

Now the big question is whether the capital inflow can be turned back on, but no one can make the gold price perform as required. The ending of sanctions will ease the investment climate, but it will not do more, particularly while there is so much black against black violence. The great danger is that a lack of investment will produce a downward spiral of higher unemployment, leading to more violence, leading to capital flight, leading to more unemployment and so on.

resident Bushâ\200\231s initia-

dive is itself worthy of

- - note. For by moving to

end sanctions in terms of

the letter of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act he knows that he will affront the ANC and the Pan-African Congress, as well as their activist supporters in Congress, the black caucuses and probably some black voters too. This is not something presidents would normally wish to do in the year before an election, but George Bush is presumably sufficiently worried about possible collapse in South Africa to risk it. He must also reflect wryly on Nelson Mandelaâ\200\231s phone call to

Ciur\))blq_\\

LM es

Philip Howard

Byzantine means mystery and majeSty,

not just dishonesty and deviousness

xford University Press to-

day publishes its great

three-volume dictionary of Byzantium, dealing in rich and copious detail with the 1100 years

of the civilisation that is our
bridge to the ancient world. There
was more to Byzantium than the
procession of ineffectual and in-
distinguishable emperors who
float through the noble pages of
Gibbon.

Byzantine has become a mod-
ern buzzword to mean extremely
complicated, inflexible and car-
ried on by underhand methods,
but there is more to Byzantium
than is allowed for by our careless
shorthand eponym meaning de-
vious and dishonest. It is our tap-
root to the past.

Byzantium is one of the fastest
growing areas of historical study,

founded on the south
â\202ˆ : ern shore
Opposite Byzantium 17 years ear-
lier. The Persian general Meg-
abazus said that the founders
of Chalcedon must have been
a colony of blind men to
?istigfhsenled there, directly oppo-
world.e greatest site for a City in the
The legendary et i
| ymology is that
Yzantium was founded by a chap
called Byzas, either the son of the

e â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

nymph Semqstre, or a Thracian
ng. A turgid Byzantine (anti- |

Cons_taptine) political pamphlet |
d.escnblng the monuments of the
City witters on about â\200\234the days of
Byzas and Antesâ\200\235, inventing an
unconvincing portmanteau top-
onym for Byz-Ant-ion,

o other city has had three
Nsuch beautiful and res-
onant names. They res-
onate down the centuries in the

history and literature of the world:
â\200\234And therefore I have sailed the

â\200\234 seas and come / To the holy city of

Byzantium.â\200\235 Gibbon, who lost
patience with the Roman Empire
after it shifted its centre east,
nevertheless got it right, writing
about the time after the fall of
our mother city: â\200\234Constantinople
had been left naked and desol-
ate, without a prince or a people.
But she could not be despoiled

of the incomparable situation
which marks her for the metropo-
lis of a great empire; and the
genius of the place will ever
triumph over the accidents of time
and fortune.â\200\235

Our modern jargon of Byzan-

When the Emperor Constantine

with flourishing schools at Birm- refounded the c;

i laining about American : â\200\230
him complaining peror Constanine

imperialism against Saddam Hus-
seinâ\200\231s Iraq â\200\224 which Mande}g
placed among â\200\234the oppressedâ\200\235.
For, of course, it is the Gulf war
that has made Bush invincible in
1992, and which enables him to
take all manner of risks.
Mandelaâ\200\231s complaints may have
been more justified than he re-
alised, for the Comprehensive

tine to mean shifty undervalues

' ingâ\200\231 the name, which is a link to so
ingham, Kingâ\200\231s College, London, the Eastern Empire, he thought much of our heritage
in religion

and many other centres. The Constantinople to be a better learning. Our modern
quantity and quality of books of name â\200\231for it. Well he would, 23?0?2;%%eeof Bngamiï
¬\202e studies

Byzantine studies in the hand- wouldnâ\200\231t he? Constantinople fell shows we are return
ing to. our

somely reorganised department at to the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II t root :
Blackwellâ\200\231s bookshop make one in 1453, 21 centuries after the ki :
panic: there is not enough time left foundation of the Queen of the
in life for reading, and one should Golden Horn, .

chuck in everything now to con- The Turks renamed it Istanbul

t centrate on the great unread only as recently as 1930
Anti-Apartheid Act was surely books. o explagati ol o'f];?ser&?rrg
buried in the sands of Operation ; Our Byzantine forefathers call- name. It ma

be from I g
ed themselves Romans because the Turkish)}or cityntl)f si]s;}:inml.mllt,

they were the true heirs of Rome may be a crude Turkish

Desert Storm.
The author is a fellow of Magdalen
College, Oxford.

the crossroads between Europe

Â¢.660 BC. Chalcedon had been

NE of the most poignant and
O prophetic anti-apartheid books,
Naught For Your Comfort, was
written by Father Trevor Huddleston.
The wellknown Sophiatown Anglican
Church cleric, who has fought the evil of
apartheid all his life, returned to South
Africa after an absence of 35 years.
The cleric's return is auspicious for a
number of reasons. As an apostle of
peace, Trevor Huddleston was among the

- first anti-apartheid people to stand up

boldly against apartheid. He worked with
passion to have it abolished.
Trevor Huddleston was the black

man's friend in more ways than simply

his fight against apartheid. He lived in
Sophiatown, formed the Huddleston Jazz
Band where Hugh Masekela and Jonas
Gwangwa learned jazz, and ministered to
many Christians in the townships.

If he had not left the country there is
no doubt that he would have been jailed
for his battles against apartheid laws.

He returns during extraordinary times
for South Africa, when most apartheid
laws have been removed from the Statute
Book. :

He returns at a sad time too when the
country is recovering from bouts of
devastating violence and when life for
blacks remains almost hopelessly the
same as ever. He comes at a time when
the Church has put together what might
be the most significant peace conference
yet.

We hope that his return will see the
eventual removal of an evil he fought all
his life.

seems to be in the process of
repeating itself. :

We are not yet in a position to com-
ment on the rumours and counter-

rumours within the ranks of the NSL.

But we are reminded curiously of the rumbles that started the demise of this organisation's predecessor, the National Professional Soccer League.

THE history of professional soccer

Whether the scandal brewing over the NSL will lead to the rolling of heads or even the changing of this body, remains to be seen.

While the NSL has many enemies, there is no denying the strides it has taken locally and internationally. If there is a scent of rot setting in, those responsible

should be dealt with quickly. -

There have been unsavoury rumours and whispered scandals about what has been or has not been happening in the NSL. '

- ~vam Moyo â\200\224 are meeting

with a sports management

group to seal the plan,

' which:culminates with
South â\200\230Africaâ\200\231s bid to hos*
the Olympic Games i|
2004. â\200\230

Speaking at a pres
briefing yesterday, M
Tshwete said the ANCâ\200\231
blessing for a break
through into internation:
sport was conditional Â¢
the various sports bodie
achieving unity and fund
being made available t
develop facilities and
training for disadvantaged
black sports.

He also said it could b
desirable that soccer â\200\224
which has the biggest fol-
lowing and which has
made the most rapid
progress towards unity â\200\224
be the first sport to go
international. .

The ANC, he said, would
- not insist that there be no
international sporting
links until a democratic
government was finally in
place.

Instead, the decision to
compete abroad would be
left to the new unified
sports bodies.

At the same time he
warned that the ANC
would oppose an athletics
team being sent to Tokyo
because not enough visi-
ble progress had been
made towards establish-
ing unity between the var-
ious bodies.

In a major development signalling the end of the country's isolation, it has been established that an English First Division football side will make a 48-hour visit to South Africa in October this year as part of a soccer development programme.

This will be followed by a feast of African and South African events in the interim while the self-imposed international moratorium on sport is retained until January 1992 including the launch of a South African Youth Games in Cape Town in August.

From April 11-18 next year, Johannesburg will play host to the country's first youth games, which will see 12 sporting provinces competing in six Olympic sports: soccer, athletics, tennis, swim-

ming, gymnastics and boxing. The opening and -

closing ceremonies will be held at Ellis Park, with the other sports being contested at RAU, Ellis Park and the Standard Bank Arena.

The youth games will be held every two years to nurture South Africa's young sporting talent.

John MacLennan and Gary Lemke

THE African National Congress yesterday pledged support for sport integration moves which could see a South African team at the Barcelona Olympics next year.

It would also welcome the prospect of this country's hosting the Games

in this country in 2004, as
has been suggested in la-
test reports.

Steve Tshwete, a mem-
ber of the ANCâ\200\231s national
executive and chief
spokesman on sport, said:
â\200\234We will not obstruct the
process as long as the peo-
ple who are in control (of
sport) are convinced they
are ready to go there. We

will not prescribe to
them.â\200\235 ,

The dramatic announce-
ment by Mr Tshwete
comes in the wake of a
spectacular development
which opens the way for
South Africaâ\200\231s re-entry
into world sport â\200\224 via
Africa â\200\224 and full interna-
tional competition.

Today a detailed blue-
print to orchestrate the
process will be rubber-
stamped at a historic
meeting in East London.

Four delegates from the
National Olympic Sports
Congress â\200\224 Mluleki

George, Mthobi Tyam.

zashe, Bi

Greiner
deal â\200\230has
flow-on
dangerâ\200\231

Spying the truth amid an espionage whitewash |

IF you relied on the kind of naive rewriting of history which passes for retrospects of our past on the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, you might be inclined to believe that the Russians had never had any Australian spies.

This is part of the ongoing effort to pretend that there was never any reason for the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation to exist, that Communists were merely left-wing patriotic Australian nationalists (but, of course, there were quite a few decent members of the Australian Communist Party who were

McGUINNESS
dedicated Communists whose loyalties were to the murderous dictatorship of Stalin in the Soviet Union.

In a word, in the darkest days of the Cold War there

really were spies, and they

Czechoslovakia in 1950. Coincidentally, just as the book was published a few days ago Milner died. (Far from being maltreated by the countries

he betrayed, he apparently visited both New Zealand and Australia without hindrance in his later years.)

Dick Hall's book is important and unusual. For he exposes the facts about Milner's behaviour, and has no illusions about the reality of his espionage. He does not do this from a self-righteous Cold War stance but looks at the factors in the conservative and repressive pre-war society of New Zealand, and the rigid

NMilnoxria

self-righteousn i

beyond this silly debate. This is what Dick Hall does. He contributes a valuable element to the understanding of what made the spies who worked for the Soviet Union in the Cold War act as they did - people like Kim Philby, Donald Burgess, Anthony Blunt, or Americans like Alger Hiss and the Rosenbergs..

Of course, Milner was not the only Australian spy who went to Eastern Europe - there were several - to live and die in those awful dictatorships while still protesting that they were in a better society than that which they be-

brsnziad Mo ctwmanco thino ig

It suggests, also, the real reason why we should be so suspicious of the behaviour of ASIO, of its tapping and reporting of innocent telephone conversations, and the narrow mindedness of its operatives. The truth is that the people who wrote ASIO reports blasted the careers of many innocent people who would have grown up intellectually if they had not been made to feel persecuted. The sheer ignorance in the reports Hall quotes is an indictment of ASIO as an unsophisticated mob of bunglers. Perhaps they are better now - though their inability to stop the Foreign Affairs Depart-

â\200\234The craft of espionage corrupts those involved in it. Its very essence is lying and pret-

ence, not healthy occupations : for anyone. The presence or even the threat of espionage !

infects any society.

â\200\234The affair of the leaked documents, even while

Australian life. It created an

organisation, ASIO, which for | many years of its life acted in |

a way inimical to a free society.

â\200\234The knowledge, however inexact, that there had been espionage reinforced the notion on the right that all communists were bad; in the

words used by_the anti-com-

still | secret, spread a stain through |

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Â® From Review 1

â\200\234They are responsible for the present crisis, by demanding that Mr De Klerk sack his Minister for Defence and Law and Order and to ban Zulus from carrying cultural weapons. Theyâ\200\231ll drop the demands for sackings, providing Zulus are disarmed.

â\200\234Mr De Klerk knows the ANC has arms caches all over South Africa and the Government permits them to recruit young people for military training. The Government canâ\200\231t complain about Zulus carrying â\200\230cultural weaponsâ\200\231 while the ANC is so well armed.â\200\235

â\200\234Estimates of your support in the polls vary from 2 per cent to 25 per cent. Who's right?â\200\235

The smile returned to the chiefâ\200\231s face. â\200\234Are they prophets? How do they know? A lot of these polls were taken after Mandela was released from jail and there was all that hype. How do you conduct a proper poll in a country with all this violence?â\200\235

Having read that morning in the paper of a poll in which the category after yes, no and undecided was 26 per cent â\200\234too scared to answerâ\200\235, I had to concede he had a point. i

â\200\234Thereâ\200\231s a great deal of paranoia, par-

THE WARRIOR CHIEF |

ticularly among the white community, about the ANC being communist dominated. This must be the only country in the world where communism is still taken seriously,â\200\235 I said.

The smiles were coming thick and fast now. â\200\234Ironic, isnâ\200\231t it?â\200\235 he replied. â\200\234A young lady from Ivestia (the Soviet newspaper) came with a big delegation from Russia and said they didnâ\200\231t want to hear anything about communism because it had destroyed their country. Yet here we have Joe Slovo (secretary-general of the SACP) saying there is nothing wrong with the engine of communism, it was only the pilot who was wrong. Absolutely ridiculous!

â\200\234I donâ\200\231t know whether communism .is making any headway as far as recruitment is concerned, but I believe that a lot of Council of South African Trade Union officials are also members of the Communist Party. 'm concerned because of the dominant part Joe Slovo plays in the ANC. There is no member of the ANC on the Communist Party executive, but there are communists on the executive of the ANC. Itâ\200\231s obvious who influences whom. ;

â\200\234There are a lot of different political ideologies in the ANC,â\200\235 he explained.
â\200\234Only last week a new, possibly more lib-

Nelson Mandela: symbolised the fight

eral, organisation was formed by ANC supporters. Thereâ\200\231s also vying for positions. Those who were in the country before the ANC were unbanned are telling

ttthe leaders, who were in exile, that they |

canâ\200\231t come back here and automatically

get positions in the ANC. And look what

happened when my brother Mandela was released last year. He said he wanted to meet me but then refused to because if he gid, some of his supporters would throttle

im.â\200\235

Itâ\200\231s hardly surprising that after decades of . bitter fighting between black and white, that despite the dramatic changes, there are still deep suspicions about each sideâ\200\231s motives. Many believe the Government, while proceeding with reform, hopes to maintain a de facto apartheid with a minority veto over any elected parliament. â\200\234Was this possible?â\200\235 I asked.

â\200\234I donâ\200\231t think so,â\200\235 Buthelezi replied.
â\200\234Mr De Klerk has been emphatic there would be universal adult franchise. However, itâ\200\231s no use pretending cultural groups donâ\200\231t exist, with their interests safeguarded. There are different race and language groups in this country and we are not unique.

â\200\234None of us would want any camouflage of the old apartheid policies under the pretext that one is protecting cultural

groups, but to pretend they donâ\200\231t exist is absurd.

â\200\234I have always supported one person, one vote, a la Westminster. There is

nothing wrong with the Constitution of South Africa except the exclusion of blacks. We also need a federal system, but not one based on ethnicity.

The standard of living of middle-class

whites is the best in the world and while most seem to be accepting an end to apartheid, some have difficulty coming to terms with any diminution of their privileged position.

The very term redistribution of wealth fills them with dread, although when questioned, one finds it is confiscation they fear most. Whites seem unable to comprehend that merely removing the obnoxious apartheid laws is insufficient. Blacks are demanding a share of the wealth as well.

What, I asked the chief, could be done to force whites to face this reality?

I've always told them I believe in the redistribution of wealth to end the gross disparities and inequities of the past. Much more is spent on white education than black education, pensions, health, etc. There must be redistribution of opportunities. The gaps must be narrowed. What we have to do is recreate wealth so that there is a bigger slice for everyone.

His reply prompted the 64,000-rand question. What will happen to the South African economy with the multi-racial government?

The economy of this country is in the doldrums and, with a 5 per cent or 6 per cent growth rate necessary to cater for the 3 per cent black population increase, we are in deep trouble. At the moment, the growth rate is 1 per cent to 2 per cent and if it doesn't increase, we are back to

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- .y e PR GRP PP Yv Yo i g e ve e Ve SUTRE T S WP SN, S R R IR A LA e & B W W T .
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square one. If liberation does not mean, - -
the improvement in the quality of life of. . .
ordinary people, then it's all meaningless.
Sanctions have been lifted but no one's;
going to invest in South Africa while we-
have this violence. We've got everything
in South Africa gold, uranium, coal
diamonds, agriculture. The potential is
enormous. There is no other country in
Africa which has the same self-suffi-
ciency as the economy of South Africa.
The nearby States are interwoven with
the economy of South Africa, and there is
great potential. el

Imagine when apartheid has been fully removed. Imagine the backbone from Zaire to Zambia through Zimbabwe to this country. You do
Look at the ports and infrastructure. . . and minerals that this country has. Once you get rid of the violence and apartheid, this country can end up as one of the strongest economies in the world. But if we don't address these issues, there will be a situation where we will not be able to cope.

On Monday in The Australian: Barry Cohen talks to Helen Suzman, a prominent white opponent of apartheid, and Dennis Worrall, deputy leader of the Democratic Party and a former ambassador to Australia. Mr Cohen is a former federal Labor minister who writes a fortnightly column for The Australian. His next column also appears on Monday.

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June lils 1991

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The Weekend â\200\234'Australian

South Africaâ\200\231s hopes of a peaceful end to apartheid and an ordered re-enfbl'y into the world community have been shattered by the worst violence

since the Boer War, with more than 5000 killed. BARRY COHEN talks to the man who holds the countryâ\200\231s future in his hands

NDERSTANDING politics in South

g | Africa used to be easy. Colour enab-
A led one to determine the goodies
from the baddies. To an outside world pre-
occupied since the 1960s with racism and
colonialism, the white South African re-
gime was the epitome of evil and the blacks,
coloured and Indians who constituted 80 per
cent of the population, the downtrodden
and oppressed.

All that started to change when last year Presi-
dent F.W. De Klerk announced apartheid had fail-
ed; that it would be dismantled, that the African
National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress
and the South African Communist Party would be
unbanned, that exiles would be permitted to return
and political prisoners released from jail.

"When Nelson Mandela, who symbolised the fight
against apartheid, was released after 27 years in jail,
the world rejoiced as if the Messiah had returned.

Anyone returning to South Africa as I did after
12 years would find it unrecognisable. In 1979, al-
though the first cracks in apartheid had appeared,
there was little change in its fundamental struc-
ture, with the odious Group Areas Act, Mixed Mar-
riages and Immorality Act and the notorious pass
laws rigidly enforced to ensure the segregation of
the races.

"A five million-strong affluent white community

controlled the economy, the media, the judiciary and the security and defence forces. I returned to Australia convinced white ascendancy would remain for the foreseeable future.

I am delighted to say I was wrong.

As apartheid disappears, there is a new-found confidence among blacks as they move around their country no longer apologising for their presence. White attitudes have also changed. The old arrogance is at worst considerably reduced and among most there is an acceptance of the immorality and injustice of apartheid, and the stupidity in trying to maintain and enforce it.

Gradually South Africa is ceasing to be the world's No 1 pariah. Sanctions are slowly being removed as one international organisation after another welcomes it back into the fold. Cricket, rugby and soccer internationals should soon be resumed, with South Africa a fair chance of competing in the Barcelona Olympics.

Yet just as South Africa appears certain to end decades of isolation, it is beset by its worst outbreak of violence since the Boer War. Since 1987, clashes between the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC have resulted in more than 5000 deaths.

Rumours abound of a clandestine 'third force' of army and police operating outside the aegis of government with its own agenda to disrupt negotiations aimed at bringing a peaceful transition to democratic government. Tensions also exist within the white community. Afrikanerdom was shocked recently when 1000 right-wing farmers, attempting to remove black squatters from a farm, were fired on by South African police. Nothing like that had happened before, - G S R

Who are the goodies and who are the baddies now depends on who you talk to in South Africa today. For 350-odd years, one white minority group or another ran South Africa. Now as the black and white tribes of South Africa move inexorably towards a multi-racial society, every ethnic group and every political ideology is jostling and manoeuvring to gain a share of the power. Some are

none too fussy about the methods they use, ensuring South Africans remain apprehensive about their future.

The world's attention has focused on negotiations between the National Party Government and

the largest and oldest black nationalist organisation, the ANC. One man, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has refused to be shouldered aside and demanded, as the leader of the largest single ethnic group in South Africa, the Zulus, to be party to

any negotiations about the country's future.

There are 36 million people in South Africa: 75.3 per cent are Africans, 8.8 per cent coloureds, 2.5 per cent Asians and 13.4 per cent whites. Of the 27 million blacks, approximately 7-8 million are Zulus.

Buthelezi and Inkatha cannot be ignored, and the ANC is not ignoring them. It has, in fact, spent a considerable amount of its time and energy ensuring South Africa and the rest of the world are aware of their shortcomings. Heading the list is the claim that Inkatha is a political party based on tribalism which it, the ANC, rejects. This conveniently forgets that it was the ANC that encouraged Buthelezi to assume the chieftainship of the Zulu homeland, KwaZulu, and only changed its attitude towards him as his power and influence grew.

Formed in 1975 and based on a mass membership which grew to 1.8 million, Inkatha's approach to apartheid was participative Opposition²³⁴. With most other opponents of apartheid banned or in exile, In-

Chief Buthelezi: has demanded, as leader of the largest single ethnic group, in South Africa, to be party to any negotiations about the country's future

Aware of the bloody clashes between ANC and Inkatha supporters and being way past my best fighting days, I was delighted to accept the chief's offer to be flown from Durban to the capital of KwaZulu, Ulundi. Travelling with his genial Minister for Health, Dr Mdlalose, and wedged between two sturdy young Zulus armed with howitzer-sized shotguns, was an interesting experience. The good doctor's laughing comment that he had been lion hunting²²⁴ and missed²²⁴ did nothing to calm my jangled nerves. Lo wbtiaics &k

' Ulundi was chosen as the capital of KwaZulu for historical and symbolic reasons. A visit to the memorial for those who fell at the Battle of Isandhlwana preceded my arrival at the magnificent Kwazulu Parliament to renew my acquaintance with the chief I last met in 1979. The warmth of his greeting reminded me why I and my family were so entranced. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, despite ANC propaganda, is difficult to dislike.

I had thought carefully

about my opening question. Any descendant of Shaka is not to be trifled with. I decided to gamble. No political leader in South Africa has so many fervent admirers or detractors as you. You seem to be a cross between Jesus Christ and Adolf Hitler.

The handsome chief with the twinkling eyes threw back his head and roared with laughter. I relaxed. He became serious.

I don't know. Who can explain it? I'm the most open political leader in the country and I'm the

katha remained the only T ol most consistent. There is black organisation able Rorke's Drift: etched in the memory no vagueness about to carry on a constructive V&glai!l'e Idsta.nd. I've never dialogue with the white changed.

community. - It's said you don't take Buthelezi became fur- HH criticism kindly.

the offside with the l m the most open political t_ aggression or vilification ANC for opposing sanc- H ion?

tions and the armed leader in the country and You may say it's vilification struggle, and as an cation.

enthusiastic free enterpriser.

Although the ANC attempted to paint Buthelezi as a stooge or puppet of the National Party Government, he is a fierce opponent of apartheid who has denounced it at every opportunity. If Dennis Worrall, deputy leader of the anti-apartheid Democratic Party, and Helen Suzman, the former MP, are to be believed, it was Buthelezi's refusal to accept independence for KwaZulu that was the brick in the wall that wrecked apartheid. Strong words indeed.

Zulus have a fearsome reputation, and not without justification. The battles of Isandhlwana and Rorke's Drift are etched in the military history of both the British and the Zulus as fierce and bloody clashes. The 19th-century exploits of Shaka, who

revolutionised Zulu battle tactics with his rampaging Iimpis (regiments), and Cetshwayo are still recounted by Zulus with pride. It is not surprising the ANC takes them seriously.

Iâ\200\231'm the most consistent.
There is no vagueness
about where |
stand. Iâ\200\231've never changed 9

AT

â\200\234It's not a question of
opinion, itâ\200\231s a fact. I won
all the court cases.â\200\235

One of the most oft-repeated and damaging allegations against Buthelezi is that unless you are a member of Inkatha, you cannot get a house or a job in KwaZulu. This seemed an appropriate time to ask him about it. The eyes stopped twinkling. â\200\234Itâ\200\231s bullshit! Do you believe it?â\200\235 he asked, obviously pained by the question. %

â\200\234Itâ\200\231s not a matter of whether I believe it. I'm merely telling you it is what is said about what happens in KwaZulu.â\200\235 I might have treated it as political propaganda had it come only from his political opponents. But having heard it from Helen Suzman, a Buthelezi admirer, I could not ignore the charges. X

â\200\234I have nothing to say except that itâ\200\231s bullshit, utter bullshit! It's just vilification. The ANC has been hurling insults like that at us for a long time but not one case has ever been produced.â\200\235 He

~ looked me straight in the eye. â\200\234I challenge them to produce just one case.â\200\235

Whether they could or not is open to question. What is beyond doubt is the violence between ANC and Inkatha. Since 1987, 5000 people have died in clashes between the two. Many I spoke to claimed that while both sides were guilty, the Zulus were

the more aggressive and that a rogue â\200\234third forceâ\200\235 of police and defence personnel were either aiding Inkatha or turning a blind eye to its aggression.

I quoted in part from an article in Johannesburgâ\200\231s Sunday Times in which the author stated he no longer believed the Inkatha leadersâ\200\231 protestations that they were committed to peace after a recent rampage by Zulu impis after a rally at Bekkersdal on the West Rand.

At the rally, Inkatha central committee

member Musa Myeni â\200\234stamped around tel-

ling reporters that Inkatha would put in

place 250,000 fighters in Soweto and other townshipsâ\200\235, the article said.

â\200\234Itâ\200\231s bullshit,â\200\235 Buthelezi roared. â\200\234The whole thing is utter bullshit, because I was there.â\200\235 I wished I had chosen another quote. â\200\234Musa made that statement before I arrived. His house had just been burned that weekend and he made that wild statement on his own and he has nothing to do with me or the Central Committee.â\200\235

â\200\234No one was blaming you,â\200\235 I got in quickly.

â\200\234No. But when a manâ\200\231s house and everything he possesses is burned down, itâ\200\231s not unnatural for him to react like that. We were setting up a branch af. Bekkersdal and I was invited for the inauguration. People came to boost morale and to have a rally.

â\200\234We didnâ\200\231t want to be provocative, so we held our rally far away in the football ground. There was almost as many ANC people there as we had at our rally. They started the trouble. As people went to the buses, we discovered a car had been wired to explode and kill our people. Then Inkatha members, acting to defend themselves against a bomb

set up by ANC, killed four people. It happened again when we buried a prominent Inkatha mayor killed by the ANC. After the service, they fired on one of our buses and our people chased and Kkilled the man who shot at them. The ANC start the trouble, and the press blames Inkatha.â\200\235

â\200\234They suggest you are not doing enough to stop the violence and have lost control of your supporters.â\200\235 g

â\200\234Lost control? Mr Cohen, you were a politician like myself. This violence is similar to Lebanon. People, my people, have lost wives and children. My own children have been threatened., although, fortunately, not killed. I really donâ\200\231t know how I, as a Christian, would react if my child was killed. I donâ\200\231t know how people should react when their loved ones are Kkilled.

â\200\234They say I've lost control, but I donâ\200\231t know what they expect me to do. I appeal in all my speeches to stop the violence and then they brand us hypocrites.â\200\235

N 1955, a â\200\234Congress of the Peopleâ\200\235 was held in

Kliptown, just outside Johannesburg. There,

a group of black, coloured and Indian organi-

sations seeking a democratic South Africa framed The Freedom Charter.

It commenced: â\200\234We the people of South Africa,

declare for all our country and the world to know that South Africa belongs to all who live in it black and white and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people stay

It set out the principles on which a future democratic South Africa would be based.

The driving force behind The Freedom Charter was the ANC. Formed in 1912 and banned after the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, it established its military wing Umkhonto We Sizwe under the leadership of Nelson Mandela. After a series of attacks on government property led to the Rivonia Trial, which jailed many of its leaders including Mandela and forced others into exile, it led the worldwide struggle against apartheid.

Now the major political force in South Africa, it feels, with considerable justification, that it has the right to be the first government of a multi-racial South Africa. Although estimates of its support vary from a low of 40 per cent up to 65 per cent, no one can be sure.

The forces gathering to stop an ANC takeover include a revitalised and more liberal National Party that recently absorbed, almost en masse, the South African Labor Party, which claims to represent the majority of the 3 million coloureds. Political pundits predict it will also attract those white voters who previously voted for the Democratic Party, the only parliamentary party that has consistently opposed apartheid. :

There are many other players, but it is the 7-8 million Zulus who will determine who governs South Africa. Estimates of Inkatha's support vary from 2 per cent to 25 per cent. If this is anywhere near the upper limit, then a combination of the National Party, Inkatha and other minor groups could leave the ANC out in the cold. It is the reason, many claim, for the ANC continually bad-

- mouthing Inkatha and Buthelezi, and blaming: them for the violence.

The question that occupies the minds of most South Africans, particularly the whites who have so much to lose, is the ideological bent of the ANC. Once avowedly socialist and an advocate of nationalisation, it has, since the collapse of communism, been backtracking at remarkable speed and talking of a mixed economy. Nevertheless, with its long-standing connections with the South African Communist Party, doubts remain.

It is said the only thing that holds the ANC together is its opposition to apartheid and its leadership in the armed struggle to liberate South Africa; that it contains every political ideology from the extreme Left to small liberals, and that once in power, it will fragment into half a dozen political parties. ANC officials admitted to me that this was possible, although they desperately hoped it would not happen.

Chief Buthelezi represents all the things the ANC dislikes. He was against sanctions and the armed struggle, and is strongly in favour of a free-enterprise economy. Worse, as Inkatha is overwhelmingly Zulu, it accuses him of fostering tribalism â\200\224 the curse, as the ANC sees it, of other black African countries. What then did he think of the ANC?

â\200\234It is a revolutionary organisation that for 30 years has thought and practised revolution. They believe they have the right to direct change in this country and rule after change. It is not in their nature to open the way for other political parties to take control.

@Â® Continued Review 4

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) Farmers and
battle to buy a

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S Uy TimÃ©

By MARK STANSFIELD

THE few residents left in
Grootvlei are waiting anx-
iously to hear who will buy
their village â\200\224 the ANC or
a consortium of business-
men and farmers.

The ANC speculation
started about a week ago
when Mrs Winnie Mandela
and her entourage paid two
visits to the former mining
village situated between
Heidelberg and Villiers.

On Friday the ANC con-
firmed it was interested in
buying the village.

Built to accommodate
2000 people, only 27 fam-
ilies still live there.

Exiles

The ANC, it seems, may
buy the village and use it to
house returning exiles.

But local farmer and
businessman Gert Viljoen
has put together a consor-
tium interested in outhid-
ding the ANC.

The Viljoen consortium
has already made a bid and,
if successful, intends turn-
ing the village into a sports
injury rehabilitation cen-

re.

A welfare organisation is
also interested in purchas-

ing the property.

Grootvlei village belongs

{Ã©1;)

WINNIE SPOTTER . . . Janet
Nagel who wants to stay

to Anglo Americanâ\200\231s Am-
coal Springfield Collieries
division, but the mine has
been closed and most of the
houses are uninhabited.
Mrs Janet Nagel, who
has lived in Grootvlei for
six years, saw Mrs Mandela
taking two peeks at the vil-
lage on June 6 and June 7.
%I'm told she and those
with her also had lunch
served to them at the
boarding house up the
street,â\200\235 Mrs Nagel said this

week.

What does Mrs Nagel
think about the ANC pur-
chasing Grootvlei?

â\200\234well ... with three
young children I donâ\200\231t think
itâ\200\231s such a good idea to stay
around.

ANC line up for

whole village

â\200\234We donâ\200\231t really know
what to do until we find out
who has been successful.
But we definitely donâ\200\231t
want to move out,â\200\235 she said.

Down the street, Mr Vil-
joen was more circum-
spect.

â\200\234Yes, there are a few of
us interested in buying the
place. I really donâ\200\231t care
who gets it as long as the
village does not become a
ghost town like so many
others.

- Tears

â\200\234Grootvlei still has its in-
frastructure and we can
thank Amcoal that they
reached a decision to sell
fairly early before the

whole place disintegrated,â\200\235
he said.

Â«A]l we want is good
neighbourliness and if
thatâ\200\231s what the ANC intends
then they are welcome here
_if they bid high enough.â\200\235

But there are those who
are sad at the demise of the
community.

Mrs Marie Piek has lived
in Grootvlei for 24 years
and has run the local creche
for the past 15.

With tears in her eyes she
said:

â\200\234Excuse the mess but I'm
pusy packing up --- we
have to be out of here by

the end of the month.â\200\235

Five children were at-
tending her â\200\234schoolâ\200\235 last
Thursday.

â\200\234My husband has been
transferred to Standerton
and itâ\200\231s such a heartsore
story. I doubt whether we
will ever find such a beauti-
ful village to live in again.

â\200\234My children and my
grandchildren started
school here. This is @ very
sad day for me.â\200\235

The village goes on auc-
tion on July 2 at 2.30 pm.

Grootvlei consists of 130
houses, 16 semi-detached
units, 20 prefabricated
houses, eight single quar-
ters, a recreation club â\200\224
complete with menâ\200\231s and
Jadiesâ\200\231 bars, bowling
greens, swimming pool,
tennis and squash courts, 2
â\200\234high-densityâ\200\235 complex of
cottages, single quarters
(which can house 900), 2
hospital, workshops, train-
ing centre, storerooms, a
community hall and school.

Also on sale are an 18-
hole golf course with club-
house, a 60ha dam and an
enclosed game park.

Mr Viljoen disclosed that
two bids have been re-

ceived so far â\200\224 the highest
one was R2-million but no-
bodyâ\200\231s saying whether it
was high enough for Am-
coal.

TAâ\200\231NCâ\200\231_fears a

G TraRu A (,. H-/Gt 0
commie plot

Trii~\201une Reporter

THE Communist Party in Natal could be gearing
itself up to grab key posts in the African National
Congress. ! :

In a surprising move this week, the southern Natal
region nominated hard-line marxist Harry Gwala, the
fiery South African Communist Party stalwart and
leader of the ANC in the Midlands, as its candidate for
the post of ANC deputy-president.

Concerned sources in the ANC this week expressed
fears that Mr Gwalaâ\200\231s unexpected nomination might
be a SACP conspiracy to get its people into top posi-
tions in the hierachy.

Alternatively they said it could mean that militants
â\200\234within the ANC were gaining control or that branches
were dissatisfied with the way the current regional
leadership was conducting business. Others even inter-
preted the move as a regional protest over main-
stream leadership. : ;

â\200\234It probably is an indication of grassroots impa-
tience with the progress made so far by the current
regional leadership, and possibly the way they are
handling the Inkatha issue,â\200\235 said a source.

Mr Gwala, who is 71, was nominated for the position
at a closed southern Natal regional conference last
Sunday at the Mgababa Holiday resort on the South
Coast.

Some of those present said that what had sur-
prised many was the nomination of Mr Gwala ahead
of Thabo Mbeki, the charismatic ANC foreign affairs
head, and Jacob Zuma, the intelligence chief credited
with doing much to bring about talks between the
ANC and Inkatha in Natal. Also surprising was the
strength of support for Mr Gwala who apparently re-
ceived more nominations than the combined total of
those who voted for Mr Zuma and Mr Mbeki.

Sources said that had Mr Zuma not been nominated
for the position of secretary-general, Mr Gwalaâ\200\231s nom-
ination in Mr Zumaâ\200\231s backyard could have been seen
as a slap in face for Mr Zuma and a vote of no-
confidence in his leadership.

Although one senior ANC insider this week dis-
missed Mr Gwalaâ\200\231s nomination as a â\200\234regional storm in
a teacupâ\200\235, he admitted it had sent shockwaves through

â\200\230the moderate camp.

The source said the general feeling among moder-
ates was that the selection of a militant communist
hardliner would not only damage the ANCâ\200\231s image,
but would also send the wrong signals to the in-

ternational community.

However, moderates were heartened by the nomination of Mr Zuma for the important position of secretary-general â\200\224 the engine of the movement. If elected he would be powerfully placed to push the moderate line.

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Winnie 1

CSOUNDAY T

ANC Ã©onde

THE imperious-antics.of Win-
nie Mandela, which have in-

cluded kidnapping, accessory
to the assault of a child and a

preference for necklaces made

of rubber and filled with pet- -
rol, last- week entered yet

another sordid arena. Allega-

tions emerged that her rela-

tionship with a young lawyer

was causing marital discord in

the Mandela household.

At the centre of the dispute
is Dali Mpofu, 27, a lawyer
who is precisely 29 years her
Jjunior â\200\224 they share the same
birthday. Mpofu earlier this
year = became Winnie
Mandelaâ\200\231s deputy in the Af-
rican National Congressâ\200\231s so-
cial welfare department. After
months of gossip among ANC
activists, Johannesburgâ\200\231s City
Press newspaper, which is
aimed-at a predominantly Af-
rican readership, last week re-
ported the â\200\230â\200\230damaging
rumours of marital problems
between Nelson and Winnie
Mandelaâ\200\235. The paper im-
plicated Mpofu, adding that
the ANC was desperately try-
ing to keep the allegations
quiet.

Whatever the sensitivities
involved, the relationship be-
tween the two has been a mat-
ter of open conjecture in
Soweto for months. The
friendship dates back to the
months preceding the release
last year of Nelson Mandela
after 27 years in jail. Mpofu, a

flamboyant character with a charming manner, was one of the legal team defending Jerry Richardson, â\200\234coachâ\200\235 to the infamous football club set up by Winnie in the latter days of her husbandâ\200\231s imprisonment.

Richardson was sentenced to hang for the murder of

mns press

ONe-al
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terferenceâ\200\231

_ by Andrew Hogg, Johannesburg -

Stompie Moeketsi, 14, but Mpofuâ\200\231s relationship with

Winnie Mandela blossomed:

in spite of the failure of the

defence team. After her hus--

bandâ\200\231s release, Winnie asked

that Mpofu be included on hisâ\200\231 first foreign tour, claiming -

that he was almost one of the family. The ANC hierarchy, which was based in Lusaka at that time, vetoed the idea.

Undeterred, Mpofu, described as an affluent intellectual by one of Winnieâ\200\231s associates, started accompanying her to political meetings and was seen dining with her at the Johannesburg Sun, one of the cityâ\200\231s best hotels.

Last month, after her conviction for kidnapping, Mpofu was the second man to give her a kiss as she stood dumbfounded in the dock.

The first - was Nelson Mandela.

One person for whom last week's report will have come as no surprise is Mpofu's former girlfriend, Texry Oakley-Smith, 37, a lecturer. Oakley-Smith, an ANC branch

chairman who teaches educa-

tional psychology at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, has a two-year-old child by Mpofu, her boyfriend of five years. Recently, however, her relationship with Mpofu has foundered.

Oakley-Smith, who is British, is said to have received a series of menacing calls since the start of the friendship between Mpofu and Winnie Mandela. She has told friends that in the past few days she

has received one death threat and another threatening

phone call. She is understood

to have given lawyers a state-

ment - detailing - alleged

harassment. 5

She has refused to talk pub-

licly about the friendship between Winnie Mandela and Mpofu, but is believed to have instructed lawyers that the contents of her statement should be made public if she or her child come to any harm. Oakley-Smith is said to fear that she is being unfairly blamed for the report in City Press. She was coming to the end of a two-month sabbatical in Britain when the story about the affair surfaced.

In breaking the story, City Press sought to distance itself from the allegations, claiming there was a strong belief among the ANC's rank and file that Winnie and Mpofu had been set up by the organisation's intelligence sec-

tion. The paper said there were rumours that members of the section Zmd spied on Winniye, apparÃ©ntly to discredit an attempt by her and her militant supporters to get one of their number appointed deputy president if, as expected, the post falls vacant when Nelson Mandela as-

in their lives

sumes the presidency at the - ANCâ\200\231s national congress next month. Jacob Zuma, head of the ANC's intelligence section, is said to be seeking the . post. Pl

Mpofu has dismissed the

allegations. â\200\234I first treated them as a joke, but within the last couple of weeks the stories have taken a different, vicious turn,â\200\235 he told City Press. â\200\234The * story is obviously being put out for political reasons.â\200\235. : The ANC has also scotched suggestions of marital discord. Gill Marcus, a spokesman for the organisation, condemned the City Press report as another attempt to interfere with the private lives of the Mandelas. From the Mandelas, whose 33rd wedding anniversary fell on Friday, there has been only silence. The Mpofu â\200\234affairâ\200\235 is not the first time that rumours have surfaced about Winnie Mandela and other men. One woman who had an affair with a member of the discredited football club claims she was tortured by other club members because Winnie was â\200\234in loveâ\200\235 with her boyfriend and wanted him back. 3 The latest claims, however, are bound to put new strain on a relationship that is said to be closer to that of father and daughter than husband and - wife.

- rumour rocks

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V\;?NIE Lâ\200\230â\200\235â\200\231U ï¬\202n?- R RÂ»Mâ\200\230\C"&K, KCc â\200\235ï¬\201W/
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outh Africa is poised t % g AL~ - ; "6 i- el
rewm fully to mter. SOUth Africans of 5 ol o euipn ng
national society. The news Â© of organisations, both inside and

outside South Africa. Naturally,
the anti-apartheid industry ls
not best pleased that President de
Klerk has shot their fox, and
there is dismay at the collapse
in funding and support for a
whole host of such â\200\234progressiveâ\200\231
organisations.

on"ihe verse of lifing sancions Ll TaCES have not
against it m that th ti .
â\202¬ans tha â\202¬ sanctions yet taken lIl the
huge changes in

campaign around the world is
about to collapse. And despite the
frantic efforts of African National
Congress radicals and their foreign
supporters, all other forms of

boycott are likely to crumble in
the wake of Americaâ\200\231s decision.

Doubtless, attempts will be
made to move the goalposts now
that apartheid has gone. Re-entry
to the Commonwealth, for exam-
ple, is likely to depend on the
achievement of straight majority
rule, although the application of
such a principle to existing
Commonwealth members would
cause some red faces.

.Cle;irly, an era is ending and,
with it, a lot of nonsense. Recent
weeks have seen Zimbabwe de-
mand the maintenance of sanc-
tions while simultaneously send-
ing a trade delegation to South
Africa to negotiate an increase in
lts own trade. Despite the support
for sanctions of the Organisation
of African Unity, South Africa

already trades with virtually every other country on the continent. Last year the Republic's African trade grew by 22 per cent.

In a broad sense, sanctions have worked. Full of holes though they were, they symbolised international rejection of apartheid and exercised a potent psychological pressure on white South Africa. In practical terms South Africa managed to carry on buying everything it wanted except some types of high-tech weaponry. But a premium had to be paid to obtain many products; there were continual worries about future supplies; foreign trade had to be shrouded in secrecy; many South African exports had to be sent via third countries (which took a cut of their own); foreign traders and

store once links are restored, says R.W. Johnson

investors were discouraged by the general climate that created, and many potential South African exporters preferred to concentrate on the home market. Sanctions were a nagging difficulty in countless areas of South African life.

There were many ironies. The
»

countries which applied sanctions most comprehensively were white: America and Scandinavia. Europe's trade with South Africa remained fairly stable overall, while the real sanctions-busters were all Asian: Japan, Hong Kong and, particularly, Taiwan. If you go into a South African office today you will find large numbers of Taiwanese PCs. The only nation to maintain a steady flow of investment into South Africa throughout the period of sanctions has been Taiwan.

How easy America will find it to attract this trade back from the Far East is a moot point. During

the sanctions campaign one often heard the boast that come the day of liberation, sanctions-busting countries would be penalised while those that observed them

would be rewarded. I suspect this ZZ22%2 will turn out to be an empty threat

and that some trade patterns have changed for good.

Now that they have achieved

what they wanted, many activists

in exile are discovering that after decades of campaigning they do not want to go back to South Affica after all. More poignantly, some go back and find the country

7/ ==

so changed that they no longer feel at home. There is a comic side to all this, but one should not laugh too long. Many small human tragedies follow any major historical change.

CaIn this end, the greatest economic blows against South Affica had nothing to do with sanctions. |

â\200\224

The decision by the Chase Manhattan Bank to call in its loans in 1985, taken on strictly commercial grounds, led to a bank stampede, crippling repayment terms and an end to new lending. Secondly, the collapse of the gold price in the last few years â\200\224 a strictly market phenomenon â\200\224 has made the pips

squeak so hard that splits over sanctions have opened up even among the black trade unions.

Since the last century at least, South Africa has depended utterly on mineral exports and the inflow of foreign capital. The 1985 bank crisis and the lower gold price together made radical change inevitable. President de Klerk has

in effect merely been registering
what the markets were demanding
of him.

ON THE MARCH ____

- Joe Slovo with Cosatu's Aziz

"Pahad and the ANC's Alfred Nzo yesterday

Picture: JUHAN KUUS

T

By EDYTH BULBRING

THE majority of adult blacks prefer negotiations to violence although they believe that violence and other direct action had brought about recent political change in South Africa.

This is said by Mr CP de Kock in the latest book by the Human Sciences Research Council, South Africa in the Nineties.

The book contains contributions by 27 experts on issues including violence,

- Blacks want talk

conflict, partition and reconstruction.

Surveys conducted between May 1985 and August 1990 show that 77 percent of the black elite in the PWV believe that a

peaceful settlement will be found for the problems between blacks and whites.

Mr De Kock concludes that most blacks would probably still resort to violence and non-violent direct action to protect themselves in an atmosphere of danger, especially if they believed the secur-

ity forces were no longer in control.

He says a peaceful settlement was possible only if the majority of whites were prepared to accommodate the primary demands of blacks.

However, during a period of less than two years, a dramatic change had taken place in adult white perceptions of the ways in which political

Jinstability should be dealt

with, he adds, Survey results show that up to November 1988 most

THE ANC would win a

poll reveals.

The poll, by Markinor, involved 1 300 black South African adults and 800 whites. For the first time, respon-

dents were given a secret ballot and voted for their party and leader choice.

The Markinor poll showed 71 percent of urban-based blacks would vote for the ANC, three percent for the Inkatha Freedom Party, four percent for the National

Party and four percent for the Pan Africanist Congress.

The Markinor poll was conducted in the PWYV, Durban, Port Elizabeth, East London and Cape Town areas.

While the ANC is unlikely to have such solid support among the 14-million

black rural population, areas such as the Eastern Cape, Transkei and Border regions are known to be behind the ANC almost to a man.

Fight

For their second choice, 18 percent of the black sample indicated support for the National Party, against 22 percent for the PAC and 12 percent for the South African Communist Party.

The ANC would, however, have to fight hard to earn support from South Africa's five-million-plus white population, most of

whom live in urban areas.

Only one percent indicated support for the ANC

S, not violence

whites believed political instability had to be handled by security action rather than political change.

But by April 1990, 68 percent of whites in a national survey indicated that political methods had to be applied to decrease instability.

Almost two-thirds of the respondents believed they were heading for a good future under a government consisting of all population groups.

one-man, one-vote election | hands down if it was held tomorrow, a major new

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By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

against the 58 percent who said they would vote for the National Party, 21 percent for the Conservative Party and 10 percent for the Democratic Party.

A popular second choice for whites was the DP 20 percent and the IFP 18 percent.

3

From the 3,3-million coloured community there were indications that 49,2 percent supported the NP, 10 percent the Labour Party and 9,3 percent the ANC.

In the choice of leader, Nelson Mandela got the thumbs-up from 65 percent of black people in the sample survey against 13 percent for State President FW de Klerk and four percent for PAC leader Clarendons Makwetu. ;

IFP leader Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi was popular with only three percent.

Popular

It was estimated that 54 percent of coloured people supported Mr De Klerk against three percent for Mr Mandela and 0,6 percent for LP leader the Rey Allan Hendrickse., e

Vying for popularity as a second choice by black South Africans were Mr De Klerk, with 26 percent, and SACP leader Joe Slovo, 17 percent.

While none of the white South Africans polled would vote for Mr Mandela, 68 percent supported Mr De Klerk and 17 percent backed CP leader Andries Treurnicht,

A popular second choice for whites was Chief Buthelezi, 31 percent, and DP leader Zach de Beer, 11 percent,

| IN three weeks, the ANC holds
crucial leadership elections
- Which will determine who
| wields real power in the run-up

3 to constitutional negotiations
with the government.

Here the Sunday Times
profiles the people most likely
to emerge as the new National
Working Committee â\200\224 the
ANC shadow cabinet â\200\224 in the
90-member National Executive
Committee.

Honorary President

~ | OLIVER REGINALD TAMBO

b Age and illness will prevent the
- | much respected Comrade OR
â\200\230| from continuing his duties as
" | president â\200\224 although there is a
|| small lobby that wants him to stay
on in a caretaker capacity.

He will probably be given a fig-
urehead position with no real
power.

During the ANCâ\200\231s consultative
conference in December last year
he supported moves to relax sanc-
tions â\200\224 which did not earn him
points among younger militants.

President
NELSON MANDELA

Mr Mandela, also born in the
Eastern Cape, was voted deputy

position as president is the only
one which is virtually guaranteed,
according to sources throughout
the organisation.

His international standing and
image among a broad section of
â\200\230black South Africans are his two

strongest attributes as far as the organisation is concerned â\200\224 and will not be lightly dismissed.

Yet, say some of the younger militants, his close personal rapport with President FW de Klerk and willingness to compromise have cost the movement dearly in terms of political advantage â\200\224 and image.

Deputy President
JACOB ZUMA

ANC Intelligence chief, a member of the NEC and chairman of the ANC Southern Natal regional executive committee and member of the SACP.

He is likely to be opposed by Chris Hani, Umkhonto we Sizweâ\200\231s chief of staff and if the competition becomes too fierce it is possible Walter Sisulu, current deputy president, may remain as a compromise candidate.

In his home area Mr Zumaâ\200\231s popularity has waned slightly among the Natal ANC rank and file because of his accommodating attitude towards Inkatha. In his own region he received 17 votes for deputy president against the 300 for the more militant Harry Gwala.

He was also recently nicknamed Rumour Zuma after becoming embroiled in the furor surrounding ANC youth leader Peter Mokaba. While Zuma de-

president of the ANC in-1990. His.

nied leaking allegations that Mr

S
OLIVER TAMBO

D

Mokaba was a spy, the incident dented his standing within the ANC.

Against this is the fact that he is a Zulu â\200\224 a badly under-represented group in the upper echelons of the organisation.

Secretary-General
CYRIL RAMAPHOSA

Secretary-general of the National Union of Mineworkers since 1982 and a member of the ANC's PWV region.

Although initially very close to Mr Mandela after his release in February, he has since become estranged allegedly because of the hostility of Winnie Mandela because of his criticisms of her behaviour while her husband was still in prison.

A whispering campaign that he was about to be deposed as NUM secretary-general at the last annual meeting in fact he was re-elected unanimously was widely held by his supporters to be part of an attempt to discredit him before the ANC elections. It is believed that Mr Ramaphosa would be prepared to resign from NUM if he was given this powerful position.

Deputy Secretary-General
POPO MOLEFE

Deputy chairman of the ANC PWV region, he is the former secretary-general of the United Democratic Front.

He was appointed to the Internal Leadership Committee after Mr Mandela's release last year. He is extremely popular and well known at a grassroots level and is most likely to take this position, although he will have to fight a tough battle against Mohammed Valli Moosa and Pallo Jordan.

Treasurer-General
The Rev ARNOLD STOFIE

Previously the Border UDF secretary-general, he is regarded as a Mandela man and enjoys much popular support both in his home region and throughout South Africa.

Respected for his intellect and pragmatism, Mr Stofie emerges as an important link-man between the exiles and the internals.

He could seize the position from

NELSON MANDELA

BY EDYTH BULBRING AND DAWN BARKHUIZEN!

as Nkobi, who has grown increasingly unpopular. Mr Stefile's election to this position will be seen as a victory for the internals who are

determined to remove the old

guard from executive positions.

The 20-man Kitchen Cabinet of the ANC's national executive is likely to include:

WALTER SISULU

Chairman of the ANC's Internal Leadership Committee, this former Robben Island prisoner is also a member of the ANC's NEC and PWV regional committee.

Only his age disqualifies him from a top executive position but his universal popularity in the movement assures him a continuing influential role.

PALLO JORDAN

Head of the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity, he is a member of the ANC's NEC and

. the ANC's PWV region.

An intellectual but not popular with the SACP or grassroots supporters who regard him as distant.

JOE SLOVO

Secretary-general of the SACP, a member of the ANC's NEC and the ANC's PWV region. He is one of the organisation's chief strategists.

He has a small but highly disciplined band of followers that ensure him a place on the ANC's working committee.

CHRIS HANI

Chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe since 1987, Mr Hani, a communist, holds a position on the NEC interim committee and is a member of the ANC's PWV region.

He is popular with the youth and close to the Mandela family.

His Achilles heel: his role in the

brutal repression of ANC dissidents in Angolan camps in the mid-80s.

THABO MBEKI

Department of International Affairs chief since 1989, Mr Mbeki holds a position on the NEC interim committee and is a member of the ANC's PWV region.

While widely respected by outsiders for his pragmatic approach and intellectual prowess, he does not enjoy as much support among

present treasurer-general Thom-

II/V's-201if

JACOB ZUMA

militants as Chris Hani.

PATRICK TERROR LEKOTA

Before his recent secondment to the Department of International Affairs, he established ANC branches in Southern Natal and the Southern Free State.

He serves on the ANC's Interim Leadership Committee and enjoys support on the ground.

BARBARA MASEKELA

Sister of popular jazz player Hugh, she heads the ANC's Department of Arts and Culture. She is an efficient operator and close to the Mandela family.

JOEL NETSHITENJE
(alias PETER MAYIBUYE)

Head of the Mayibuye Unit for the Department of Information and Publicity, this former exile is chairman of the ANC Northern Transvaal region, an SACP member and a member of the Natal working group on violence. In his late 30s, he has growing popular-

ity among the youth and is |

believed to hold a disciplined

hardline position. He was educat- 1

ed in Moscow.

STEVE TSHWETE

Head of Organisation and Sport, an SACP member and a member of the ANC's PWV branch, Mr Tshwete will make it on to the NEC although he has become highly unpopular among the hardliners because of what is seen as his compromising sport negotiations.

HARRY GWALA

This 71-year-old ANC veteran is the chairman of the Natal Midlands region and is extremely popular throughout Natal.

Mr Gwala, who made a name for himself for his work in the unions, is known for his militaristic, hardline views in the SACP and is particularly popular among the youth. Although his age and health might count against him, he is being encouraged to stand.

RAYMOND SUTTNER

Head of the ANC's Department of Political Education, Mr Suttner, 46, is a former law lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand.

He has much support in the

A

.POPO MOLEFE

PWV region among hardliners. He writes a number of Mr Mandela's speeches and is known to be a disciplined and hard worker but he may fall victim to Africanist sentiments among some of the delegates.

JACKIEMOLEFE

At present on the NEC as MK chief of communications, she is a member of the Political Military Council and a former exile.

BLADENZIMANDE

A member of the regional executive committee in the Natal Midlands and an intellectual who lectures at the University of Natal, Maritzburg. His views are

not divergent from those of Mr Gwala.

THENJIWE MTINTSO
ThisMK commander and chief

â\200\224~ANC'â\200\231s candidates for
16/06/'F)

CYRIL RAMAPHOSA

representative in Uganda was a former Biko associate and a Daily Dispatch journalist. She recently returned from exile and her support base lies among the youth and exiles who regard her as an astute politician. She is in her late 30s and was educated in the Transkei.

JEFF RADEBE

A former Robben Islander and vice-chairman of the Southern Natal region. Although not high profile, he is said to be gaining considerable ground. He is a former attorney.

ALFRED NZO

At present the ANCâ\200\231s secretary-general, he will lose this position to union boss Mr Ramaphosa. His inclusion on the working committee will be by the skin of his teeth.

power-

ARNOLD STOFIE

Mr Nzo has become increasingly unpopular among the hardliners who not only disagree with his moderate and compromising position, but also consider him incompetent at his job.

AZIZ PAHAD

Like Mr Nzo, Mr Pahad will get on to the working committee despite opposition to his re-election by hardliners within the PWV region. This congenial man has been part of the ANCâ\200\231s negotiating team and his unpopularity stems from the perception that too much has been given away in negotia-

tions, leaving the ANC in a weak position.

Mr Pahad, in his mid-50s, has support from the Indian community. He has been the ANC's chief representative in Europe and Britain.

GERTRUDE SHOPE

Head of the ANC Women's League, this strong woman is a member of the SACP, holds a position on the NEC and is a member of the ANC's PWV region. She won a bitter fight for the presidency of the Women's League against Winnie Mandela.

Born in 1925 in Johannesburg, Mrs Shope left the country in 1966 and became head of the ANC women's section. She was elected to the NEC in 1981.

RAYMOND MHLABA

- Born in the Eastern Cape in 1920, Mr Mhlaba was commander-in-chief of MK from 1962 to 1963. He is a member of the ANC internal leadership group and is chairman of the SACP internal leadership group. H

Although his age counts heavily against him, he is one of the few old guard expected to get on to the working committee because of his great popularity in the Eastern Cape. i

Others named as outsiders for the working committee include Mahommed Valli Moosa, Mathew * Poswa, Geraldine Fraser Joe : Modise, Mzwai Piliso, Dullah Omar and Thomas Nkobi. It is ; also likely there will be a attempt to ensure a Western Cape presence. Names here include Cheryl Carolus, Trevor Manuel, Reg September and even Allan Boesak. |

selling Paris yesterda

WHAT a contrast between the
triumphant welcome Paris gave
Mr Nelson Mandela a year ago
and his visit here last week.
Then, with the Eiffel Tower as
a backdrop and a hundred strings

playing Nkosi Sikelelâ\200\231 iAfrika,

Mr and Mrs Mandela strode re-
gally across Trocadero Square to
greet President and Mrs Mitter-
rand, with television transmitting
every act of this political ceremo-
ny.

-making came together. It was an
apotheosis.

Last weekâ\200\231s visit was infinitely
more low profile and made little
impact. Has the wheel of fortune
turned, the Mandela magic
faded?

Not really â\200\224 the ANC leader,
draped in dignity, charming when
not charismatic, was, after all, on
a private visit.

Tribute

He did see President Mitter-
rand, new Prime Minister Mrs
Edith Cresson, as well as Foreign
Minister Roland Dumas, who ac-
commodated him in his official
| guest residence. (A caller who in-
quired after Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s health
was invited over; he turned out to
be none other than the South Afri-
can ambassador to France, Mr
Mare Burger, which possibly sur-
prised some).

So Mr Mandela was made to
feel welcome in France, which in
recent years has gone out of its
way to show support for the ANC.

DESMOND COLBORNE reflects on

Nelson Mandela's return to Paris after a

5

year's absence. But /Ã@z:z:

Showbiz and political myth-

To those who heard him, Mr Mandela's message was unchanged. He called for sanctions to be maintained. He criticised Europe for dropping them and thanked the United States for retaining them.

He justified state participation in the economy and blamed the violence in South Africa on death squads and elements in the state security apparatus.

But, all in all, he seems to have drawn little response from the French. Did the 'no comment' 235

official reaction 'no statements

were issued' mean they were turning a deaf ear to Mr Mandela? In any case, they seemed more responsive to his personality than his ideas, now less relevant than before.

Media coverage, despite interviews in the newspaper Liberation and the 5th TV channel, was limited. The most ringing public tribute was paid not to Mr Mandela but to President De Klerk.

Speaking on France's best known political programme on the 1st TV channel, opposition leader and presidential hopeful Mr Francois Leotard said: 'Bravo De Klerk' he deserves a Nobel Peace Prize more than Gorbachev. Sanctions must go.' 235

To many French observers

across the political spectrum, sanctions are yesterday's issue. They want to know more about what's going on in the ANC, what

its views are and how these are

evolving. Mrs Winnie Mandela's case was widely covered here, as elsewhere. -

In the words of Le Monde, France's most influential newspaper, she is a 'fallen idol' who made her husband's position

more fragile.

Then Breyten Breytenbach, who is revered by the French (they take writers seriously, particularly those who have suffered for their convictions) recently made public his irritation with the ANC.

Speaking as an ANC sympathiser, he criticised its Stalinistic culture, arrogance and incompetence. It was paralysed, he said, by internal conflicts.

Many French observers look to Mr Mandela to resolve these conflicts, tame some of his wilder militants and bring them down to earth, back to the world of international and, particularly, African realities.

Afro-pessimism and the deepening African crisis have caused some commentators here, as elsewhere in Europe, to plead for

V'S news

a new colonialism. This need hardly be taken seriously, but it is a sign of how bad things look in Africa. (Mr Mandela, for his part, still blames colonialism for Africa's problems.)

Meanwhile, the French are adopting an aid on conditions approach, tying their assistance to the capacity of African nations to democratise their political systems and make their economies more efficient and market-oriented.

In this context, South Africa is increasingly seen as a locomotive for relaunching economies in its region. But it is a locomotive that needs outside fuel to function more effectively.

Role

This message was amplified by another South African in Paris last week, Mr Gavin Relly of Anglo American and honorary president of the South Africa Foundation, who came here fresh from having inaugurated the soda ash plant in Botswana which will service regional needs.

But while stressing South Afri-

caâ\200\231s regional role, Mr Relly, who
met a cross-section of French
business leaders and economic
journalists, said South Africa
could do a lot regionally, but too
much should not be expected of it.

Â® Desmond Colborne is the
South Africa Foundationâ\200\231s
Paris director.

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â\200\230commie plot

THE Communist Party in Natal could be gearing itself up to grab key posts in the African National Congress. ;

In a surprising move this week, the southern Natal region nominated hard-line marxist Harry Gwala, the fiery South African Communist Party stalwart and leader of the ANC in the Midlands, as its candidate for the post of ANC deputyâ\200\230-president. :

Concerned sources in the ANC this week expressed fears that Mr Gwalaâ\200\231s unexpected nomination might be a.SACP,co'nsspiracy to get its people into top positions in the hierachy. =~

Alteâ\200\230rnatively they said it could mean that militants â\200\230within the ANC were gaining control or that branches were dissatisfied with the way the current regional

;Al>T C fears a

preted the move as a regional protest over mainstream leadership. i i

â\200\234It probably is an indication of grassroots impatience with the progress made so far by the current regional leadership, and possibly: the way they are

handling the Inkatha issue,â\200\235 said a source.,

Mr Gwala, who is 71, was nominated for the position at a closed southern Natal regional conference last Sunday at the Mgababa Holiday resort on the South Coast.

Some of those present said that what had surprised many was the nomination of Mr Gwala ahead of Thabo Mbeki, the charismatic ANC foreign affairs

head, and Jacob Zuma, the intelligence chief credited with doing much to bring about talks between the ANC and Inkatha in Natal, Also surprising was the strength of support for Mr Gwala who apparently received more nominations than the combined total of those who voted for Mr Zuma and Mr Mbeki.

Sources said that had Mr Zuma not been nominated for the position of secretary-general, Mr Gwalaâ\200\231s nomination in Mr Zumaâ\200\231s backyard could have been seen as a slap in face for Mr Zuma and a vote of no-confidence in his leadership.

Although one senior ANC insider this week dis-

missed Mr Gwala's nomination as a regional storm in a teacup, he admitted it had sent shockwaves through the moderate camp.

The source said the general feeling among moderates was that the selection of a militant communist hardliner would not only damage the ANC's image, but would also send the wrong signals to the international community.

However, moderates were heartened by the nomination of Mr Zuma for the important position of secretary-general the engine of the movement. If elected he would be powerfully placed to push the moderate line.

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leadership was conducting business. Others even inter- |

N(osatu warns peace plans X

could be deraile

COSATU has warned
that continuing violence
against its members â\200\224 al-
legedly by Inkatha-sup-
â\200\230porting Uwusa trade

â\200\230union members â\200\224 could > people.

derail the National Peace |
/ Initiative and result in a
massive outbreak of un-:%

rest at factory floor level. i reign of

acts of intimidation and
violence by Uwusa and
Inkatha Freedom Party
members which had re-
sulted in the deaths of six

Cosatu deputy general
secretary Sam
said in a statement:

The ANC-aligned trade " conducted by vigilantes
union federation claimed\ associated ~ with

at a Johannesburg Press
conference that claimed
Uwusa â\200\224 the â\200\230United
. Workers Union of SA â\200\224
was behind a wave of at-
tacks on Cosatu support-
ers over the past four to
five weeks on the â\200\230East
Rand and in Northern
~ Natal. o : 2
A memorandum was is-
sued to members of the
Press detailing alleged

Inka-,
tha/Uwusaâ\200\235.

He said Cosatu de-
manded that Uwusa â\200\224 oy
creation of the security
policeâ\200\235 whose â\200\234only ex-
pertise lies in creating in-
dustrial violence and des-
tabilisationâ\200\235 â\200\224 be dis-
banded.

~ The statement further

warned â\200\234that the violence
will continue and escalate

Shilowagy
â\200\234ThisQ
terror has been ,

d by violence

â\200\230sive steps are not taken by
the SA Police to appre-
hend the perpetrators.. AL

Mr Shilowa said the
Press conference Was

S=
(Ncalled out of Cosatuâ\200\231s

concern that the violence
could jeopardise the Nat-
jonal Peace Initiative to
be signed in Johannes-
@ burg on September 14 by
Cosatu, Inkatha, â\200\230the
ANC and the govern-
ment, amongst others.

~ Cosatu found it difficult
to believe it was coin-
cidental that the curren
spate of violent attacks
had been launched â\200\234pre-
cisely at the moment Wâ\202⁷
are entering into a major
national peace initiativeâ\200\235.
â\200\224 Sapa. AR '

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if urgent and comprehen- s o - B
A z e T 51

LET me add my voice to the debate about the ANC Youth League's protest during the anti-Republic Day march on May 31.

I believe the ANC's statement that Comrades Sisulu and Slovo were unaware of the planned burnings of symbols of racism.

As for the ANC Youth League, all South African constitutions, past and present, have been illegitimate, even in the light of President De Klerk's utterances about a new South Africa. No premiers or presidents, including Mr De Klerk, have ever been representative of the SA population at large.

Meanwhile, Mr De Klerk remains unwilling to release all political prisoners, mocks the hunger strikers and ridicules the notion of a general amnesty for all of our exiles. All this, surely, warrants the peaceful action which the Youth League embarked on during Republic Day.

No reasonable South

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African can justly claim that the present flag is representative of the entire nation, with its symbolism of discrimination and enslavement of blacks. On the other hand, the security forces, government-sponsored vigilantes (white and black) and right-wingers have never had qualms about destroying ANC colours and detaining or otherwise victimising ANC supporters. The liberation movements are still subjected to vicious and untrue slander by the government, the media (notably the Sunday Times and the SABC), busi-

ness people and so on.
Reaction to that by the
liberal media and the public
has never been as hysterical
as the reaction to the Youth
League's action. The Young
Lions will not apologise, but
will rather proudly embark
again on

NC youth proud
burnings

action against the symbols
of oppression, discrimination
and exploitation until the
day that all South Africans
can decide who our government
and what our national symbols
shall be. CTL KHOHLOKOANE,
Cape Town.