

# MK 'involved in robberies to raise funds'

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## Gang with AK-47 robs bottlestore

Crime Reporter

A GANG of armed robbers held up a Newlands East, Durban, bottlestore and escaped with R25 000 in cash and took watches and jewellery from the manager and staff before making their getaway in a stolen car.

Police spokesman Capt Hamilton Ngidi said five black men confronted the staff at the bottlestore in Garrick Place at 6 20 p.m. One man was armed with an AK-47 rifle, another

with a shotgun, while three carried pistols.

They forced manager Leonard Buckley, 50, to hand over the cash and a pistol and also forced staff to hand over their jewellery.

The men then made their getaway in a car which had been stolen at gunpoint from a man in Kwa Mashu a few minutes earlier.

While fleeing they exchanged shots with a nearby shopkeeper, but nobody was injured.

JOHANNESBURG—The Southern African correspondent of Jane's Defence Weekly, Mr Helmut Romer-Heitmann, says members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), are involved in the recent wave of armed robberies in the country.

Mr Heitmann said in a radio interview the most important reason was to raise funds for MK's activities.

Mr Heitmann did not exclude the possibility that some MK members were acting independently to fill their own pockets.

Armed robberies were not likely to be welcomed by the ANC leadership, because they could undermine the organisation's image, he said.

Mr Heitmann said it was easy to bring AK-47 rifles into South Africa.

He pointed out that these weapons, which were predominantly being used for armed attacks, were readily available in Mozambique and it was practically impossible for the security forces to patrol South Africa's borders.

Some of the weapons had been in South Africa for some time, as they had been dumped by former MK members who had left the organisation.

When approached by the Mercury for commenting last night, ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu said: 'As a matter of policy, this would never be permitted by the African National Congress.'

'However, members of the ANC are also individuals and they may enhance their own interests.'

He said the only such case he was aware of had happened in Natal, where two members of the ANC had allegedly held up the SA Perm branch in Umzinto and robbed it of R40 000 last month.

'They (Press reports) spoke of high officials being involved. But they were not high officials — they were branch members,' said Mr Sisulu. — (Sapa)



# 1993, the year when apartheid will die

**Allister Sparks in Johannesburg looks forward with hope despite a grim 1992**

FOR South Africa, 1992 was a grim year in which more than 3,000 people died in political violence. A year in which talks broke down and massacres followed, crime boomed and the economy crashed, hope gave way to despair and trust to dirty tricks, and President F. W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela fell to cursing each other.

Yet, even as the year ends with threats of secession from Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and of race war from the Pan-Africanist Congress, there are signs of hope. Everything points to 1993 being the year of transformation, when real change will take place and South Africa will shift from white to black rule.

By mid-year, the National Party and the African National Congress will jointly be administering the country. By year's end, or March 1994 at the latest, the first one-person-one-vote elections will have been held, ushering in majority rule.

The paradox is that this hopeful prognosis grows directly out of the disasters of 1992, which shocked the two major parties into realising they had better work together or have nothing left to fight over.

This realisation began to dawn last September, when the year reached its nadir with the massacre of 29 ANC demonstrators who were gunned down by the Ciskei army as they marched on Bisho, the capital of that nominally independent black homeland.

The bloodbath shocked militants on both sides into pulling back from their headlong rush into confrontation. It discredited radicals within the ANC, who were threatening to dominate as the negotiations remained deadlocked and township violence escalated, and allowed Mandela and the other moderates to regain control over ANC strategy.

On the government side, it muted the hardliners in the Cabinet who had wanted the security forces to confront the ANC's 'mass action' demonstrations. Within two weeks Mandela and De Klerk held a crucial meeting which laid the foundations for a new impetus to co-operation.

Several other factors contributed to this changed political chemistry. One was the growing division in De Klerk's Cabinet between young Ministers, aware that most of their careers still lay ahead in a system where black voters would be the majority, and an old guard set in its ways and intent on justifying the past.

The young Ministers began questioning the National Party's strategy of trying to defeat the ANC at the polls by building an alliance with Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party and other homeland groups. To them, this seemed unlikely to succeed, given the ANC's overwhelming dominance in the opinion polls, compared with Buthelezi's 8-10 per cent showing and the negligible support for the other homeland leaders. Moreover, it looked like playing yesterday's politics in a way that would hurt their own career prospects. They began pushing Buthelezi and form a coalition with the sure winners instead.

Fortuitously, this coincided with some hard thinking in the ANC, where the realisation was growing that while it could win political power, its ability to govern could be paralysed by a recalcitrant civil service, army and police force. Rather than risk this, why not offer the National Party a temporary coalition deal?

The proposal caused a brief spat in the ANC, but was eventually endorsed by the national executive. It played into the hands of the young Ministers just as Bisho was tilting the balance of power in the Cabinet in their favour.

Two other factors did the same. Derek Keys, the technocrat Finance Minister, gave political leaders a doomsday briefing on the outlook if South Africa did not halt its steep economic decline and boost its growth rate to match that of its population. Mandela, in particular, was alarmed, and there has been no further talk of nationalisation from the ANC.

At the same time, the ANC's negotiating committee published a document on 'regionalism', showing its position to be far less centralist than was

thought, and not too distant from the National Party's federalist ideas.

So the scene was set for a convergence of the moderates. The Mandela-De Klerk meeting was followed by two months of talks between the Constitutional Affairs Minister, Roelf Meyer, and the ANC's secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa.

Meyer is the National Party's leading young moderate, and Ramaphosa, who came to politics from the trade union movement, is South Africa's most experienced black negotiator. During their long sessions together the broad outline of a deal was agreed.

Early in December, two teams, each 20-strong and headed by Meyer and Ramaphosa, met for five days in a secret bush resort in the northern Transvaal and reached a series of agreements. Another series of meetings will start on 20 January, one week before De Klerk opens what will almost certainly be the last session of the white-dominated parliament. Soon afterwards, probably in February, the constitutional convention, Codesa, is likely to be reconvened to ratify the informal National Party/ANC accords.

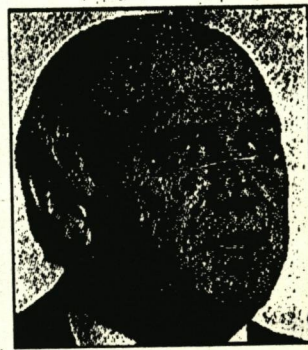
Some of the smaller parties, in particular the Inkatha Freedom Party, are expected to protest and may threaten to walk out, but if they do the deal will still go ahead.

Strenuous efforts will be made to include them, especially Inkatha, and meetings are scheduled for early January between the National Party and Inkatha and between Mandela and Buthelezi. But the critical decisions have been reached between the major players and Buthelezi will be told he has no power of veto.

The new Codesa will announce details of a Transitional Executive Council, which will run the country until the election. It will probably consist of equal numbers of ANC and National Party members, with some from the smaller parties, and will prepare for the elections. The Cabinet will remain in office, but only nominally, to give legal effect to Transitional Executive Council's decisions.

The election, which the ANC wants this year but the National Party says may take a little longer, will be for a Constituent Assembly to draft the new constitution. The assembly will double as an interim parliament,

and an interim government of national unity will take over until the constitution is agreed upon. Then a new South Africa will be born.



De Klerk: Moderate win.



# Row over Bush group's ANC talks

*Daily News 3/1/91*  
Foreign Service

NEW YORK: A 17-day health mission by two senior Bush administration officials to eight African nations, including South Africa, has got off to a controversial start with the disclosure that the top-level group plans to have talks with the African National Congress but with no other black or non-government groups in South Africa.

The delegation is headed by Secretary of Health Louis Sullivan, a member of the Bush Cabinet, and Ronald Roskens, head of the US Agency for International Development.

Although the mission has no political objectives, it is the first Cabinet-level group to visit South Africa since visits by the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Herman Cohen, and the President has given it top priority.

Bush announced at the United Nations World Summit for Children in New York on September 30 that he would send Sullivan and

Roskens to Africa to help determine what "America can do to advance child survival across that continent and across the world".

They will administer an estimated \$80 million (R200 million) for child survival and health-related activities in Africa, including Aids and its devastating effect on mothers and children, plus the same estimated amount for family planning activities.

It is the kind of American assistance from which South Africa has been excluded in the past.

Some observers say the visit is clouded by plans, agreed to by South African Government officials in Pretoria and the US Embassy there, for the group to hold official talks with Nelson Mandela and other ANC leaders without seeing members of other black, coloured or Indian communities.

"The problems they are address-

ing are universal ones," said one South African source, "and they should address them equally in all communities. One can only assume that the disclosure here that they are to have talks with the ANC is intended to make their overall visit to South Africa more palatable in the US."

Another criticism expressed of the visit, which otherwise has been warmly welcomed, is that by agreeing to meet the ANC (after initial talks with senior South African Government officials) the delegation might be seen to be signalling a future course of US diplomacy: to recognise the ANC as the main or sole organisation representing South African blacks.

"It is a pity that what is a humanitarian mission should be tarnished in this way," said a diplomatic spokesman.

The mission will be in Johannesburg and Pretoria on January 13 and 14 and in Cape Town on January 14 and 15.



## COMMENT &amp; OPINION

# Nauseating humbug

Diakonia's Paddy Kearney last week had much to say about Mercedes Benz cars allocated to KwaZulu Government Cabinet Ministers. The money spent on cars should rather be spent to combat poverty suffered by "homeland residents."

Not a surprising statement to come from Diakonia, a sort of left-wing political grouping dressed up as a "inter-church

help agency", to use the description given to it by an obedient servant in the media.

As usual Diakonia's morality is selective. Have you heard Mr Kearney protesting of late about the profligacy in the Transkei? That "state's" military dictator runs a whole independent army. What does he need it for? To keep himself in power, perhaps?

Why does Mr Kearney not suggest that all that money wasted on guns in the Transkei be spent to uplift the poor? Is it perhaps because it is the "homeland" of one of Kearney's political heroes?

And when the Transkei's military dictator arranged for the ANC's AK47-toting Chris Hani to fly around in a military

helicopter worth millions and millions of rands, did Kearney raise his voice in protest and suggest that the money rather be spent on education, development, social upliftment and health?

And now that Messrs Thambo and Mandela are being feted in the same independent country, has Mr Kearney suggested that the money might be better spent on

helping the poor? If he has, he must have done so very privately.

If there is one movement that has done more than most to halt apartheid in its tracks, it is Inkatha. Even Mr Mandela himself had the good grace to publicly accept this fact. Far from helping the government carry "out its grand apartheid designs", as the writer of the Kearney article put

it, KwaZulu and Inkatha effectively blocked apartheid.

KwaZulu was punished financially by the South African Government because it refused to play along with Pretoria. Transkei was allocated far more money from the central treasury because it was Pretoria's handmaiden.

For more than a century successive white administrations have deliberately kept that part of KwaZulu which whites choose to call "Zululand", undeveloped to suit their own selfish economic needs.

That cannot and will not be allowed to continue, no matter what political system is ultimately accepted by all South Africans.

As we see it, the KwaZulu administration has sought to redress that economic imbalance within the limits imposed by funds allocated by the central treasury.

Yet, what thanks does KwaZulu get for fighting and halting apartheid? Instead, it gets kicked in the teeth by agencies like Diakonia. Kearney's humbug and arrogance is nauseating.

## Call to Afrikaners

KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party President, Dr M G Buthelezi, has made a call to Afrikaners to rise to meet the demands being made upon them by history. The call, an edited version of which is printed below, is marked by a generosity of spirit for which Zulu leaders have been known since before the days of King Shaka.

I want at this closing time of 1990 to extend a particular hand of friendship to South Africa's Afrikaners. I want to say that Blacks are becoming proud of a State President who has risen out of the Afrikaner folk to head South Africa into a democratic future. We are proud of the support that Whites are giving him. We are at last

witnessing the emergence of White decency in politics which so many of us always knew was there.

The God-fearing decency that Afrikaners have aspired to can now be theirs for the taking because they are turning their backs on racism born of fear. They are recognising their dependence on Blacks and they are recognising that the interdependence in which White dependence on Black is reciprocated by Black dependence on White, provides a powerful mould for democratic safeguards.

We cannot un-write history and the democracy we must establish will have to start where the history of con-

quest and subjugation left off and where apartheid was abandoned. We will have to start where we now are. We have no other starting point. This is where we are. Let us go forth into 1991 with a mission to make strong and to make steady the springboard from which we will have to launch into a new democracy.

Let us make 1991 a year in which we as Blacks and Whites together secure it as a year in which all our children and the generations to come recognise as a year in which political justice and courage, both from Black and White, laid the foundations for democracy that could never be shaken.

Let us make 1991 a year of reaching out to

each other across racial divisions. Let the Afrikaners enter 1991 relying on God to lead them safely through this time of difficult transition. They must let God speak to South Africa and the world through their actions. They must help establish Christian faith as an essential ingredient of the democracy that a Christian country will rely on.

Afrikaners are privileged at this time of South Africa's history. They live under the searching international spotlights which will shine upon every decent deed. The whole world is poised to rally behind every decent, democratic act the Afrikaners can make. Let them move with certainty and let them dispel the

doubts that exist amongst some Blacks that they cannot do so.

Above all, let the Afrikaners show the world that they can assist in putting a democracy together in which democratic victories can be turned into victories from which Afrikaners and Whites generally can go forth with Blacks to do battle against what really is the common enemy — poverty, ignorance and disease.

Let us have a victory in South Africa which enables us to do that which others have failed to do in Africa. Let us go forth into the world of politics and economics where no African country has been before. Let us pioneer new attacks on poverty which were born in the way we put a democracy together. Let us act now for the sake of the future.

To Afrikaners of right-wing persuasion who want to seek refuge in that which so patently failed everywhere in the world, I say please come in from the cold. Minority government has never worked anywhere in the world. It will not work in South Africa. The interdependence of Black and White makes it imperative that we have an integrated political system.

Let me add the thought that if the principles of democracy will not suffice to secure White interests in a non-racial, open democracy, they will not suffice to secure Afrikaner interests in a closed Afrikaner society. There is only grief ahead for those who seek division for fear of democracy.

There is a vast South African throng coming together and moving forward to march into the future. We can do it. We can put a democracy together that works. We can put a democracy together which stabilises South Africa because it establishes the circumstances in which the mortal enemy of democracy — spreading mass poverty — is trounced.

Let the Afrikaners' moral fibre and let his yearning for Christian Godliness now rise to help him to participate in moving away from apartheid in such a way that every race group in this country ends up being governed in the way that they are willing to be governed.



16/1/11

# Clash looms between Bop and the ANC

Sowetan 3/01/91

THE African National Congress and the Bophuthatswana government are headed for a confrontation over deportation of activists, the ANC has said.

Mmabatho ANC branch chairman Job Mokgoro yesterday said the refusal by the University of Bophuthatswana council to oppose the deportation of lecturer Mr Paul Daphney would almost certainly lead to the collapse of examinations set for this and next month.

He said a summit meeting of the ANC, at national level, would be held to consider mass action against the homeland government's "repressive" actions. Daphney is Mmabatho ANC branch secretary. Also deported was Dr

David Green, another ANC activist and a medic at a Mmabatho hospital.

Referring to the case of Daphney, Mokgoro said the Union of Democratic University Staff Association would certainly go ahead with the threat to call for the withdrawal of internal and external invigilators, a move Mokgoro said would automatically lead to the collapse of the examinations.

## Reply

In a written reply to an earlier Uduza demand that Unibo keep Daphney on its payroll despite the deportation order, Vice-Chancellor Professor R Malope said: "While it (deportation) causes the university occasional difficulty it is not in my view a situation which we expect to effectively oppose".

Concerning the future position of Daphney, Malope said: "I assure you... we shall fulfil our obligations completely and sympathetically so long as he is employed by the university.

"However, if at a subsequent time we are denied his services the university is rightly constrained to act lawfully in its employment procedure and we would be obliged to follow that requirement in this case".

Mokgoro said the professor's reply implied the university council was "encouraging" the deportation.

In the case of Green, Mokgoro said ANC structures such as the National Education and Health Workers Union would be called in to assist in preserving the homeland. - Sapa.



16/1/11

CITIZEN 3/1/11

## Advice to Chris Hani

SO Chris Hani, the military leader of the "phantom army" of the ANC-SACP unholy alliance, judged the mood of the consultative conference held near Soweto on Sunday, December 16 as "certainly a mood of militancy. It's the mood of the fighting people, a people that are very impatient."

I say to this loud-mouthed braggart: "Your bomb throwers and limpet mine planters who attack only civilian soft targets have already been soundly beaten by the forces of Zulu military power. If you cannot beat the Zulu forces, who are only armed with traditional weapons, how can you ever face the forces of law and order, which in world military circles are one of the world's most sophisticated anti-insurgency forces, second only to that of Israel! Don't chance your arm."

The African National Congress as constituted today has its power base

not inside South Africa, but in its traditional homeland, Transkei. That is from where Hani operates militarily. If it was not for the power of the White settlers in the eastern frontier of the Cape in the 1820s, when the forces of Shaka the Zulu warrior king crossed into Xhosa land during the period of the first Mfecane, then surely the Xhosa nation would have been eaten up just like all other Black tribes.

My advice to Mr Chris Hani and his fighting people is, "Stay inside the protected ring of negotiations offered by the legal government of the Republic of South Africa. Forget your militant mood, mass mobilisation and mass action, and accept that your organisation is but only one of the many other racial groups who will determine the future course of this, the most powerful military and economic country in a dying Black Africa."

Within what these

braggarts call "the regime", these people have prospered and developed as no other Black nation in Africa during the past 150 years. Destroy this "regime" and replace it by an ANC/SACP so-called "people's democracy", and you will have chaos, misery and starvation which will in no time change this beautiful and bountiful country into yet another beggar nation.

We, the silent White and Black majority will not allow Hani and his cohorts to destroy that which took centuries to achieve. Come the day that they put their idle threats into practice, that day they will have to deal with the anger of this all-powerful bloc.

This bloc consists of people who will not bend the knee to the power of barbarism. If we have to fight to preserve that which has been built-up over the centuries, then I say "so be it."

W KNOESEN

Graskop



16/1/11

## US medical visit off to bad start over talks with ANC

NEW YORK: A 17-day mission by two senior Bush Administration officials to eight African nations, including South Africa, to combat the health problems of millions of children, has got off to a controversial start with the disclosure that the top-level group plans to have talks with the African National Congress but with no other black or non-government groups in South Africa.

The delegation is headed by Secretary of Health Mr Louis Sullivan, who is a member of the Bush Cabinet, and Dr Ronald Roskens, who is head of the US Agency for International Development.

Although the mission

### Daily News Foreign Service

has no political objectives, it is the first Cabinet-level group to visit South Africa since the recent visits by the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Mr Herman Cohen, and Mr Bush has given it top government priority.

Mr Bush announced at the United Nations World Summit for Children in New York on September 30 that he would send Mr Sullivan and Mr Roskens to Africa to help determine what "America can do to advance child survival across that continent and across the world".

They will administer

an estimated \$80 million for child survival and health-related activities in Africa, and \$80 million for family planning.

Other criticism expressed of the visit, which otherwise is warmly welcomed, is that by agreeing to meet the ANC (after initial talks with senior South African Government officials), the delegation might be seen to be signalling a future course of US diplomacy — to recognise the ANC as the main or sole organisation representing South African blacks.

However, a spokesman at Mr Sullivan's Washington office said: "There just isn't enough time for Mr Sullivan and Dr Roskens to see everyone."



# WHO'S WOOLING WHO?

New Nation  
3 Jan 91  
1/3/91

## The battle for the

**A**s the battle for the middle ground in the build-up to crucial constitutional talks gains momentum, wavering homeland leaders are increasingly making their positions clear as to where they may be seated at the negotiating table.

And hidden agendas are rapidly unfolding to reveal a series of sophisticated moves on the part of government to secure the support of leaders in the homelands and Indian and coloured parliaments.

The most recent was this week's meeting between the National Party on the one hand and leaders of self-governing homelands and Indian and coloured parliaments on the other.

At the end of the meeting, there were clear signs that an alliance of sorts was beginning to emerge after months of lobbying by the government.

But the battle is not only being fought at a political level. Reports in the past week suggest that the government may even have a military agenda and that the coups in Ciskei and Venda may have been engineered by the security establishment.

Despite the past week's reports on the Ciskei and the decision by homeland leaders to formulate a joint plan with the government to launch a multi-party conference, the ANC does not believe it has lost the contest for the middle ground.

The involvement of homeland leaders in the agreement on the multi-party conference is "another case of classic vacillating politics", says ANC national executive committee member Aziz Pahad.

"Clearly they are hedging their bets and will ultimately throw in their lot with the side that enjoys the decisive support of the people."

If, however, the agreement is interpreted as a clear signal that homeland leaders have chosen sides, it has very serious implications for the ANC and could lay the basis for the emergence of a conservative, non-racial alliance against it.

### ELECTORAL POLITICS

While the implications may not be immediately apparent, it could impact heavily when the struggle enters the crucial stage of electoral politics.

It is therefore crucial that the democratic movement establishes exactly where the homeland leaders will direct their support.

Pahad, however, points out that the shift in the position of homeland leaders does not in any way reflect the direction in which mass support will move.

"This remains and will continue

to be the terrain of the democratic movement," he says.

He cautions, however, that the ANC would be committing a fatal mistake if it remained complacent and sat back without mobilising the rural population around policy issues.

Close to 15 million people, or more than 51 percent of the country's African population, is based in the 10 homelands, and the ANC cannot afford to ignore this base.

Pahad warns that the illusion that government will be able to knock together a super-alliance of conservatives will become a reality unless work among the masses is intensified. The degree of pressure brought to bear on the homeland leaders is a direct function of the extent of mass mobilisation in the homelands.

It is instructive, in this regard, that Hudson Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu began adopting open public positions in favour of a federal South African state and regional government as soon as mass resistance in the homeland tapered off.

Pahad concedes that the ANC let up on mass mobilisation in the rural areas. But this was not by design, he says, and it should be obvious to all that "mass action is the oxygen of the organisation".

He reiterated earlier comments following the Ciskei coup in April last year that "if the ANC is able to establish structures in the homelands without delay, we will have made a remarkable psychological and political breakthrough".

He added at the time that, if "people's resistance can be harnessed into grassroots organisation, the possibility exists that the whole of the Eastern Cape would be transformed into an area of liberation".

Despite reports that the SA security apparatus, and not Ciskei military leader Oupa Gqozo, was in control of the homeland, Pahad believes the potential for realising the objective still exists.

### STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES

He cautions, however, that, in its attempts to win the middle ground, the ANC should not lose direction of its strategic objectives. Compromises will be made, but not on the ANC's core objectives.

He cites a comment by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela that the organisation will not act as a shelter for unpopular leaders and that homeland governments must resolve conflicts with the people before coming to the ANC. Pahad points out that the organisation





**WINNING FRIENDS:** (Top) Nelson Mandela and Ciskei leader Oupa Gqozo outside Ciskei State House. (Above) Foreign Affairs minister Pik Botha and Bophuthatswana head Lucas Mangope sign an agreement.

## middleground

needs to adopt a two-pronged approach in winning over the homeland leaders. While mass mobilisation in the rural areas must not be neglected, homeland leaders must be engaged if they show any signs of wanting to come into the fold of the democratic movement, he says.

Pahad says homeland leaders embarking on programmes that do not have popular support will rapidly isolate themselves. He cites the example of massive opposition to Gqozo's continued rule in Ciskei.

### CIVIL SERVANTS' STRIKE

The embattled Ciskei government last week moved to talk to its striking civil servants, just as a rift opened up with the territory's chiefs.

Strikers brought the Ciskei government to a complete halt as the unrest spread to include postal workers, employees of a number of parastatals, and even hospitals.

Workers initially demanded higher wages, but soon included a demand for Gqozo's resignation. Relations with the region's chiefs were also said to be tense.

Almost two weeks ago, Paramount Chief Maxhoba Sandile, the most senior chief in the region, was arrested and brought to Gqozo after publicly criticising the announcement by

Pik Botha that the Ciskei would get a new constitution.

Sandile said the announcement, which has been widely seen as a move by Pretoria to assert its authority over its problematic homeland, had been made without consultation with Ciskeims.

Sandile spent four hours with Gqozo, and was then released. The Ciskei denied he had been arrested, and said he had merely been escorted to the meeting by police.

Gqozo then announced he would dismiss all appointed chiefs at the end of the month.

But, without sustained organisational work to direct militancy now sweeping through Ciskei, there is always the danger that homeland leaders can continue pursuing their unpopular agendas and the South African government its strategy.

Pahad says the democratic movement needs to examine the government's super-alliance strategy very carefully. This is no longer a secret and it is clear that the government is determined to construct a non-racial, conservative alliance.

If the ANC is to win at the polls, it will have to respond in a way that ensures that a conservative alliance remains narrow and enjoys minimal support.

"We must adopt a strategy which

allows us to rob the government of the opportunity to draw on the support of the homeland structures," an ANC activist said at the height of unrest in the rural areas.

With noticeable shifts taking place in the positions of homeland leaders, the question must be asked — has such a strategy been developed.

Pahad says much strategic thinking remains to be done around these issues.

In the meantime, there has been little or no contact between the ANC and homeland leaders in recent months.

### MANGOPE TURNED DOWN

Recently Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope tried to use the opportunity provided by last weekend's funeral of ANC member Bachana Mokwana to meet with the organisation's leaders. But he was turned down, and, justifiably so, given a number of unresolved conflicts between the homeland government and the people in the region.

But what of contact with other leaders? On the surface there seems to be no reason why the process that started last year, when the ANC appeared to have won over a number of homeland leaders, did not continue.

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Nation

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