANC the tactical edge over the government on the sanctions issue. Instead, hardliners shot him down and Pretoria went up a point on the scoreboard.

The thaw in East-West relations – or the emergence of a New World Order as it is now being spoken of – has made a return to armed struggle unacceptable to the major powers. This is well known in the ANC.

In the light of these contemporary developments, the 2 000 delegates will have to work

hard to come up with new strategies for taking power.

Informed opinion is that for both the immediate and medium term, the ANC is aware – or at least its leadership is – that it is not in a position to oust the white ruling bloc from power.

But will the leadership be bold enough to state this publicly, risking being labelled weaklings?

On the other hand, if the leadership bites the bullet and acknowledges the uncomfortable truth, congress will be in a better position to formulate a realistic political response.

This will inevitably lead the organisation to come to terms with that nasty swearword – powersharing.

It's still an ill-defined concept and the majority of ANC members, particularly the youth and Umkhonto weSizwe cadres, are not oriented towards it.

Government says it is committed to power-sharing but sceptics say – with good reason – that this commitment is still based on whites retaining their dominance.

Some ANC members believe that power-sharing is part of De Klerk's grand plan to neutralise the organisation. The ANC fears being brought into government without assurances that incorporation would benefit its members.

It is also suspected in the ANC that any powersharing which threatens white affluence will be vigorously opposed by State President

FW de Klerk. This is another dilemma facing the ANC.

Given general poverty and economic decline, an ANC-NP coalition government would face serious constituency problems if it failed to revive the economy.

The spectre of a massive and unhappy constituency is the last thing the ANC and the government want. We'd soon be back to the destructive politics of ungovernability and anarchy.

Faced with these seemingly impossible problems, is the ANC up to the challenge?

The last five weeks have seen intense lobbying and jockeying for positions. The media has been full of speculation about the shenanigans

between various internal factions.

It has been said the “moderates” are ranged up against the “hardliners”: communists against nationalists; the old guard versus the young lions, and the external leadership against those who did not opt for exile.

Amid this speculation, leaks calculated to weaken the position of one or the other ‘faction’ have appeared in the press.

The congress – the first to be permitted by the white State in three decades – is unlikely to go strictly by the Queensberry rules!

Yet at the end of the day, whichever grouping or person wins the vote, one idea should remain uppermost in the minds of delegates and leaders. It is that old swearword – powersharing.

Faction friction wracks Lesotho

A MONTH after race riots brought Lesotho to a halt, questions are still being asked about the true nature of the violence.

The military government of Colonel Elias Ramaema is also racked with infighting.

Mob violence was touched off on May 20 with the murder of a 56-year-old woman, Mathabiseng Senatsi, who was accused of shoplifting in a South African-owned store. In the days that followed as many as 50 people were killed and a 6pm to 6am curfew was enforced by army and police.

Three weeks later Senatsi's funeral passed by quietly and the curfew was relaxed to 11pm to 5am.

The final tally of damage shows more than 100 businesses were damaged and looted, with 16 burnt down. Although major factories owned by Asian investors in the Maseru area were protected, many smaller facilities are in ruins.

While a commission of enquiry looks into the events, rumours of a mysterious "third force" driving the unrest have continued to circulate.

Suspensions are that the original riots were used as a "cover" for organised groups that wanted to target Chinese investors who have stretched the law on foreign ownership to take control of businesses many believe should be reserved for Basotho.

Local officials who wish to remain unnamed say the violence was initially a spontaneous response to the killing.

Asian shop owners were attacked, but they were not singled out. Instead people attacked businesses where security personnel are known to beat suspected shoplifters as normal practice.

After the first day of riots, Trade and Industry Minister Moletsane Mokoroane publicly attacked Chinese investors for "taking over" Lesotho's business sector.

During the riots that followed, Asian businesses were again targeted.

There is speculation that gangsters from South Africa, or disgruntled former employees of some Asian-owned factories, may have orchestrated the second stage of the violence.

A number of speakers from the Lesotho Chamber of Commerce hit out at Chinese-owned stores, claiming that Asians were operating cafes, bottle stores, clothing and food outlets that should be reserved for Basotho. Government officials were also blamed.

One visiting Asian researcher says wealthy Taiwanese investors and poorer traders from mainland China were operating in the country.

Matters have been made worse by eruptions in the army. As many as 26 soldiers may have died in an attempted counter coup on June 7 carried out by the faction which supports the deposed Major-General Justin Lekhanya. A week later, 20 officers were dismissed.

Lekhanya appears to be backed by the powerful South Africa-based chief Evaristus Sekhonyana, a veteran supporter of various administrations.

Another group supports the cousin of deposed King Moshoeshoe II, Colonel Sekhobe Letsie, who is in prison following conviction for the murder of two government ministers and their wives in 1986.

A general election scheduled for May next year is now in jeopardy. — AIA

Criticism of Evans is unacceptable

I FIND unacceptable the criticism levelled against Australian Foreign Minister Senator Gareth Evans for his government's support of only one "political grouping".

This criticism was made by Mangosuthu Buthelezi and by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha at a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport shortly after the senator's departure from this country.

The "political grouping" Botha was referring to is clearly the ANC.

I would like to point out that any financial support a government lends to a political movement is a result of that government's trust in that movement.

The Australian government believes the ANC has the largest support locally and the kind of government the ANC envisages is based on democratic

principles.

Botha himself knows that financial support is given to support one's own interests. His government has supported the Unita rebel movement in Angola to weaken the MPLA government.

If what he demanded from the Australian senator is sincere, why did his government in the same breath not support both the MPLA government and Unita?

The same can be said for the South African government's support of Renamo in Mozambique and not the governing Frelimo.

One could also ask why the government does not lend its financial support to the ANC, PAC and Azapo? For obvious reasons these movements are a threat to the government's continued reign in this country. — MK Molaidi, Pietersburg

CITY PRESS
30 JUNE 1991

Buthelezi way off mark with sanctions

KWAZULU Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's argument that violence in South Africa is caused by poverty which is caused by unemployment is spurious.

It is a feeble attempt to justify the unacceptable wave of violence perpetrated against Africans.

This shows that the so-called black-on-black violence is deliberate and calculated. It is used to instil fear among all and sundry.

But the people of South Africa are aware that in other places where comprehensive and mandatory sanctions have been imposed – not limited sanctions as in the case of South Africa – this has never been the case.

Mr Buthelezi and his advisers overlook the fact that it is racial

oppression which is responsible for the country's economic, political and social woes.

Even a white rightwing Republican Senator in the US, Richard Lugar, disagreed with Mr Buthelezi on the effects of sanctions on unemployment in South Africa.

He said: "The sanctions were always very limited in character. They were not meant to debilitate the country. I think most observers would say they changed the Gross National Product of South Africa by not more than one to three percent annually. Nevertheless, they were clearly an irritant. My difference with Chief Buthelezi would be that I doubt whether they (sanctions) were as devastating as he (Buthelezi) sug-

gested in terms of unemployment."

In the *Political Handbook of the World*, edited by Arthur Barnes and published by the State University of New York in 1990, it is revealed that in 1986 unemployment in South Africa was estimated to be as high as 50 percent.

This figure was more or less the same before sanctions were imposed.

Sanctions have only increased unemployment to 51 percent, which is really a drop in the ocean considering the high rate of unemployment among Africans in South Africa before the imposition of sanctions.

Unemployment has been a way of life for black people. It has been reinforced by such racist legislation as the Job Reservation Act. The act

might have been "scrapped" but its removal, like many other racist laws, is immaterial. The lifting of the ban on sanctions is not going to alleviate the suffering of unemployable black people. George Bush and State President FW de Klerk know that. Probably Buthelezi does not.

Buthelezi's recent interview on American television clearly showed that the man is being used. His obsequiousness to whites became apparent when he addressed the interviewer as "Sir" or "Mr". In North America it is customary for interviewees to address interviewers by their first names.

It was clear the man was just an emissary running errands for his "makhulu baas". As if to add insult

to injury, the interviewer sarcastically asked Chief Buthelezi about the three ministerial posts he holds.

It would be fair and proper for the Western governments and media – "champions" of democracy and practitioners of "a free and democratic press" – to listen to the views of all the organisations on sanctions.

They must give every organisation equal coverage before taking a decision to lift sanctions.

People in the western world have heard only the views of the ANC and Inkatha. A veil has been placed over Amapo and PAC views on this matter. Where is democracy and the free press the western countries and media rant so much about? – Sam Ditshego, Canada

Women step up in ANC

MANY South African women will be watching the ANC's national conference with keen interest next week.

For months the ANC Women's League has been publicising its commitment to ensuring that women are adequately represented on the new executive.

Now, all the ANC's regions have agreed that 30 percent of those elected onto the national executive committee (NEC) should be women.

Presently, only three of the thirty-five NEC members are women. They are religious head Ruth Mompati, Women's League president Gertrude Shope and Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) communications chief Jackie Molefe.

The new executive has been extended to 90. Fifty must be elected, so 15 women will have to be chosen.

Those nominated for the posts include Albertinah Sisulu, Ivy Matsepe, Hilda Ndundi, Barbara Masekela, Barbara Hogan, Linda Zama, Frene Ginwala, Baleka Kgositsile, Lindiwe Mabuzo, Thenjwe Mthintso, Ivy Ndundi and Cheryl Carolus. Winnie Mandela, despite the controversy surrounding her, has also picked up several nominations.

The women elected in July will ensure women participate in the negotiation process.

So far, negotiations have been largely an all-male affair.

With the exception of the two women included in the delegation which met the government at Groote Schuur last year, and the recent all-women delegation which met the State President on the issue of the release of political prisoners, women have not featured around the negotiating table.

Despite the ANC's stated commitment to gender equality, it will be the forging of non-sexism in practice that will be the ultimate test. –

AIA

CITY PRESS

30 JUNE 1991

Zulu king questions Mandela's overtures

Sunday Tribune 30 June 1991

ZULU King Goodwill Zwelithini has questioned overtures made to him this week by African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela, saying the ANC was merely trying to improve its image in Natal on the eve of its national congress.

Mr Mandela told a Press conference in Empangeni on Thursday that the ANC was concerned about re-establishing the relationship between the Zulu kingdom and itself.

He said he hoped to meet King Goodwill in August.

"I want him to know I regard him as my king just as I regard other Zulu kings as mine."

Mr Mandela said Zulu kings like Shaka and Dingaan were not only heroes of the Zulus, but heroes of all Africans.

"Zulu leaders have

Brendan Seery

been among the foremost of those who fought to unite Africans," Mr Mandela said.

Speaking on his return to South Africa after a visit to Israel, King Goodwill asked why Mr Mandela had only now decided to publicly pay his respects to him.

"He should have flown here to my palace as soon as he was let out of prison if he wanted to greet his king."

A visibly irritated King Goodwill said Mr Mandela, born of royal stock himself, should have been "well aware of the protocol".

"He should come to pay his respects to me first before he talks to my people. He should have done that the first time he visited Durban."

The king said he had agreed to meet Mr Mandela in August after the ANC leader had made a number of requests to see him.

King Goodwill dis-

Interim government remains a demand

Sam Sole

REPORTS that the African National Congress was softening its stance on its demand for an interim government were misleading, ANC constitutional expert Kader Asmal said this week, on the eve of the ANC conference.

Professor Asmal, now lecturing at the University of the Western Cape, said the ANC's demand remained that the interim government hold ultimate sovereignty during the process of transition, though that power would probably only be exercised in the control of key areas

such as security and the process leading to democratic elections.

"We would not expect it to take over the running of the department of transport, for instance, or the remaining racist structures of local government — there would not be time.

"What one might call the "im-personal acts" of government would continue with little interference from an interim government, but the highly political acts governing the preparations for the transfer of power, such as ensuring fair policing, even-handed media coverage, free political activity and scrupulous

electoral mechanisms, would have to be the responsibility of the interim government.

"For that, the transfer of sovereignty is central: the tricameral parliament must be suspended."

Professor Asmal said the Government was an "active combatant" in the struggle for power and could not rightfully be both "player and referee".

It wanted this role because it sought not only to control the present and interim process, but to control the end product to produce a new South Africa to its liking.

However, he said, according to ANC policy as outlined in January this year, the exact structure of an interim government and the nature of the body which would draw up an interim constitution were subjects for negotiation at an all party conference (APC).

"We favour a constituent assembly, but this is a negotiating position we would bring to an APC." He said an interim government would have to be an inclusive, consensus driven body, which could be even handed and promote trust in the run up to elections.

He added that it was paramount that the process of constitution making be inclusive and enjoy wide legitimacy: "The capacity to do harm if people (such as Conservative Party supporters or others) feel they are left out, is immeasurable."

Professor Asmal said criticism of the ANC's demands for an interim government and constituent assembly put the cart before the horse. Current ANC policy was that the first step towards constitutional reform was the calling of a conference of all parties with demonstrable support.

Sunday Star 30 June 1991

Tambo to have his home in Wattville

By **THEMBA KHUMALO**

AFTER prolonged speculation about where Oliver Tambo will settle after his return to this country, the veteran ANC president has finally opted for a house in Wattville, on the East Rand, which the ANC will have built for him.

Tambo lived in the township before going into exile in 1959.

ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus has refuted rumours that the ANC leader had his eye on a mansion in Sandton and said it was one of Tambo's daughters, who was married to a British Lord, who intended buying a house in that area, which befitted the couple's status.

Marcus said her organisation had bought a site in Wattville for an undisclosed fee and building would begin "as soon as possible".

Tambo and his wife Adelaide are currently staying with friends on the Reef. They arrived for the second time in the country last weekend.

The announcement ends almost five months of speculation on where Tambo would finally settle after returning from over 30 years of exile.

Earlier this year newspaper reports suggested the 73-year-old ANC leader would buy his house in an elite part of the white suburb of Benoni, on a site overlooking the lake, after he had surveyed four luxury homes there.

Jill McQueen, owner of one of the plush houses in the area, was allegedly planning to sell her mansion to Tambo for R850 000. This provoked the wrath of local rightwingers who threatened her over the phone.

30 JUNE 1991

TACTICAL TWISTS

Dr OSCAR DHLOMO, political commentator and chairman of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, looks at the African National Congress conference beginning in Durban on Tuesday and argues that ANC delegates need to elect pragmatists who will be able to adapt their strategies and move forward with the changing times.

THE African National Congress's 48th National Conference that takes place in Durban this week is drawing as much (if not more) national attention and comment as any South African general election I can think of.

For ANC members it is also a nostalgic historical coincidence that the conference will be held in Durban where the last legal ANC National Conference was held, in 1958. Symbolically it is as if the ANC is saying it wants to continue from where it left off in the long struggle for liberation.

The conference is also important in that it promises to bring the largest influx ever of foreign leaders and dignitaries into South Africa, a fact that has not passed unnoticed by our tourism industry and the local business sector. According to ANC spokesmen, 350 high-profile foreign guests from 20 countries will attend the conference, including leaders from such countries as Cuba, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. This international diversity of the ANC's foreign guest list proves beyond doubt that, while the organisation has numerous other problems, the strength that it has in abundance is international credibility and acceptance.

This is not surprising, since any ANC observer would readily agree that one pillar of the ANC struggle that was professionally and successfully pursued throughout the 30 years of its exile has been international diplomacy. Praise for this should go to the ailing ANC president, Oliver Tambo, who was dispatched in the early Sixties by Chief AJ Luthuli, the then president, as a one-man ANC diplomatic mission overseas. Under Mr Tambo's steady and calm guidance, the ANC's foreign diplomatic missions today number far more than the South African Government's. Skilled ANC diplomats like the late Johnson Makhathini and Thabo Mbeki also came to the fore during this period.

Many observers have speculated that the ANC conference will divide into hawks and doves or Marxists and nationalists in deciding on issues placed before it. I prefer to use the dichotomy of pragmatists and fundamentalists. ANC pragmatists will see the conference as providing the ANC with its last opportunity to review policy and set guidelines before the start of constitutional negotiations. According to the new ANC constitution, which it is hoped will be adopted by the conference, the next ordinary conference is due in three years.

By that time constitutional negotiations will most probably have started and, if all goes well, a draft new South African constitution will be taking shape and perhaps even the date for national elections will have been tentatively discussed. This means the ANC must come out of the conference with clear, even if skeletal, guidelines, on various policy issues such as land, education, the economy, health and welfare, and housing. In terms of this scenario,

the conference will have to do all the policy groundwork now rather than later if the ANC is to present a united, coherent and unambiguous policy platform to the electorate between now and 1994.

Obviously the ANC fundamentalists will argue that policy issues are not urgent and that the negotiations are not likely to start within three years. They will point at "obstacles" that have not yet been removed, including the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles. They will ignore the fact that these obstacles have been and still are under constant discussion by the ANC/National Party working group and that once mutual agreement is reached removal will entail no more than a mere overnight stroke of the pen.

If fundamentalists have their way and prevail upon the conference to ignore policy issues then we will have a thoroughly confused and strategically divided ANC clumsily limping along into negotiations and a post-apartheid election.

Conference must also afford the ANC an opportunity to clarify its thinking on the transition mechanisms that it proposes, such as a constituent assembly and an interim government. There are still many loopholes and grey areas in this regard which the ANC will need to attend to. For instance, given the fact that not only the government but also significant political players like the Inkatha Freedom Party have problems with the constituent assembly as proposed, the ANC would need to

debate possible variations of the concept that might make it more acceptable to other players.

The same applies to the interim government. The ANC will have to be honest with itself and decide if, in its present form and provided it won a constituent assembly election, it would be able to run a viable interim government on its own and take over all the state functions virtually overnight. In this regard, it will need to examine carefully the government's alternative offer — a jointly managed multi-party transitional authority rather than a mono-party one.

ANC fundamentalists would perhaps frown upon a jointly managed transitional authority and argue that this might lead to a perception that they have been co-opted by the apartheid state. They will hopefully soon learn that, short of a successful armed insurrection, there is no model of transition that will avoid some measure of interim co-operation between those who wield political power now and those who are waiting for its transfer to them. In any case, the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes marked the beginnings of the principle of joint management of the process of political transition.

It is not clear to what extent the conference will discuss the process of rolling back sanctions. All indications are that the ANC is rapidly losing this battle by default. Sanctions are already crumbling in the north, west and east and the sanctions de-

TO PS2

bate itself is soon becoming yesterday's debate.

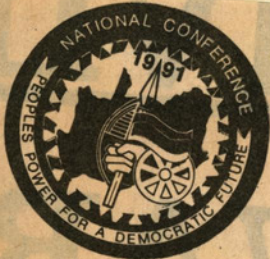
Unbelievable strategic ineptitude, as displayed at the Consultative Conference in December 1990, has seen the ANC tragically failing to capitalise on its brilliant international success in spearheading the imposition of sanctions. For unknown reasons the ANC is now refusing to stay ahead in the international game of sanctions by quickly devising a strategy that will see the organisation spearheading the rolling back of sanctions.

The ANC's attitude in this regard reminds one of a powerful person defiantly standing in pouring rain holding a cake of sea sand that is fast dissolving in his hand.

ANC fundamentalists will insist that sanctions should remain in place until change is irreversible or until the voteless have the vote. In Namibia, where the latter strategy was applied, some international sanctions are still in place after one year of independence.

In appreciation of the fact that politicians are not fond of admitting their mistakes, the ANC fundamentalists should rather be saying the sanctions debate must be allowed to quietly die a natural death since most countries that imposed them in the first place have by now decided or are in the process of deciding how and when they will lift them.

Observers will also be watching to see if the ANC will manage to transform itself from a liberation movement into a sleek



and professional political party ready to do battle in a free and fair election.

If the ANC does not do this, it will find it difficult to match the electioneering skills and experience of the NP which has been in this game for more than 40 years.

It is only after the ANC has re-structured itself as a political party that it will be able to convert its general, but unaffiliated support, into committed voter support. At the moment the ANC's alleged membership of 500 000 does not tally with the general support the organisation undoubtedly enjoys in the whole country. The ANC's membership fee of R12 also seems too expensive for ordinary people, many of whom are unemployed. There is clearly no unanimity within the ANC on the question of transforming the organisation into a political party, and yet there is no way the present ANC can be effectively put on to an election footing. I suppose fundamentalists would like the ANC to continue as a liberation movement with its revolutionary rhetoric on armed struggle, mass action and defence units all in tow. Fundamentalists need to remember that the last time a liberation movement tried to be a government was in Mozambique during the Samora Machel era. The rest is now history.

Finally, the election of office bearers has attracted a lot of interest. A cursory glance at the nomination lists from the various regions seems to suggest that the hour has now come for younger leaders, female leaders, as well as former United Democratic Front and Mass Democratic Movement leaders, who have been in political limbo since the ANC was unbanned.

Significantly the current president, Mr Tambo, has up to now declined to say if he will stand for re-election. It is generally expected that he will decide to stand down. The fact that he has not declared his intentions in advance probably has to do with keeping speculation about and jockeying for this all important position to a minimum. There is also a need to keep morale high among ANC supporters in this crucial pre-conference period. Virtually all regions have already nominated the current deputy president, Nelson Mandela, for president and he is poised to be voted into this position with acclaim.

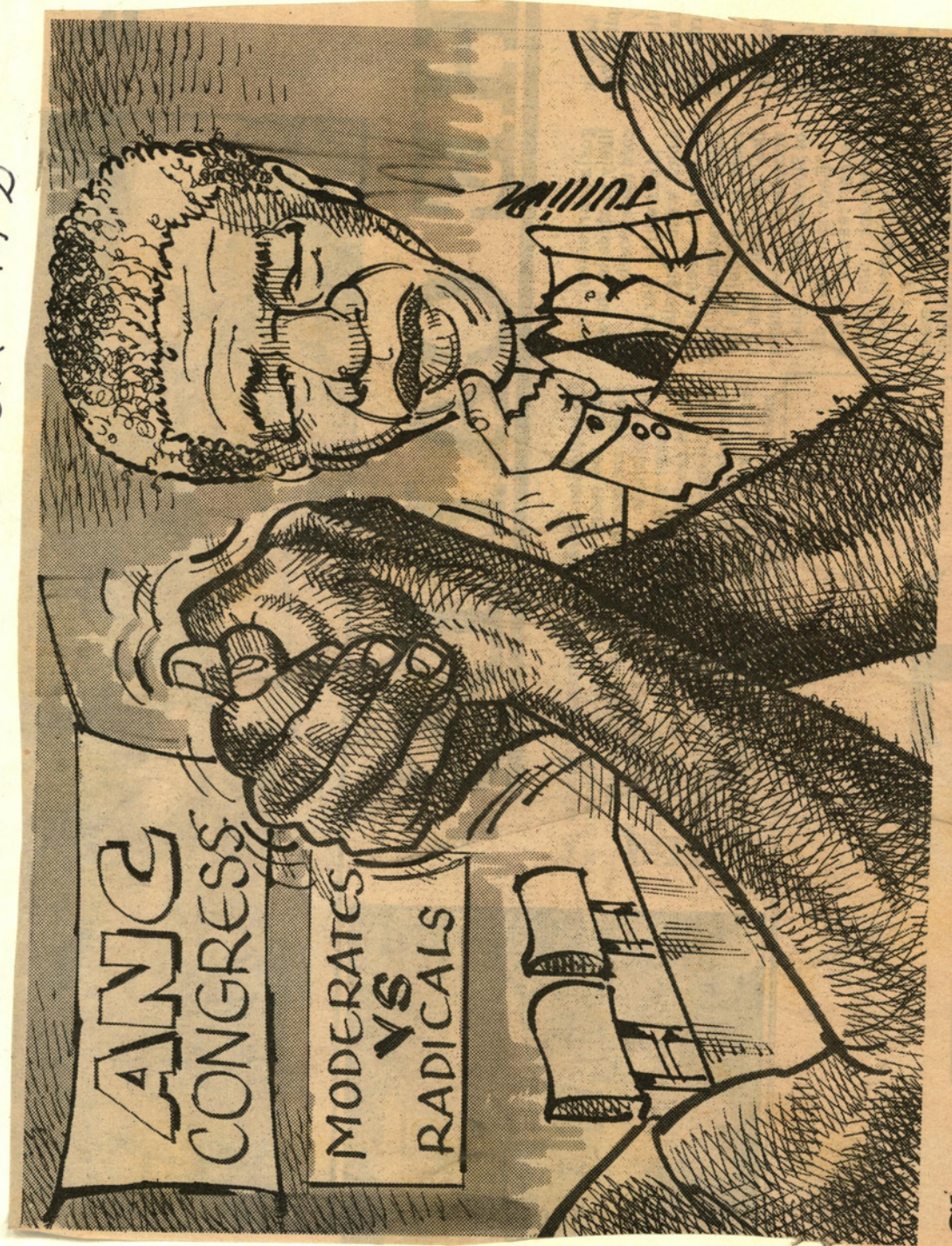
Mr Mandela's present position as deputy president might be closely contested, provided Walter Sisulu declines to accept the position.

Thabo Mbeki stands a good chance of succeeding Mr Mandela. There are clear indications that part of Natal's vote will go to Mr Mbeki even though the official Natal candidate is Harry Gwala.

I would not like to speculate further on the other positions, suffice it to say that ANC delegates would do the organisation and themselves a lot of good if they elected pragmatists who are hard-working and efficient, who will be able to adapt their strategies and move forward with the changing times. Fundamentalists whose vision is firmly fixed on the past, and who want to insist on forcing open doors that are already ajar and fighting wars that are no more, would do the organisation a lot of harm in this period of political transition.

TACTICAL
FROM PG 1

TACTICAL FROM PG 2



Changing times demand changing strategies
— that's why the ANC needs pragmatic leaders

NO END TO

Sunday Tribune

30 June 1991

THE TERROR

Sam Sole

PAULINE Mncwabe felt it was time to go home last week. After five months of living as a refugee with her children in a hall in Pietermaritzburg, she felt she could venture back to her house in Ndoleni, near Richmond. After all, there was a peace meeting between the local ANC and Inkatha leadership scheduled for Monday.

But on Sunday night, a group of men — allegedly Inkatha supporters — went on the rampage in Ndoleni, bursting in on sleeping residents and killing at least 12 people.

Now Pauline and her children are once again refugees, sleeping with about 300 others, mainly women and children, at a school just outside the township.

Brand new school desks have made way for the refugees and lie in a heap outside in the rain — but there has in any case been no teaching here for months.

Inkatha sources say the attack was part of ongoing killing between supporters of the two organisations and point to attacks on Inkatha — and ANC — supporters in the weeks before. The cycle of retaliation is all but out of control, they say, though neither side will

admit it.

The ANC, on the other hand, says the timing of the attacks this week — at Ndoleni and Greytown in Natal and on trains on the Reef — is too co-ordinated to be coincidental.

The initiatives for the latest round of peace

talks came from local Inkatha leaders themselves, says the ANC. This week those Inkatha leaders are in hiding.

The ANC blames elements, within or without the State, which want to foment violence, particularly on the eve of the ANC's national confer-

ence in Durban this week.

A number of those who witnessed the Ndoleni attack allege police involvement, though this has been strongly denied by the police.

Dumisan Ntolo, 22, who was stabbed in the

chest and arm and left for dead, made a statement to police in which he alleged one of the attackers was wearing a camouflage uniform.

Township dwellers are fairly often to be seen wearing parts of police or military uniforms, however.

At least two other statements were made to police that the attackers had been dropped off in the area by a police vehicle. SAP spokesman Major Pieter Kitching said police investigations had disclosed "absolutely no evidence" thus far of police involvement.

Certainly police follow-up action has been swift. This week 13 people, ranging from minors to men aged 23, were arrested and appeared briefly in the Richmond Magistrate's Court in connection with the killings.

But relations between the police and the community are strained.

Local ANC leader Sfiso Nkabinde this week made bitter remarks —



A group of refugees sheltering in a school outside Ndoleni. Picture: Morris Reddy



King Goodwill

closed that, during his visit to Israel, he had been given pledges of aid for the KwaZulu Government from the Israeli Government which would include training in the agricultural, health and education fields. He said the Israeli aid was "still under discussion". He would not divulge further details.

NO END TO THE TERROR.

Sunday Tribune
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in the presence of police officers — blaming the police for the massacre and saying the community would defend itself with whatever means were at its disposal.

At the same time rumours are circulating among police in Richmond that the comrades have vowed to attack their wives and children.

Comrades, on the other hand, claim there is a concerted effort to wipe them out.

What is clear is that proper communication between the police and the community is at a low ebb. Says unrest monitor Haydn Osborne: "The police are aloof from the community. They don't see themselves as accountable. They also rely on their informers for information — which may be distorted and manipulated — instead of talking directly with the community."

Tax the Queen's £2m-a-day income, say displeased Brits

LONDON: It is a thoroughly British anachronism: A system that allows the country's richest woman and her son to avoid the payment of taxes on personal income while giving millions from its exchequer to subsidise them.

The family in question is the "Firm", as the royal family is known to royal insiders, and the system is under attack.

Recent opinion polls in Britain have suggested that up to 80 percent believe that the royals should be taxed on their private wealth.

This week a Liberal Democrat MP, Simon Hughes, will introduce a Bill demanding exactly that.

The history of the Firm's tax and financial arrangements is a particularly murky one, shielded wherever possible from the gaze of curious republicans.

What they receive from the state from the "Civil List" is a matter of record. The rest is at best informed speculation.

Earlier this year the queen's Civil List annuity was set for the next 10 years at a rate of £7.9-million per year, much of which will be spent on maintaining the pomp and circumstance of the Firm's public image.

Then there are the fringe benefits of the job: the royal yacht *Britannia*, the royal flight and the royal train.

The queen is variously claimed to be the world's richest or the world's second richest woman — both of which are understood to irk the royal person and the palace, which maintains that she is nowhere near as rich as everyone supposes.

According to the society magazine *Harpers and Queen*, the queen's private investment portfolio is now worth more than £6-billion, giving her a daily income of £2-million.

For his part, Prince Charles has shown a more enlightened attitude towards his tax liability. While he does not take a contribution from the Civil List, his private income comes from his huge estates in the Duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall from which he makes a voluntary contribution at the lower of Britain's two tax bands at 25 percent, rather than the 40 percent he would normally be obliged to pay. — *Observer News Service*.

TRIBUNE COMMENT

Tactics and timing

IN the run-up to Tuesday's historic ANC congress in Durban it was inevitable that the jostling for position by militants and moderates would draw the most heat of speculation.

It is an intriguing struggle, but the likely outcome is unsensational. The moderate voices of Mr Tambo and Mr Mandela should carry the day and ensure the survival of the old guard, who can chalk up an impressive list of changes brought about by the politics of pressure and ultimatum.

At the same time it is highly unlikely that the ANC will do anything to blur its cherished image as a liberation movement. It will remain dominated by the Communist Party, and at least some radicals will tighten their grip on the leadership.

Unfortunately the dust raised by regional power scuffles has obscured some other salient points. One is that the congress is important not just to the ANC but to the country and all its people.

ANC strength should not be judged by comparisons with official memberships of other groups: its party machine may be sluggish and disorganised, but one recent survey showed the ANC would sweep to victory in a general election.

Its mood and mandates in the next week will be meaningful for decades to come.

Another is that whatever leadership is elected, its future actions will be largely dictated by forces beyond its control. Startling changes, domestic and international, leave the ANC with no real alternative to negotiation — armed struggle, except in name, is not an option for an organisation already taking financial and factional strain.

Timing remains as vital as tactics for the ANC. Its main opponent, the De Klerk regime, has made giant strides, winning national and international support. If the ANC is to catch up it will need to emerge from its congress raring to go into multi-party talks with a much more cohesive stand on key issues such as violence, sanctions and interim government.

The success of the conference will depend not on razzamatazz or rhetoric but on the degree of unity it produces.

'Third Force' fears threaten return to international fold

Brendan Seery

believe the violence is not simply the "black-on-black" variety that is sometimes portrayed.

Said one: "We believe President De Klerk when he says the government is not behind it, but we feel there certainly could be elements from the middle ranks of the security forces who are trying in their covert way to sabotage the peace and negotiation process."

Another diplomat, who has been here for some years, remarked that the violence appeared to be taken more seriously overseas than it is here.

"Stories of massacres on trains and the random murders are headline news outside South Africa, but here, people only seem to raise half an eyebrow if dozens are killed" said the diplomat.

This week, a concerned South African Council of Churches (SACC) said the latest killings indicated "yet again" the existence of forces intent on destabilising various peace initiatives.

The SACC said it "condemns these massacres outright". It encourages people to defend themselves and their communities in a responsible way as effectively as possible against similar attacks and to do whatever they can in maintaining a climate of justice and peace so that the process towards negotiation and reconciliation can continue and can contribute to the building of a new South Africa.

In Empangeni on Thursday, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela charged that there was "overwhelming evidence" that the security forces and askaris (turned ANC fighters) were behind much of the violence.

"The government may have tried to persuade the police force not to use these methods, but the government has created a monster and it will be difficult to use the same police for the transformation to democracy," Mr Mandela said.

AMID growing concern about the "third force" allegedly behind South Africa's mindless violence, foreign diplomats have warned that the country's return to the international community is in jeopardy.

While the slaughter continues, there will be no high-level visits from foreign leaders like Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and British premier John Major.

Mr Mulroney was reportedly thinking of visiting South Africa later this year, but called off the trip because of what his officials in Ottawa put down to inappropriate timing. There has been speculation in South Africa in recent weeks that Mr Major is also considering a visit here — speculation fuelled by the fact that he didn't turn the idea down flat when it was raised during his discussions last week with Inkatha leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"Nobody would dare to come here because the way things stand at the moment, whatever is said in South Africa will offend one or more of 'the parties' said a highly-placed diplomat in Pretoria.

And, even ordinary people overseas, who have for years supported South African liberation movements and development projects financially, could become reluctant to give money, because "they don't know who the heroes and the bad guys are any more", added the diplomat.

United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez De Cuellar announced this week that his planned report on South Africa would now only be delivered to the General Assembly in September, and that further UN missions would be sent to this country.

This development has been interpreted as indicating the increasing alarm that members of the world body are feeling about the South African "killing fields".

Many foreign diplomats in Pretoria

'FYNN CALLS FOR AN END TO 'VICIOUS ACTS' BY KWAZULU POLICE'

FLERY human rights campaigner Morris Fynn sent a telegram to State President FW de Klerk this week to "highlight vicious acts" allegedly committed by the KwaZulu Police in the strife-torn Matulazi district.

And, as a man who has been arrested on numerous occasions, he says "ironically" it is only the South African Police who have not only saved his life, but prevented a bloodbath in the area.

For the past year, Mr Fynn has lived a breath away from death as chairman of M-Cap, the ambitious programme to upgrade the impoverished squatter community of Matulazi, he is regularly called to cross the vicious divide between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress where bullets are flying daily.

Situated on the southern border of Is-

Graham Spence

pingo, Matulazi is separated from the comparatively "affluent" KwaZulu township of Umlazi by a pot-holed road. The squator of Matulazi is home to 40 000 people and it is here that the ANC and Inkatha are locked in bloody battle.

Mr Fynn says this conflict has heightened more than any other the deep-rooted tensions between the "ZP" and the SAP.

These tensions are officially denied, but the charismatic Mr Fynn — best known for chopping down Durban's previously segregated beach signs — says he owes his life to the SAP who have bailed him out from clashes with the

"ZP" on several occasions.

"The most tense time was when the 'ZP' chased some youths into Matulazi and shot one, who fled into the bush and died. I confronted them, and they pointed their guns and told me to get my bald coloured head back to Wentworth. I said I was a South African citizen and did not take orders outside their territory. One shouted 'shaya iKhaladi' (hit the coloured) and they cocked their rifles."

Fortunately, the SAP arrived and ordered the 'ZP' back into KwaZulu.

On another occasion, when the 'ZP' were again allegedly chasing residents, Mr Fynn says they became "very threatening, pointing their guns at me, but again the SAP arrived just in time."

This action, he says, has caused much dismay to the M-Cap committee which consists of teachers, businessmen, a lawyer and a doctor who have gone to great lengths to be non-political. "Basically all we want is for people here to have roofs over their heads, food on the table and schools for the children."

Most shacks in Matulazi are little more than mud and stick hovels with i-juba cartons stuffed into holes in the walls. Long drop toilets — stinking, fly-infested pits — serve up to 1 000 people each. Almost every child is infected with lice, many have coughs and adults scavenge rubbish dumps for food.

However, a Swiss organisation, Doctors Without Frontiers, is poised to plough funds into providing health care in the area, and M-Cap is aggressively cajoling "businesses with a conscience" into action.

Morris Fynn

The overriding message must be one of lasting peace

OVERRIDING all the issues that are likely to emerge at the African National Congress's national conference lies one central question: "Will the pragmatism represented by individuals like Thabo Mbeki, Pallo Jordan and Jacob Zuma triumph over non-conciliatory elements centred on the likes of Harry Gwala, Arnold Stofile and Chris Hani?"

Contrary to the emotional attention that the personality issue has enjoyed in the popular media in the run-up to the ANC's first open conference since 1958, the specific individuals elected to powerful positions in the National Executive Committee is of minor national consequence — bar to the potential candidates themselves. What is of fundamental concern is the broad thrust of the new electees and the specific policies they are likely to propagate.

The implications of the conference are of national significance and not merely the organisational concern of the ANC. All South Africans have a vested interest in a strong, internationally credible and non-sectarian ANC that may reach strategic negotiational compromises that are to the benefit of South Africa.

The signals from Washington and the majority of European capitals are clear that a victory for non-conciliatory (South African Communist Party-linked?) elements within the ANC would seriously jeopardise the likelihood of substantial foreign assistance.

Financial assistance is of crucial importance to the ANC to implement its organisational structuring programme and non-paternalist pragmatists in the mould of Mr Mbeki and Mr Zuma will easily secure millions of rands in foreign assistance for the

to black liberation movements in South Africa and specifically the alleged incestuous relationships between the ANC and the SACP, however, emphasise the fact that financial assistance will not be forthcoming if the non-conciliatory elements gain the upper hand at the conference.

The growth in violence-fatigue evident among the masses also requires a signal of pragmatism and not sectarianism from the conference, for it is only under the former that any solution to our violence racked society appears even remotely possible.

Pragmatism from the Durban conference is a sine qua non for genuine national reconciliation in the country. If the pitfalls and problems of so many post-liberation governments in the Third World are to be avoided, it is necessary to realize that if national reconciliation programmes are to have any

chance of success they must be initiated prior to independence, which in our case will be during the interim phase — before the emergence of the first truly democratically elected government in the country.

Reconciliation within a paradigm of "victory or defeat" in the Third World is non-existent (reconciliation after the "victory" of a political player and the "defeat" of its opponents is a fiction held only by ivory-closeted academics).

It is thus difficult to imagine any development that could be potentially more destructive of our currently embryonic domestic attempts at reconciliation than the triumph of the non-conciliatory elements at the conference. The principle of a credible and lasting peace must therefore represent the overriding message from the national conference of the ANC this week.

SUNDAY TRIBUNE

30 JUNE 1991

Joining the nuclear club

SOUTH Africa, being a major uranium producer, has often been asked about its capability to create nuclear weapons.

In the past the country's hawkish government, under threat of "armed struggle" and international antagonism, felt it sufficed to keep the world guessing. Could we or could we not make the bomb? The cost would have been prodigious; the prospect of using one surely unthinkable.

Now we will probably never know. The enrichment plant at Valindaba is being closed and South Africa is to sign the non-proliferation treaty, thus renouncing possession or development of nuclear weapons. With the co-operation of neighbouring countries, southern Africa is set to be a nuclear-weapons-free zone.

The signing of the treaty signals South Africa's growing commitment to peace in the region and to the country's growing acceptance in the world community.

President FW de Klerk continues to win friends — and countries such as Pakistan, India, Brazil, and Israel, who are thought to have nuclear capabilities, will be under increased pressure to sign the treaty.

WILL the African National Congress become an obstacle in its own path of development? This is the question raised by Dr WIM J BOOYSE, managing director Invest-Afrique cc.

Dr Booyse holds a doctorate in international politics and the title of his thesis was "The concept of people's war in the revolutionary strategies of the ANC and the PAC: A comparative analysis".

ANC moderates to back negotiations, hold off militants

Sunday Tribune
30 June 1991

MODERATES within the ANC are planning a strong endorsement of the negotiating process and expect to hold off challenges from militants.

Senior ANC sources said it was time for the "leaders to lead" at the historic Durban conference that will try to chart a course for a new South Africa.

Yesterday the Government sent a clear message to ANC leaders when Defence Minister Magnus Malan said in Bloemfontein that "reasonable" South Africans were watching the outcome of the conference to see if the ANC is committed to a broad democracy or whether its objective is to seize power.

Also yesterday a fierce challenge to the ANC leadership and the Government was sounded by a senior Umkonto we Sizwe commissar, Tony Yengeni who told mourners at the funeral of slain Cape ANC leader Mzwonke Pro Jack that the military wing would ask for a return to the armed struggle to protect members whom he claimed were being assassinated by the state.

The popular Pro Jack was gunned down in an ambush by balaclava clad men, believed by speakers at the funeral to be askaris or agents of the state.

Mr Yengeni, also head of the South African Communist Party in the

Tribune Reporters

Western Cape and contender for a post on the National Executive Committee, claimed that the murder was a CCB-type operation orchestrated by the De Klerk government.

In his speech General Malan attacked Umkonto we Sizwe, claiming it had established self-defence units in residential areas and had secret arms caches, which could become a threat to peace, security and stability.

The minister said next week's conference was the ANC's opportunity to bring itself into line with accepted Western democratic principles and to put its political house in order. The ANC now had the opportunity to prove its sincerity as a political player in South Africa.

ANC insiders said in contrast to the December consultative conference where the ANC leadership largely stood by as it was lambasted by an impatient young constituency, the veterans of both the internal and external struggles are expected to bring their full weight to the debate.

"Leaders will lead," said a senior ANC source.

Whatever faction dominates, the government is likely to face a younger, tougher, sharper negotiating partner after July 6.

See Pages 28 and 29

Most NEC jobs are up for grabs

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE eyes of the world are focused on the historic 48th congress of the ANC which opens at the University of Durban Westville on Tuesday.

Underlining the importance of this conference, regarded in some quarters as make or break for the organisation, will be the presence of hundreds of foreign dignitaries.

South Africa and the international community expect the ANC to come out of the five-day indaba with a new, dynamic leadership and a clear policy indicating the organisation's direction.

Most members of the current 35-member National Executive Committee (NEC) are expected to be ousted by a new generation of leaders nurtured in the protest days of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM).

Only 10 men from the current NEC are expected to secure their seats.

While Nelson Mandela will be confirmed as the organisation's new head and Walter Sisulu is punted as a certainty for the deputy presidency, it seems the rest of the field is still open and will be hotly contested among the home-grown leadership.

The election of new officials — especially the secretary general, assistant secretary general, treasurer general and 25-man National Working Committee (NWC) — will be a signpost of the organisation's new direction.

If members of the old guard dominate the NWC and the other top four positions — so far this seems unlikely — the ANC could be riven by division and this could adversely affect negotiations.

Rumours that Mandela is likely to use his stature to secure the election of his peers like the current secretary general, Alfred Nzo, have been dismissed as unfounded.

The old guard has been criticised for inefficiency and failing in the armed struggle, which was regarded as the principal weapon against Pretoria up to the time of the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations a year ago.

Political analysts contend that a new leadership made up largely of members of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) would give the organisation greater confidence in their dealings with State President FW de Klerk.

The MDM, grounded in the politics of mass protest action, is credited with having "forced" De Klerk to make some of the major changes he has effected since he took over as leader of the National Party.

The MDM leadership is also considered more adept at negotiations than the current NEC which is made up of former exiles and Robben Islanders.

Trade unionist Cyril Ramaphosa is widely tipped to assume the number three spot in the ANC hierarchy. Other MDM leaders tipped are former UDF general secretary Popo Molefe and publicity secretary Patrick "Terror" Lekota.

It is also a foregone conclusion that a number of NEC members will retain their positions. These are Chris Hani, Thabo Mbeki, Pallo Jordan, Jacob Zuma, Steve Tshwete, Joe Slovo and Ronnie Kasrils.

The new NEC faces two immediate issues. These are the violence currently devastating Natal and the Reef, and negotiations with the government.

The ANC's young militants and workers are not happy about the way negotiations are going, and are reported to be very critical of Mandela's "imperial" style of leadership.

The militant youth and workers are impatient and demand that the ANC seize the tactical initiative from the government.

Ramaphosa and his colleagues in the MDM have won several "victories" against the government and the business bosses, and, if elected, will be expected to achieve similar results.

More reports P11

Expectations high for ANC's congress

CITY PRESS 30 JUNE 1991

THE ANC's week-long congress that starts on Tuesday has raised the expectations, of not only the black community in South Africa but of the whole world.

Even ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma admitted this week that the euphoria surrounding the congress had put pressure on the organisation to live up to these expectations.

We all understand the significance of this event and why the international community is interested in it.

After 30 years in exile, the ANC is now a presence inside the country and many expect it to be the next government.

It is our largest and oldest liberation movement, though for many years it was regarded as anathema by most whites.

Even many black people do not know much about the leaders of the ANC who were banned, banished, imprisoned and forced into exile for more than three decades.

Many are anxious to see who will be elected to leadership positions because they could well be our future leaders.

We are, however, worried about our people expecting too much from this congress.

If it does not come up to expectations, we should not be too quick to dismiss the ANC as having failed us.

The organisation has been exiled for so long and is still consolidating its position.

We would also like to take this opportunity to wish delegations of the ANC attending the congress the best of luck in their deliberations.

☐ VIOLENCE

June 30, 1991

SUNDAY
TRIBUNE **NEWS FOCUS**

Reports of ANC softening demands for interim government slammed as misleading

REPORTS that the African National Congress was softening its stance on its demand for an interim government were misleading, ANC constitutional expert Professor Kader Asmal told the Tribune this week, on the eve of the ANC conference.

Prof Asmal, now lecturing at the University of the Western Cape, said the ANC's demand remained that the interim government hold ultimate sovereignty during the process of transition, though that power would probably only be exercised in the control of key areas such as security and the process leading to democratic elections.

"We would not expect it to take over the running of the department of transport, for instance, or the remaining racist structures of local government — there would not be time.

"What one might call the 'impersonal acts' of govern-

ment would continue with little interference from an interim government, but the highly political acts governing the preparations for the transfer of power — such as ensuring fair policing, evenhanded media coverage, free political activity and scrupulous electoral mechanisms — would have to be the responsibility of the interim government.

"For that, the transfer of sovereignty is central: the tricameral parliament must be suspended."

Prof Asmal said the government was an "active combatant" in the struggle for power and could not rightfully be both 'player and referee'. It wanted to be so because it sought not only to control the present and interim process, but to control the end product to produce a

new South Africa to its liking.

However, Prof Asmal said, according to ANC policy as outlined in January this year, the exact structure of an interim government and the nature of the body which would draw up an interim constitution were subjects for negotiation at an all-party conference (APC).

"We favour a constituent assembly, but this is a negotiating position we would bring to an APC."

He said an interim government would have to be an inclusive, consensus-driven body, which could be evenhanded and promote trust in the run up to elections.

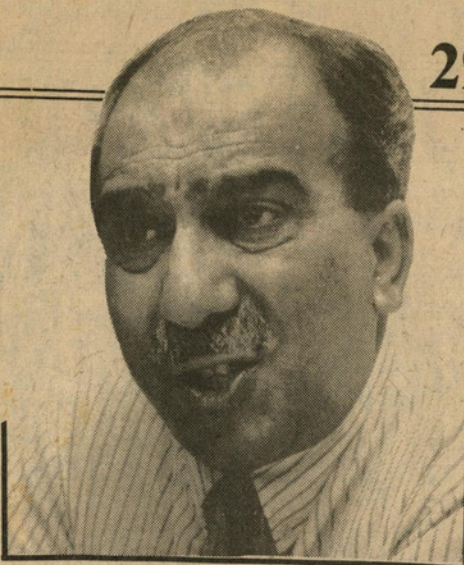
He said it was paramount that the process of constitution making be inclusive and enjoy wide legitimacy: "The capacity to do harm if people (such as Conservative Party supporters or others) feel they are left out, is immeasurable."

Prof Asmal said criticism of the ANC's demands for an interim government and constituent assembly put the cart before the horse.

He said current ANC policy was that the first step towards constitutional reform was the calling of a conference of all parties with demonstrable support — measured, for instance, by a requirement of a certain number of signatures of support.

It would be the all-party conference, he said, which would thrash out the structure of an interim government, the basic principles for a new constitution and what kind of body would write it.

As such, he pointed out that all that prevented the setting up of an all-party conference was the government's foot-dragging in removing the obstacles to negotiation by releasing prisoners, allowing the full-scale return of exiles and dealing decisively with the violence.



Professor
Kader Asmal

Give Mandela a fair chance

SOUTH AFRICA has been stumbling on the threshold of constitutional negotiations for more than a year but has so far been unable to cross it. Delegates to this week's vital ANC conference could help to provide the final push.

There have been many reasons for the delay, including sinister forces fanning violence, the Government's strange inability to stop this violence and accusations that it is reluctant to remove the last obstacles in the way of talks.

But not the least of the reasons is the ANC's continued functioning as a liberation movement, nearly 17 months after it was unbanned, instead of evolving into a political party. The ANC is quite justified in demanding a level playing field before it enters negotiations, but its own failure to adapt to the new circumstances has placed it on an entirely different field, playing to completely different rules than the Government.

While the Government received a clear five-year election mandate to negotiate, the ANC leadership is shackled by the need to continue consulting its vast grassroots constituency, which gives Mr Mandela little room to manoeuvre. Yet the Government can hardly blame the ANC for this state of affairs, for it is the lack of democracy under apartheid that deprived the country of legitimately elected black leaders and a functioning party.

So far the ANC has deserved praise for not trying to impose autocratic decisions on its followers, but now both it and the Government need to act quickly and decisively. This week's conference has both the opportunity and a clear duty to help its leaders in their negotiations with the Government. The only way in which delegates can do this is to elect leaders they can trust and to give them a mandate to negotiate — and, if necessary, to compromise, for without compromise there can be no peaceful solution.

Failure to provide such a mandate will trap the ANC in the same logjam that has delayed negotiations.

The new ANC leadership also has a duty — to spell out this need unequivocally and to spell out the insurmountable problems it will face if this mandate is not given.

Two of the most controversial problems that face negotiations in the coming months will be the ANC's demands for an interim government and a constituent assembly, and the Government's vehement rejection of these proposals. Removing this impasse will require a lot of wheeling and dealing and this can only happen if the dealers' hands are unfettered.

Mr Mandela, after all he has been through, is not going to sell his people down the river, so the message is simple: give him a free hand and give peace a fighting chance.

16/1/19

16/1/20

End these massacres — SACC

By THEMBA KHUMALO

City press 30/8/91
THE South African Council of Churches (SACC) this week hit at the media's superficial analysis of the violence in the country and the public's general apathy to the ongoing conflict.

A large SACC delegation interrupted the body's national conference in Johannesburg on Thursday to pray for peace at Kliptown squatter camp near Soweto where a spate of attacks has claimed scores of lives

this year.
The delegation of foreign clergy was headed by SACC president Khoza Mgojo and general secretary Frank Chikane. They were accompanied by local and international journalists.

Chikane said the SACC was outraged by further massacres in Kliptown, the most recent on Monday when unknown gunmen opened fire at unsuspecting train commuters, killing six and leaving 23 wounded.

Chikane also slated the

Taylor's Halt attack last Saturday which left seven members of one family dead, the only survivor being a seriously injured eight-year-old boy. He also condemned the Richmond violence which left 16 dead in one weekend.

Chikane condemned the "inadequate, and in many cases superficial, analysis of the violence by the media — and the general apathetic response of the public to the ongoing violent conflict in the country, especially in Transvaal and Natal".

"As Christians we believe that all human beings are created in the image and likeness of God, and for that reason human lives should have value and dignity.

"To take someone's life is one of the most serious crimes against God. A massacre is far worse, because it is a coldly calculated mass murder."

He called on the government to provide security to all and to urgently "democratise the security forces".

16/1/11

5 Times 30/06/91

The ANC's most worried man

By EDYTH BULBRING
JACKIE SELEBI, the ANC's man responsible for bringing 20 000 ANC exiles home, seldom smiles; in fact, he looks as if he has a permanent migraine.

He has thousands of impatient exiles waiting to come home — and no money.

So far 700 exiles have returned.

But each time a batch has arrived, Mr Selebi's delight has been short-lived.

They bring problems.

Mr Selebi puts it like this: "An exile comes into my office and says he has been back in the country for two months and has no home. Can I give him some money for corrugated iron so he can build a shack?"

"Then another comes in and says his father has died and he needs money to bury him. Can I help him?"

"Then there's the man who said he returned home and found the family house

20 000 exiles champing at the bit to come home, but there's no cash in the kitty

was destroyed in the violence a week earlier. Can I help him find his family because he has nowhere to go?"

"And then there is the man who said he had no home, no job and no skills. All he could do was drive a truck. But his Angolan licence is written in Portuguese. Either the firm does not recognise the licence, or they want it translated into English. Can I help him?"

Nine times out of 10, Mr Selebi sends the exile back onto the streets empty

handed. "Most of the time I can't do anything, I just sit here and grow grey hairs," he said.

The biggest problem Mr Selebi has to deal with, and which has turned the ANC's former Youth leader into a frustrated recluse, is lack of money.

Thorny

About \$40-million committed by foreign governments for the repatriation of exiles is tied up until the SA government agrees to allow the UN High Com-

mission for Refugees to participate in the return of exiles.

While the UNHCR and the government last week agreed on the two thorny points, granting blanket indemnity to exiles and access by the UNHCR to all exiles, the go-ahead still has to be given by cabinet.

Mr Selebi said about 8 000 of the 20 000 exiles have applied for indemnity and have been cleared to return home. The rest are children and spouses who do not need indemnity and could return at any time, if the money was available.

The first contingent of 118 ANC exiles returned from Lusaka on March 7 this year. Four more flights followed, he said, bringing the number of exiles back on the streets of SA to about 700.

While each chartered flight cost in the region of R100 000, and was paid for by a foreign aid organisation, the real cost was borne by the ANC and oth-

er supporting organisations in SA.

It cost the ANC R300 000 for one plane-load of exiles to reach their chosen destinations around the country. This included a R2 225 grant to each adult to help him get on his feet.

The ANC also provides each exile over the age of 18 with R300 a month for the next six months and school fees of R350 for their children. The children also receive R100 a month for six months.

"After this, financially they are on their own," Mr Selebi said.

Sleepless

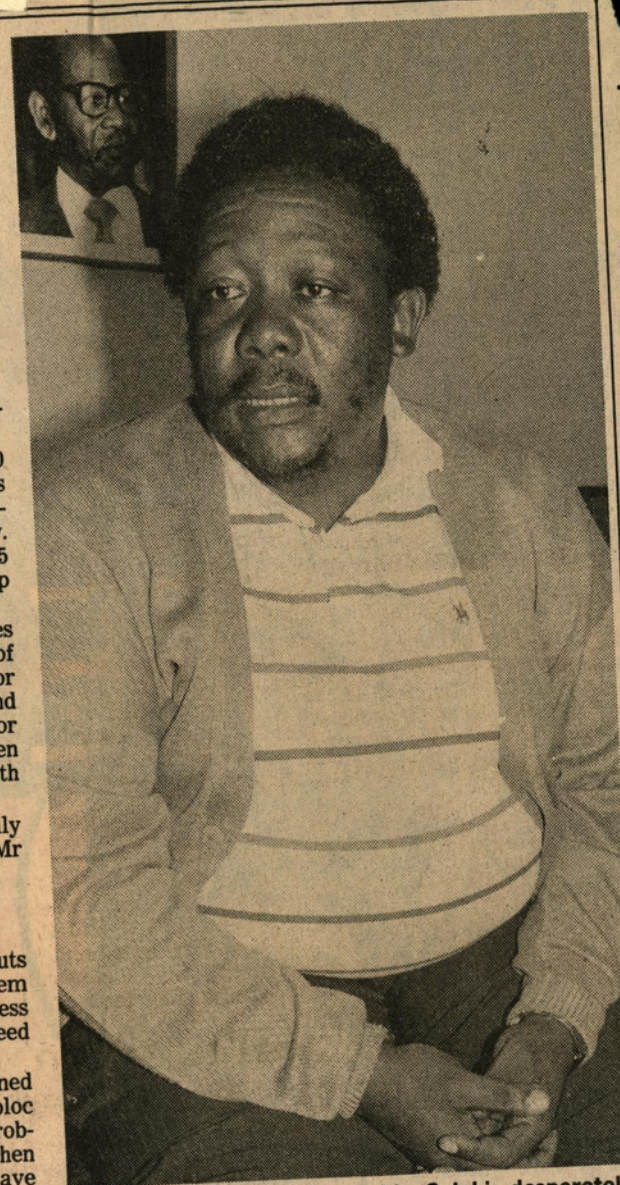
But giving cash handouts is not the only problem causing Mr Selebi sleepless nights. The returnees need jobs and housing.

Those who have trained as doctors in Eastern bloc countries are having problems registering, and then there are those who have no skills, he said.

Mr Selebi and his committee are responsible for providing training for unskilled exiles, investigating employment opportunities and accommodation options.

The release of funds through the involvement of the UNHCR would not eradicate all the problems, Mr Selebi said.

Namibia was still grappling with the problems of providing adequate hous-



AT HIS WIT'S END ... Jackie Selebi, desperately seeking ways to finance the return of exiles

ing, employment and education for its exiles.

He said that unless these people were reintegrated into their communities, he foresaw problems and instability within the country.

"It is in the interest of the government and the business community to assist in whatever way they can to facilitate the speedy

reintegration of these people," Mr Selebi said.

On July 11, Mr Selebi hopes to bring 186 people back from Angola.

Whether they will arrive is uncertain; it depends on if the money for the aircraft materialises.

"I don't know where will come from," Mr Selebi said. "We will have scratch around somewhere."

S
Sunday Star 30 June 1991

Senator is a dubious ally

ACCORDING to Chief Buthelezi, the utterances of Senator Evans on South African politics are so much bull. That doesn't surprise me.

I once dealt with him when he was Australia's Attorney-General.

As the brother of a mentally retarded woman, I told him about the transfer of the premises of one of Australia's largest restaurants from its owners, a charitable society for the mentally retarded, to a company with criminal associates.

One of the senator's parliamentary colleagues told parliament it was all part of a clandestine, off-shore tax-evading scheme. He asked, "in view of the strong evi-



GARETH EVANS

dence of criminal intent", why it was not possible for the federal and state authorities to collaborate in investigating the web of financial dealings be-

hind the companies.

Attorney-General Evans declined to intercede for the handicapped, saying that it was inappropriate to intervene in a state matter. Bull — tax-evasion is a federal matter, and the mentally retarded are federal pensioners. The beneficiaries of Mr Evans's evasive impudence were the faceless men of the Swiss bank account. The property in question was recently destroyed by fire, with an estimated loss reported at \$7 million.

If that's the best he can do to protect retarded Australians, the ANC in South Africa has gained a dubious ally.

Frank Rees
Australia.

Brutus sticks to his guns

Sunday Star 30 June 1991
DENNIS Brutus, founder chairman of the SA Non-Racial Olympic Committee (Sanroc), returned to South Africa yesterday after a break of 25 years.

Professor Brutus, who now represents the South African Council on Sport (Sacos) in America, is still vehemently in favour of the sports boycott against South Africa.

"The sports boycott has, without doubt, been the most successful means of putting pressure on the Government to abolish apartheid," said Professor Brutus at Jan Smuts Airport.

"South Africans have learnt to live with most other forms of

boycott. But the fact that they can't watch South Africans play cricket at Lords in London or watch their sportsmen or women compete in the Olympic games has been extremely frustrating.

"Take away these sanctions," says Professor Brutus, "and the pressure to effect real change

"It is easy to say we must abolish apartheid, but in my opinion we've got to eradicate apartheid — the fundamental aspects of the system — and not merely make superficial changes."

But Professor Brutus will be under no illusions during his

month-long stay. "There are certainly no easy solutions to this country's problems, both sporting and political."

One of the main aims of his visit will be to consolidate his position as a South African citizen.

"At this stage, I still travel on what is known as a refugee's passport although I've never relinquished my citizenship."

Professor Brutus, a former Robben Island inmate, plans to visit Cape Town, Durban and Port Elizabeth during his stay.

"I'm particularly keen to visit Port Elizabeth where I grew up, went to school, and eventually ended up in prison." — Sapa

ANC will bid again

to buy

Sowetan

THE African National Congress is to make another bid for South Africa's largest circulating black daily newspaper, Sowetan, informed sources in the movement said this week.

The ANC sources said the latest bid would be backed by about R14 million from Swedish and Danish aid agencies.

But Peter Maclean, chief executive of Argus Newspapers, said the newspaper was definitely not up for sale.

"The ANC has not spoken to us recently about purchasing the paper. They did speak to us about the Sowetan three months ago. We said then the paper was not for sale. Our view has not changed. It is not up for sale," said Mr McLean on Friday.

ANC publicity official Saki Macozoma said a feasibility study into running a daily newspaper was currently under way.

"Any discussions with the Argus Company must be viewed as part of the feasibility study into a daily newspaper we are currently conducting. We did show interest in the Sowetan, but I don't know yet whether it has been renewed."

Mr Macozoma confirmed various ANC sympathisers in several countries abroad had expressed an interest in providing money for a daily.

The deal would involve changing the Sowetan's name and circulating it nationally. The source said they would negotiate with the Argus company on the use of excess printing capacity in Durban, Bloemfontein, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town.

The Argus-controlled Allied Publishers — the distribution wing of the company — could land a lucrative contract to distribute the ANC daily.

The bid, if successful, will echo a deal between Tiny Rowland's Lonhro company and the Zambian Government after independence in 1964.

When President Kenneth Kaunda moved to take over all local publications, Mr Rowlands negotiated a deal whereby the newspaper he owned would still be printed and distributed by Lonhro subsidiaries.

The ANC last year made an unsuccessful bid for City Press newspaper, part of the Nasionale Pers group.

16/1/91

City press 20/06/91

Cosatu men beat me — cop

A SECURITY policeman this week said he was assaulted, forced to undress and was paraded in front of media representatives after senior Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) officials apprehended him and accused him of spying.

Monge Maleka, 25, was testifying in the Johannesburg Regional Court during the trial of Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo, 36; Cosatu assistant general secretary Sydney Mufamadi, 32; National Union of

Metalworkers of South Africa general secretary Moses Mayekiso, 42; and Cosatu staff member Baba Schalk, 30.

The four pleaded not guilty to kidnapping and assaulting Maleka on August 28 last year at Cosatu's Johannesburg headquarters.

Maleka on Monday admitted he had had a police two-way radio and a photograph of a South African Communist Party official, whom he knew only as Miss Fraser, when Naidoo

allegedly threatened to shoot him if he did not co-operate.

He said Mayekiso and Mufamadi forced him to accompany them across the road to Cosatu's offices on the sixth floor of National Acceptance House, where he was accused of being a policeman and was interrogated, punched, kicked and told to undress.

Fraser was called and he was asked to explain his possession of the photograph and the two-way radio. He said he told them

he had been approached by a John Vorster Square police sergeant who gave him the radio and asked him to trace the woman in the photograph by searching for her on Johannesburg's city streets.

He did not tell his captors he was a policeman because he feared they would kill him.

Naidoo said that reporters wanted to see him and that he was to tell them he had entered the building voluntarily.

New SA faces a week of destiny

Sunday Star 30/08/71

Crucial week for new SA

● From Page 1

This week Mr Sisulu said the conference would have to choose between intensifying sanctions, which he said was no longer realistic, and the position taken by countries which were rushing to lift sanctions.

He also said he believed the ANC was making a mistake by not concentrating enough on negotiations.

The ANC can look back on a year which has seen gains unimaginable two years ago: its leaders released, its legal re-establishment as the most powerful political force in the country, its exiles and prisoners in the process of being returned to society.

Yet the outcome of the struggle for the soul of the movement is by no means clear-cut.

Whatever faction dominates, the Government is likely to face a younger, tougher, sharper negotiating partner after July 6.

Mr Gary van Staden, a senior researcher at the SA Institute of International Relations, who specialises in South African internal political developments which affect foreign policies, said: "The bottom line is the ANC has to negotiate. Like the Government they have no choice. In the final analysis it is not the principle of negotiation that is at stake but how they do it."

Mr van Staden said he expected conference delegates to take a hard line on the perception that Mr Mandela and ANC leaders were too close to State President F W de Klerk.

He expected there to be a

strong line from the floor that the ANC was not consulting enough with its membership, was being out-negotiated by the Government and was giving away too much without a mandate.

But he predicted that the congress was likely to give a "very limited" mandate to negotiate within the ANC's criteria, such as a demand for an interim Government and constituent assembly.

In effect this would enable the ANC leaders to negotiate "without having to break for consultation every five minutes on every issue that pops up" but would oblige them to consult ANC regional structures on crunch issues.

"Mr de Klerk wants a blank cheque from the ANC.

"But they are likely to have a very limited mandate," he said.

"This does not mean the ANC will back-track on negotiations. What it does imply is that it will be much harder for the Government to get concessions.

"There will be no unilateral concessions, no easy rides, no telephone diplomacy," he added.

Mr van Staden saw little chance of a multi-party or all-party conference this year as Mr de Klerk had predicted.

He doubted whether everyone was ready for such a conference yet.

He did not expect the ANC to abandon the armed struggle yet as demanded by the Government — the ANC suspended the armed struggle last August.

David Breier and Sam Sole

SOUTH AFRICA's future could hinge on decisions made at this week's ANC conference, which will map out ANC strategy on its political tactics and on the negotiation process for a new South Africa.

The struggle for top positions in the ANC has dominated the headlines in the run-up to the national conference in Durban.

But observers, including the Government, are far more concerned about the conference's stand on key national issues such as negotiations and sanctions and whether the ANC can begin to change from a liberation movement to a political party.

The violence and the allegations that the Government is fuelling it or unable to contain it has provided powerful ammunition to those in the movement who seek a more confrontational approach to negotiations.

Elements within the South African Communist Party and Umkhonto we Sizwe will fight hard to control the reins of the struggle.

Top Government sources have disclosed that they believe the outcome of elections for the ANC's top positions will make little difference to the negotiation process because all realistic candidates are committed to negotiations.

This includes hardliner Chris Hani, as well as more moderate contenders like Walter Sisulu, the veteran compromise candidate for the ANC deputy-presidency.

With Nelson Mandela virtually assured of the presidency, there is little chance the new ANC leadership will deviate from its support for sanctions, observers believe.

But Government spokesmen are hoping the congress will give the new ANC leadership space in which to negotiate and reach compromises without the restrictions imposed by the consultative conference last December.

The Government also hopes the ANC will take its first steps in evolving from an unwieldy liberation movement with little flexibility, to a political party which can match its own rapid changes.

16/1/11

ANC ponders 'pensions' for axed leaders

S. STAR 30/06/91

Patrick Laurence

ON the eve of its first national conference in more than 30 years the African National Congress faces another major challenge: providing a support network for its veteran leaders who face the axe.

While there is some debate over what proportion of the aging national executive will lose their seats, there is little doubt that many, perhaps even a majority, of the present 35-member executive will not be re-elected.

The case of ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo is not unrepresentative. Few observers fancy Mr Nzo's chance of being re-elected to the executive, let alone to the key position of secretary general.

Mr Nzo, aged 66, has devoted a major portion of his adult life to the ANC. He has served as a full-time official ANC official since 1958, when he was elected to the ANC national executive at its last national conference.

What will happen to Mr Nzo and men like him if, as anticipated, they find themselves sidelined at the conference?

The head of the ANC's department of finance, Vusi Khanyile, is acutely aware of the problem. He admits that the ANC does not have a specific policy on, as he puts it, veterans in positions of leadership, for until very recently the ANC was fighting a guerilla war.

He anticipates, however, that the plight of these ANC leaders who have given their lives to "the struggle" will be raised at the pending conference when the financial commission meets.

But, he points out, the wider problem of ANC veterans who are unable to serve the organisation because they are too old or too ill is not new. The difference between them and the executive members who face rejection is one of degree only.

To assist ANC veterans generally, a Veteran's Association is about to be established. "The papers have been registered already," Mr Khanyile says.

A Veteran's Fund will be established. The ANC will make an initial donation to give it a "kick start." But, the ANC hopes, its coffers will be filled by donations from the public.

Although it will have the support of the ANC, it will be an "autonomous project".

Its primary function will be to provide support network for veterans who, after living in close units in exiles, are beginning to return to South Africa. Once in South Africa, they are often dispersed and consequently lose touch with one another, their families and friends.

The Veteran's Association will strive to integrate returning older men and women into community structures, to provide them with a sense of belonging and purpose. It will provide material aid — shelter, education and health — to those who need it desperately.

The ANC meanwhile faces a phalanx of financial challenges. It must continue to provide the accommodation, clinics and schools for its exiles, more 90 percent of whom are still waiting to come home. But it has at the same time to establish itself internally.

Its internal operation means, Mr Khanyile observes wryly, entering a "competitive political market" and that is an expensive business. At the same time the ANC is expected to contribute positively to the solution of national problems, he adds, referring to the township violence.

Its leaders, from Nelson Mandela downwards, have to be in one part of the country on one day and another on the next.

Their costs are not paid for from taxpayers' money, unlike those of President de Klerk and his lieutenants.

Interviewed in the ANC's new multi-million national headquarters in Plein Street, Mr Khanyile, a former detainee declines to say how much the ANC spends on the salaries of its officials. "That is classified information," he says.

16/1/11

16/1/11

ANC to airlift orphans

By EDYTH BULBRING

HUNDREDS of children from the ANC's Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania — many of them war orphans — are to be airlifted back to South Africa at the end of next month.

They could be accommodated in an empty white school in central Pretoria.

The college, named after an ANC guerrilla who was hanged in 1979, was established 12 years ago and is home to 400 primary school children and 500 at secondary school level.

ANC and Home Affairs officials declined to disclose details about the arrival of the children.

However, it is believed that two plane-

loads of 400-700 children, teachers and parents will arrive in SA in the last week of July.

This will be the largest number of ANC exiles to return to South Africa.

The repatriation of the children is the beginning of winding-down operations at the college. Donors had indicated they were no longer prepared to sponsor an ANC project outside South Africa.

A South African government doctor is expected to travel to Tanzania soon to inoculate the children.

Meanwhile, the ANC is looking for suitable accommodation for the children.

One possibility could be the old premises of Hillview School near Bloed Street in Pretoria.

Assault rifles for chiefs

'Coincidental' men carrying G3s said they were Inkatha'

By S'BU MNGADI

THE controversial G3 automatic rifles, which the KwaZulu chief minister's department is issuing to Inkatha-aligned chiefs and Inkatha officials, are supplied by the SAP.

This has been confirmed by both the Law and Order ministry and KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's department.

However, Law and Order ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze this week absolved the SAP of any responsibility, saying the rifles were now the responsibility of the KwaZulu Police.

DJ Michau, director-without-portfolio in Buthelezi's department in Ulundi, said the department only issued G3 rifles to chiefs in their capacity as government employees.

Michau maintained the military assault rifles were to protect government property, and not to further the political aims of Inkatha.

He declined to disclose the number of rifles issued to date. He could not furnish an answer as to why the rifles were being carried at Inkatha rallies and why unrest monitors have linked G3 rifles to political violence.

The director said it was coincidental that men armed with G3 rifles at an Inkatha protest march in Tongaat had identified themselves as Inkatha members and not as KwaZulu Government employees.

In a 15-page memorandum presented at the State President's Summit on Violence and Intimidation recently, the Legal Resources Centre (LRC) stated that KwaZulu chiefs and headmen had issued these weapons by way of permit to tribal bodyguards.

Michau admitted the chiefs did not hold firearm licences.

The German-made G3 rifle fires a devastating 600 bullets a minute and 20 in two seconds. However, its magazine can only hold 20 7.62mm rounds, City Press was told.

A prominent Durban gunsmith told City Press the South African government banned the sale of G3 rifles and other automatic assault rifles in the early 1980s following the discovery of rightwing arms caches.

Nobody in South Africa is allowed to have in his or her possession a weapon that will fire automatically. All government personnel are exempt, he said.

Durban director of the Democratic Party, Roy Ainslie, this week claimed Inkatha supporters used these rifles as recently as last Sunday.

He named shooting incidents at Obanjeni near Empangeni, Mshayazafwe in Inanda and in KwaMashu. These incidents followed Inkatha rallies.

At the Obanjeni rally police confiscated a G3 rifle from a chief's brother. But they returned it to him the next day, Ainsley said.

CITY PRESS
30 JUNE 1991

End these massacres — SACC

By **THEMBA KHUMALO**

THE South African Council of Churches (SACC) this week hit at the media's superficial analysis of the violence in the country and the public's general apathy to the ongoing conflict.

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Taylor's Halt attack last Saturday which left seven members of one family dead, the only survivor being a seriously injured eight-year-old boy. He also condemned the Richmond violence which left 16 dead in one weekend.

Chikane condemned the "inadequate, and in many cases superficial, analysis of the violence by the media — and the general apathetic response of the public to the ongoing violent conflict in the country, especially in Transvaal and Natal".

"As Christians we believe that all human beings are created in the image and likeness of God, and for that reason human lives should have value and dignity.

"To take someone's life is one of the most serious crimes against God. A massacre is far worse, because it is a coldly calculated mass murder."

He called on the government to provide security to all and to urgently "democratise the security forces".

DRESSED in "traditional" attire and brandishing "traditional" weapons, the hostel dwellers' regiments are a caricature of Zulu life.

A few metres away, battle-scarred Reef township residents clear the way and watch from a distance.

But what are traditional weapons? To the regiments they are just a symbol of manhood to which every Zuluspeaking man is entitled. Township residents, on the other hand, are baffled by the definition of "traditional".

This emerged after research conducted by AIA on the complications surrounding such weapons as assegais and pangas, which the ANC and other organisations have demanded should be banned in public places.

Sylvia Twala, an elderly Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) member from Katshehong, says that as far as she knows the traditional weapons in question are common to most African tribes and not only to Zulus.

However, the events on May Day this year made her doubt her historical knowledge of the issue, she says.

"In our rally at Orlando Stadium we were searched and even our Zuluspeaking colleagues had their weapons confiscated. Yet hardly 50 kilometres away at George Goch stadium, the Inkatha rally went ahead without any police intervention - even though supporters were heavily armed," she said.

However, a card-carrying Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) member claims the traditional weapons belong only to the Zulus, as they are the only tribe with "warrior-blood".

He acknowledges the misuse of some traditional weapons, saying these should only be carried at traditional ceremonies, but supports the misuse because "the ANC and its townships-supporting residents go around with knives and guns in their pockets".

"Now they want the white government to ban our weapons. That is a

Weapons traditional to most tribes

Where does tradition end and violence begin?

CITY PRESS
30 JUNE
1991

mission to devalue the Zulu culture," said the old man, who declined to be named because "the media has a hostile attitude" towards his organisation.

PWV spokesman for the ANC, Ronnie Mamoepa, points out the contradiction in the attitude of government ministers who "have come out as champions of African culture, becoming more African than Africans themselves".

"It is this very government that has, over the years, sought to fight the development of African culture," he said.

"We want to make it clear that this issue is not directed at a particular party or tribe only. What we are finding is a misuse of these traditional weapons - as weapons of destruction, not as before when they were only displayed in times of war, celebration or victory.

conditions exist which call for such a display. It is in this context that we call for the banning of these weapons in all public places throughout the country, whether declared unrest areas or not," said Mamoepa.

A document compiled by a senior researcher at the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (Case), Dr Dave Everett, says so-called "traditional

weapons" were used in some attacks from July 1990 to April 1991, although firearms were used in most.

"The furore over the right of Zulu men, in particular, to carry 'traditional weapons' has gone to the point where it threatens to derail the negotiation process.

"This has served to obscure the

weapons which are actually being used by respective parties in the conflict, according to the media, especially those used by supporters of the IFP," the document states.

"This gives an impression that the so-called traditional weapons are traditional only when carried by Inkatha supporters," comments Everett.

The South African Communist Par-

ty's (SACP's) PWV region endorses the Case findings, saying popular organisations and the labour movement have been the main targets of attacks in which so-called traditional weapons have been used.

"We believe this violence still serves the same purpose as the violence under the state of emergency: to

smash the people's organisations, to create an atmosphere of helplessness and fear within our communities, and to ensure their militancy is not expressed in any form," says regional office spokesman Jabulani Moleketi.

"Unlike from 1984 to 1989 when the State had to buy guns and teargas, now they simply employ vigilantes with rudimentary weapons to wage a war against the people at a very cheap cost."

Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman argues that the issue is not traditional weapons, but weapons that kill.

"Even historians argue that warriors were not allowed to carry dangerous weapons in public, so the issues at the moment are those of police not acting impartially to stop the killing and terrorising of the people, and the use of dangerous weapons under the disguise of traditional weapons," says Coleman.

Senior Natal ANC and SACP activist Jeff Radebe, who also heads the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) project on Natal violence, doubts the historical legiti-

macy of "traditional weapons". He refers to JW Colenso's "Digest of Zulu Affairs".

In 1880 Bishop JW Colenso, the then Bishop of Natal, collected information on the military organisation of the Zulus. He interviewed two men who had been members of the pre-conquest Zulu army under Cetshwayo kaMpande, the last pre-conquest independent Zulu king.

They argued that spears were not to be carried in public. At the great annual Umkhosi (first-fruit ceremony) for example, Zulu culture and tradition demanded that spears were not to be carried.

"The Umkhosi lasts one day only, with all the regiments dancing before the King. No weapons are carried for fear of accidents - the men have their sticks only," the Zulu soldiers told the Bishop. - AIA



Zulus on the march - with modern rifles. This Inkatha rally at George Goch stadium went ahead without police intervention.

WEAPONS TRADITIONAL TO MOST TRIBES.

Handle schools policy with care

A disturbing report appeared in some Sunday newspapers last week to the effect that the Government has a secret strategy to keep white schools white by subtly excluding pupils of other race groups from these schools in post-apartheid South Africa. The report claims this will be done by closing down and selling under-utilised white schools and packing white pupils into fewer whites-only schools.

It is hoped that these schools will then be too full to admit pupils of other race groups and thus remain virtually white.

If Government were in fact doing this, I would conclude that National Party leaders have not begun to understand what it would take to generate mutual trust and promote national reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa.

Further, I would begin to sympathise with the view which says that the present Government alone cannot and should not be entrusted with the process of transition.

I would also begin to fear for the future and anticipate tremendous social upheaval and civil confrontation as the new Government of post-apartheid South Africa would undoubtedly be expected, if not forced, to reverse this last-ditch racist act virtually on the first day of assuming power.

The Government is on the one hand encouraging discussions on non-racial local government structures and is even talking about co-ordination in areas such as health and housing — yet on the other hand it seems to be allowing white education to be more "own affairs" than ever before.

Similarly, the Government has finally scrapped the Group Areas Act, thus implying that all South Africans can now live where they choose to live.

Through
My Eyes

OSCAR
DHLOMO



If the Government persists in closing down under-utilised white schools and filling up existing ones using present day demographic statistics, we are bound to encounter a bottleneck in educational planning in future as residential suburbs become more cosmopolitan in character.

The reaction of some representatives of the Department of Education and Training has been equally astonishing. One was recently quoted as saying that available schools and teachers in that department are sufficient to meet future demands!

Clearly this spokesperson has never visited some of the schools controlled by his department in the townships or rural areas.

In any case even in DET schools alone, teacher-pupil ratios as well as class sizes have not even begun to compare with what obtains in white education.

I still prefer to hear President de Klerk declaring a moratorium on the closure and sale of under-utilised white schools and the retrenchment of white teachers until there is consensus on how available facilities and expertise can be utilised to the benefit of all in the new South Africa.

President de Klerk has the opportunity to do this since he is presently in consultation with Mr Mandela on matters educational.

• On Thursday, after the column was written, the Government announced a policy change making empty white schools available to black pupils.

STAR 30/6/91 Zulu King rated last on this egalitarian guest list

STAGING a peace conference requires utmost delicacy regarding the participants' sensibilities. When it came to protocol at the big indaba on violence last weekend the State President's office played safe, opting for the egalitarian approach.

Thus the official guest list was a strictly unadorned and alphabetical affair, listing names but a bare minimum of titles.

Thus "De Klerk, F W, Mnr" appeared as just another name in the crowd, sandwiched between De Beer, Z J, Dr and De Kock, C P, Dr.

The alphabetical listing had this odd effect, though. Right at the end under "Z" came three Zulu princes followed by — the last name of all — "Zwelethini, G, King".

□ □ □

AS a no-nonsense description of a monarch, this ranks only with Dr Hendrik Verwoerd's famous non-report of the 1947 Royal tour of

The Inside Track



South Africa when he was editing Die Transvaler.

Most of the country was going gaga over the glamorous visit (by George VI, his queen and the two young princesses), but not hardcore republicans like Verwoerd.

"Traffic was disrupted in Johannesburg", his paper noted in one dismissive paragraph, "because of the visit of a Mr and Mrs G Windsor."

□ □ □

AT the Pretoria peace talks King Goodwill seemed to take no offence at his ultra-democratic listing. He might well have been put out, though, by the effusive

praises heaped upon him by Amichand Rajbansi.

Seizing an early opportunity to speak, the Raj heaped plaudits upon the peace efforts of the State President and Chief Buthelezi before going on to laud "our King" for being at the conference.

The Zulu king must have been mystified, and less than delighted, at the obeisance of his new subject.

For his part, Sauer honours the Raj with what Private Eye calls an OBN — Order of the Brown Nose. And that, of course, has nothing to do with pigmentation.

□ □ □

AT the end of the Pretoria peace indaba, President de Klerk raised the biggest laugh of the proceedings when he thanked "the USSR" for providing the venue and conference arrangements.

He meant, of course, the CSIR. De Klerk laughed loudest of all,

and probably needed it after two heavy days.

□ □ □

FROM the States I learn that Teddy Kennedy has the 1992 Democratic Presidential nomination sewn up in his back pocket. The only problem is he's lost his trousers again.

□ □ □

SAUER hears that Barend du Plessis is once more combing the ranks of the English-speaking opposition in a search for officials.

Having already poached political correspondent Bruce Cameron from the Daily News, Durban, for his office in Zurich (not to mention DP finance fundi Harry Schwarz for the very financial Washington embassy), he has now apparently set his sights on someone in Times Media Ltd to replace his own press adviser Louis Louw.

Louis is a former top journalist with Die Burger but — as some-

one in Barend's office remarked — in the New SA the Afrikaans press doesn't quite have the international credibility needed.

Other Ministers are more traditional in their choice.

Minister for Public Enterprises etc Dr Dawie de Villiers — who has struggled for years to keep a PRO — recently chose the SABC's Douglas McClure, the man with the BBC voice (but not necessarily BBC views) for the job.

□ □ □

TALKING of Government jobs, there's a flurry of lobbying going on in the two junior houses of Parliament for diplomatic posts.

Diplomatic sources report that Dennis de la Cruz, former Leader of the Opposition in the House of Reps and now a new Nat, is one such aspirant.

His case will not have been harmed by the effusive praise he heaped on Pik Botha during de-

Zulu King xaled

bate on his budget the other day.

So much so that the wily foreign minister thanked him in Parliament for the praise, but said sorry, he had no ambassadorial posts to offer right now.

□ □ □

MIGHT it be fair to say that, following the haemorrhaging in his party to become Brown Nats, the birth of this new political baby is giving the Rev Allan Hendrickse untold Labour pains?

□ □ □

OVERHEARD in sporting circles. "Establishment" sports boss to a "non-establishment" one: "If you let us keep the Springbok emblem, we'll agree not to change the name of the Comrades marathon." □

Hector Sauer

Most NEC jobs are up for grabs

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE eyes of the world are focused on the historic 48th congress of the ANC which opens at the University of Durban Westville on Tuesday.

Underlining the importance of this conference, regarded in some quarters as make or break for the organisation, will be the presence of hundreds of foreign dignitaries.

South Africa and the international community expect the ANC to come out of the five-day indaba with a new, dynamic leadership and a clear policy indicating the organisations's direction.

Most members of the current 35-member National Executive Committee (NEC) are expected to be ousted by a new generation of leaders nurtured in the protest days of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM).

Only 10 men from the current NEC are expected to secure their seats.

While Nelson Mandela will be confirmed as the organisation's new head and Walter Sisulu is punted as a certainty for the deputy presidency, it seems the rest of the field is still open and will be hotly contested among the home-grown leadership.

The election of new officials – especially the secretary general, assistant secretary general, treasurer general and 25-man National Working Committee (NWC) – will be a signpost of the organisation's new direction.

If members of the old guard dominate the NWC and the other top four positions – so far this seems unlikely – the ANC could be riven by division and this could adversely affect negotiations.

Rumours that Mandela is likely to use his stature to secure the election of his peers like the current secretary general, Alfred Nzo, have been dismissed as unfounded.

The old guard has been criticised for inefficiency and failing in the armed struggle, which was regarded as the principal weapon against Pretoria up to the time of the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations a year ago.

Political analysts contend that a new leadership made up largely of members of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) would give the organisation greater confidence in their dealings with State President FW de Klerk.

The MDM, grounded in the politics of mass protest action, is credited with having "forced" De Klerk to make some of the major changes he has effected since he took over as leader of the National Party.

The MDM leadership is also considered more adept at negotiations than the current NEC which is made up of former exiles and Robben Islanders.

Trade unionist Cyril Ramaphosa is widely tipped to assume the number three spot in the ANC hierarchy. Other MDM leaders tipped are former UDF general secretary Popo Molefe and publicity secretary Patrick "Terror" Lekota.

It is also a foregone conclusion that a number of NEC members will retain their positions. These are Chris Hani, Thabo Mbeki, Pallo Jordan, Jacob Zuma, Steve Tshwete, Joe Slovo and Ronnie Kasrils.

The new NEC faces two immediate issues. These are the violence currently devastating Natal and the Reef, and negotiations with the government.

The ANC's young militants and workers are not happy about the way negotiations are going, and are reported to be very critical of Mandela's "imperial" style of leadership.

The militant youth and workers are impatient and demand that the ANC seize the tactical initiative from the government.

Ramaphosa and his colleagues in the MDM have won several "victories" against the government and the business bosses, and, if elected, will be expected to achieve similar results.

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