

DP MPs' suspension may force party split

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—A split in the Democratic Party next week seems certain following an ANC claim that the four MPs suspended from the party caucus had "expressed their personal desire to strengthen their links with the ANC".

The organisation said in a statement it had been "mutually agreed" that the matter would be the subject of future discussions.

The suspended MPs could be joined by DP chief whip Dave Dalling, who may force his own suspension if they are not reinstated after next Thursday's caucus meeting.

However, speculation that the four — Rob Haswell (Pietermaritzburg South MP), Pierre Cronje (Greytown), Jan van Eck (Claremont) and Jannie Momberg (Simons-town) — could begin sitting as ANC MPs next week, was dismissed as "premature" by a number of sources.

The organisation is not registered as a political party.

Central to DP leader Zach de Beer's decision to suspend four of the seven MPs who met the ANC leadership in Johannesburg on Monday, was the fact that they were apparently considering joining the ANC. This was why they had been suspended pending an inquiry, and not expelled, he said.

Dr de Beer said yesterday that if the men could satisfy himself and their DP colleagues that they had not been contemplating membership of the ANC, the suspension would be lifted.

Three of the four MPs claim they were not informed by Dr de Beer of his decision. Mr Cronje said yesterday he may have expected some reaction "after going to Dakar to speak to the ANC years ago ... but to have this now comes as quite a surprise".

Dr de Beer's move was, however, supported by two of the other MPs who met with the ANC. Both Umhlanga MP Kobus Jordaan and indirectly elected MP Andre de Wet, from East London, yesterday backed the decision to suspend the four.

Black indaba on violence

LEADERS of all black political formations, including the leadership of the homelands, have been invited to an emergency summit on violence to be held in Johannesburg on Wednesday under the auspices of the SA Council of Churches.

The letter of invitation, being sent out by SACC general secretary Dr Frank Chikane, on behalf of church leaders, says the summit is being called in response to the "alarming proportion as well as the persistence at which

political violence is growing in our country".

Invitations have gone to leadership of the homelands, political movements (including the ANC, IFP, PAC, Azapo and SACP) and unions (Cosatu and Nactu).

The summit will be under the joint chairmanship of Dr Khoza Mokojo, president of the SACC, Bishop Stanley Mogoba, vice-chairman of the executive committee, and Archbishop Desmond Tutu of Cape Town. — (Political Staff)

NATAL MERCURY
17-4-92

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Girl's claim against SADF won

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

A 17-YEAR-OLD girl, Patricia Lembethe, has won a damages claim in the Supreme Court here against the Minister of Defence for injuries she sustained when she was shot during an SADF operation in the Hillcrest area on June 16, 1990.

Mr Justice Galgut found yesterday that the probabilities were strong that Miss Lembethe was struck by a bullet fired by one of the national servicemen involved in the operation, and that the serviceman concerned acted negligently.

No order was made by the Court as to the amount of damages payable by the Minister of Defence. Mr Justice Galgut adjourned the case to enable legal representatives to negotiate a settlement.

The girl's father, Mr Paul Lembethe, had lodged a claim for R20 000.

In opposing the application, the SADF contended that shots were lawfully fired in the vicinity of the store in order to effect an arrest and denied Miss Lembethe was struck by these shots.

Good Friday

by Michael Cassidy

The fog lifts

NATAL WITNESS
17-04-92

IN South Africa generally and in many individual lives and families particularly, there is a pretty heavy fog-factor which complicates life. We just can't quite see where we're going. For some, the fog across the landscape of life goes further and obscures all shreds of meaning and purpose.

Once while down in Cape Town, I was reminded by the unfamiliar moan of a fog-horn of an incident which took place after the battle of Waterloo. A semaphore message was flashed from a signal ship to the mainland of England. The message began: "Wellington defeated..." and at that moment fog descended over the Channel. The message went like wildfire around England. Wellington had been defeated by Napoleon. Despair gripped every English heart. But then several hours later, the fog lifted, and the message continued: "Wellington defeated the enemy". In multiplied

thousands of hearts, despair was immediately transformed into joy, defeat into victory.

Good Friday

Some such experience took place in the lives of the followers of Jesus after the Resurrection. On Good Friday the signal read, "Jesus defeated". The Fog of Sin and Darkness came down. Disillusionment, despair and fear pervaded the lives of the little band.

But on Easter Sunday, the fog lifted, and the triumphant signal was flashed to a hopeless planet: "Jesus defeated the enemy". The last enemy, death, had been defeated, his limited hold exposed, and his supposed finality irreparably shattered. There was more to life. There was more to death. There was more to come. Beyond the grave was God. Suddenly, all reality took on new perspective. Man was seen to be in essence a spiritual being, the great amphibian between nature and supernature,

designed to live three-score years and ten with feet of clay in this vale of tears, and then destined for the stars, for immortality, and for another world through Jesus Christ our Lord.

After Easter

All this slowly dawned upon the unsuspecting and unbelieving minds of Jesus' disciples in the days following Easter. Nor did it happen simply and effortlessly. The Risen Jesus did not materialise out of subjective wish-fulfilment or overpowering mental expectation. Their mind-set was all in a different direction — the direction of disillusionment, despair and shattered morale. The Cross had been a terminus, a dead-end street. It had extinguished every flickering candle of faith and hope — so much so that first reports of the Resurrection were dismissed as "idle tales". Thomas refuses to believe, until he sees, handles and feels. The others on first seeing

their Risen Lord are "startled and frightened" and full of "questionings".

But slowly the momentous truth begins to break through. Their doubt, incredulity, perplexity and unbelief begin to crumble. "And He said to them, 'Why are you troubled, and why do questionings rise in your hearts? See my hands and my feet, that it is I myself, handle me and see; for a spirit has not flesh and bones as you see that I have.' And while they still disbelieved for joy and wondered, He said to them 'Have you anything here to eat?' They gave Him a piece of broiled fish, and He took it and ate before them." (Luke 24: 38-43).

Believe

Here the cul-de-sac of unbelief and scepticism are opened up. Here the cheap explanations of hallucination and subjective vision are irrevocably shattered. Here the modern philosophical reconstructions and evasions stand stripped in all their anaemia. Let us realise therefore that death and despair, and every other enemy of the life and soul of humankind have been defeated. For the fog has lifted. We are the people of Easter faith. And we will not be "faithless but believing". (John 20:27).

• Michael Cassidy is Director of Africa Enterprise.

No consensus on traditional leaders yet

JOHANNESBURG — The Daily Management Committee of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) last night described as incorrect reports that a sub-committee had agreed that traditional leaders, including Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, will become full delegates at the convention.

At the same time, the African National Congress and SA Communist Party also released statements saying the issue had not been finalised.

In a statement, DMC official Pravin Gordhan said the sub-committee had not yet completed its work as it was still receiving submissions on the issue.

"Recent reports attributed to the chairperson of the sub-committee that the sub-committee has reached tentative agreement on this matter are regrettably misleading and unfortunately anticipate the possible findings of the sub-committee," he said.

Gordhan pointed out that only Codesa's Management Committee is empowered to take a final decision on traditional leaders.

In its response, the ANC said it was not party to an agreement on the issue as announced earlier, as individuals serving on the sub-committee did not represent it, but were serving in their individual capacities. Furthermore, the ANC said it had not as yet pronounced itself on the matter.

SACP official Joe Slovo also disagreed that finality had been reached on the issue and said ANC president Nelson Mandela is still to present his viewpoint. — Sapa.

Suspects deny part in 'execution' killings

by CRAIG URQUHART

THREE suspects in the "execution" killing of two young policemen near Mpophomeni in January yesterday testified that while they were at the scene they played no role in the killings.

The men, Sibongiseni Buthelezi (26), Thulani Madlala (29) and John Zuma (32), appeared in the Howick magistrate's court in a bail application in connection with the deaths of Jacques Wilkensen and Wybrand Smit, whose bodies were found in the veld near the Bulwer road.

A fourth suspect, Bongani Buthelezi (29), in earlier testimony also denied involvement.

Sibongiseni Buthelezi, Madlala and Zuma yesterday testified that while they were occupants of the vehicle that picked up the two policemen on the N3 highway, they were

not involved in their deaths.

Sibongiseni Buthelezi said he had been asked by the driver, John Zondi, to accompany him to Mooi River on the night of the incident. He said two of the occupants of the vehicle pulled out firearms and ordered Zondi to drive to the stretch of veld near Mpophomeni. They then ordered Wilkensen and Smit to hand over their autoteller cash cards and reveal their PIN numbers. The men returned to the area after claiming they had been unable to withdraw any cash and the policemen were shot dead.

Madlala testified that he too was in the vehicle, but he played no part in the killings. He said he witnessed the shooting, but only from a distance and he could not accurately identify the policemen's killers.

Zuma said that he was at the scene, but he did not witness the shooting because he was busy turning his vehicle around at the time.

The men were remanded in custody until their next appearance on May 26.

NATAL WITNESS

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Mandela marriage 'flourishes apart'

Assistant editor KHABA MKHIZE throws in his ha'penny's worth to the screeds already written about the fate of the Mandela marriage.

SO many reams of copy have been produced discussing the fate of the marriage between Nelson Mandela and his wife. Little consideration has been taken to conserve ink, paper, celluloid film, time etc., since the big story is the shortest story in proportion to many pressing issues this country is undergoing. And one may be excused for thinking that the world is suffering a drought in news.

After Mandela made a public statement, which has been dubbed by some media as the "pain of parting", and explained "the separation will be a relief to the ANC", it seemed as most people were touched in a way that transcended political affiliation. Only a few sadists are still glossing over the parting of the ways.

Anyway, to me the story, as I have suggested, is very short. What the marriage has been anchored on ever since it was

born is the separateness that is today so hyperbolised. The marriage between the two is too literate in terms of compatibility. The marriage has not known togetherness for most of its existence — thanks to the National Party policies which could not then (30 years ago) foresee the concept of Codesa which Nelson Mandela and others had advocated.

In 1989 the Mass Democratic Movement issued a statement which contained this following sentence: "Had Stompie and his three colleagues not been abducted by Mrs Mandela's football team, he would have been alive today."

In a similar vein, I argue that had apartheid not been there the Mandela's matrimonial union would not have undergone the Stompie sagas and would have been healthy today.

To understand the psycho-political chemistry of the one that is subtly scorned today as the so-called Mother of the Nation, one must analyse her in the context of what apartheid does, and has done to many of our people in this coun-

try. I am not talking only of the oppressed, as we can see how members of the privileged class have been corrupted and converted into paid killers.

Apartheid sins continue to haunt God's people. If the justice machinery of this country finds her guilty of the Stompie debacle, I would then plead in mitigation on behalf of Mrs Mandela. "Surely apartheid and its cronies have hardened the woman and as such it should be treated as an extenuating circumstance."

When the MDM distanced itself from Winnie in 1989, I went on record saying these men should not have done so, basing my argument on the simple dictum: A comrade in need is a comrade indeed.

And today, after setting aside the Stompie tragedy to the courts, I challenge anyone under 80 who is a widow or widower for the past 27 years or a divorcee for the same period to swear that they could cope with their partners if they were to come back to them!

Once a marriage learns and graduates in enforced separateness, then it is better for that marriage to remain an unionised marriage that defies the promise to God at the altar — "till death do us part". In the case of the Mandela's it was "till apartheid do us part".

Anthony Harber was correct in his comment during *Agenda* this week when he questioned the media's overkill of the Winnie story. Besides the *Weekly Mail* and the alternative media as well as a very few mainline newspapers we are getting no progress reports about the Goldstone Commission.

In conclusion the marriage of the Mandelas flourishes well in separation and my bet rules out a divorce. Separation is tantamount to a boyfriend-girlfriend love affair. Distance between partners reinforces an affair and prevents the usual traffic that is capable of suffocating many dove-type marriages.

Violence and intimidation

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WITH South Africa now on course for an all-party interim government by the middle of the year, the two greatest threats to achieving the next goal — democratic elections based on a universal franchise — are violence and intimidation. Unless both can be brought under control there can be no hope of holding free elections.

Violence and intimidation are closely linked, but while the former is most frequently spoken about, intimidation is no less of a danger to the country's first-ever democratic elections. Intimidation is rampant in all sections of the community — now, mainly in the black townships, but also increasingly within the white community as the right-wing Afrikaner forces seek to impose their will, especially in the rural areas.

Intimidation is not confined only to the political parties, it is widely practised over a whole range of activities, eg. in some black schools by militant radicals, against township councillors serving in present local authorities; between competing civic groups seeking to establish their authority in townships and squatter camps; between workers when it comes to a question of strike action or competition for membership; on university campuses between rival students; frequently by the police; and notably, in some of the homelands.

It may be easier, in the end, to cope with political violence than with the less controllable forms of intimidation — especially now that it is becoming embedded in daily behaviour. However, no real progress can be made to counteract intimidation — especially at a time of elections — before political violence has been severely curbed.

One of the difficulties about ending violence is that there is no single cause or explanation for its high incidence. President de Klerk continues to repeat tirelessly that violence is the result of conflict between the predominantly black political parties and over black ethnic conflicts. This is a gross oversimplification of the problem. He should, by now, know better.

The reality is that the long years of apartheid have left the country with what can properly be described only as "a culture of violence". Its sources

are manifold. The easiest to identify are the violent incidents attributable to the conflicts between the Inkatha Freedom Party, the African National Congress and its ally, the powerful Congress of SA Trade Unions.

If this were the only source of violence, the problem of dealing with it would be relatively easy — relatively, that is, because it presupposes that the ANC and Inkatha leaders exercise effective control over their supporters. If this were

true, greater progress would have been made in implementing the Peace Accord which was signed by both the ANC and Inkatha, among others. There have been 1 500 casualties resulting from violence since the accord was signed last year.

When I recently spoke to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi he talked of a "culture of violence" which, he claimed, had reached the point where it was difficult for political leaders themselves to deal with it. He pointed to the fact that violent crime was endemic in kwaMashu, where over a million people live under wretched conditions, the great majority of them without work.

They thrive where they can, he said. A mafia type of leadership has grown up which, while sheltering behind political labels, are interested only in enriching themselves. Similar conditions exist in many of the black townships and squatter camps.

The wretched poor rob to sustain themselves, stealing from the less under-privileged members of their own communities, and, increasingly, from the more affluent whites in their salubrious suburbs. This has now reached a point where whites in the richer suburbs barricade themselves behind high walls, fortified by electronic devices, and employ the services of security firms — one of the fastest growing businesses in the country.

Violent crime cannot be separated from political violence because it creates an atmosphere of insecurity which conditions the climate under which rapid political change is occurring in the country. De Klerk's commitment to change is seen by many as the cause of violent crime.

This is unfair, but it is widely believed.

Among other major sources of political violence is the use of clandestine security forces. Clear evidence of the government's earlier policy of using special security units — the so-called Third Force — has been presented to commissions of inquiry. This shows that clandestinely-operated security teams have been responsible for killing activists and have engaged extensively in intimidation. It is now in the public domain that the government spent millions of rands building up and arming Inkatha's police and security teams, which have been shown to have been involved in many attacks on political activists and their passive supporters.

Now that the government has switched away from its policy of undermining the ANC and ceased its support for Inkatha, it seems likely that it may have lost control over the "Third Force", which is now possibly engaged in either supporting the extremist right-wing forces or in attempting to scupper the negotiat-



ing process under the guidance of senior security personnel hostile to the president's policies.

Vested interests in the emerging black entrepreneurial class, such as the lucrative transport sector, is another cause of violence through attacks on rivals, as exemplified by the "taxi wars".

The struggle for power within the under-administered townships has led to rival civic groups assassinating their opponents, as happened when one of the three rival civic groups in the Cape Peninsula ambushed and shot leaders of a respectable Hostel Dwellers' Association.

One of the great mysteries, with no arrests so far, is who is behind the vicious killings on commuter trains. There has been a steady increase of attacks on rail passengers since 1990, rising to 74 people being stabbed or thrown out of moving trains last March alone. Such indiscriminate killings appear to have no

rational explanation; nor is there any explanation why the police have failed to bring to trial any assailants. It is only natural, therefore, that suspicion should be voiced about police collusion. But what motives can there be, other than to promote destabilisation? One recent rumour is that a transport mafia is behind these gruesome attacks, their alleged purpose is to drive passengers off trains in favour of using private transport.

Natal witness

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However, the enormity of the problem of violence is to be found in the flood of arms in the country. There are now 3 274 335 licenced owners of arms in the country — almost entirely in the hands of whites, making an average of one gun for almost every white person. Last year, alone, 11 577 weapons were stolen, while 7 000 illegally held weapons were confiscated by the police. A new Weapons and Ammunition Law was recently passed requiring that new licences could only be issued to "responsible" citizens to be approved by a police commissioner.

This is hardly likely to begin to deal with the problem because of the easy access to illegal arms on a flourishing black market, where R500 can buy a modern automatic weapon like the AK 47. These have been brought into the country from neighbouring countries like Mozambique and Angola, and some, undoubtedly by dissidents in Umkhonto we Sizwe,

camps properly housed and living standards raised. This is one of the bitterest legacies of the apartheid era.

• Political analyst Colin Legum is a former South African now living in England.

Natal Witness

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the ANC's armed wing. A recent development has been the hiring out of automatic weapons for R50 a night.

There are now so many automatic weapons available on the black market at knock-down prices that an American gun trafficker recently admitted to a friend of mine that he had come to buy up weapons for shipment out of the country. One can only wish him, and many others, success in helping to deplete the country of as many weapons as possible.

The crucial question, then, is how at least the political violence can be stopped. Nelson Mandela recently proposed that the United Nations or some other independent agency should be brought in to supervise the security forces. This rather sounds like a council of despair since it is impossible to believe that the government is likely to accept foreign control over its security forces.

The government has made some important changes in restructuring the police force, establishing a code of conduct and creating a new attitude among the police. Many senior police officers are now visibly engaged in changing attitudes of police towards black people. It is a beginning; so is the decision to recruit another 75 000 policemen and to modernise their methods.

But important as these changes are, they do not begin to measure up to the size and urgency of the problem of violence. Is there an answer to this grave problem?

The only immediate answer is that the proposed interim government will be entrusted with the function of joint control over the security forces. It is only when the major political leaders are made jointly responsible for the operations and behaviour of the police and security forces that a level of trust can be established and measures agreed to put down violence. There is no other obvious solution.

However, even if it becomes possible to stem the level of political violence, the problem of criminal violence will remain — possibly for decades — until black unemployment can be brought down, the seven million or so inhabitants of squatter

ANC spells out demands for Codesa

THE ANC yesterday set out a list of 10 items on which it wanted agreement at Codesa II on May 15 and 16, but expressed concern at a news briefing that government "intransigence" threatened the possibility of progress.

Four members of the organisation's negotiating commission also disclosed at the briefing that a working group was already drafting an electoral law for the country's first nonracial election.

According to ANC national executive committee (NEC) member Mohamed Valli Moosa, the ANC's "shopping list" for Codesa II included agreements on:

- Establishment of an elected constitution-making body whose decisions could not be vetoed by any other body;
 - Mechanisms to ensure elections would be free and fair;
 - A general amnesty for exiles and political prisoners (as opposed to the temporary indemnity granted to exiles so far) as part of the creation of an appropriate climate;
 - The scrapping of all legislation impeding free political activity;
 - The passage of a general law guaranteeing basic civil rights to all during the transition — in effect, an interim bill of rights;
 - Assurances that the security forces would not interfere with free political activity.
- According to NEC member Mac Maharaj, this included joint multiparty

TIM COHEN
and ALAN FINE

control over the security forces;

- A moratorium on unilateral restructuring in the socio-economic, foreign relations, security and political spheres;
- Impartial control of state-owned media;
- Overall arrangements for the initial phase of an interim government; and
- The restoration of SA citizenship to the approximately 10-million citizens of the TBVC states to enable them to participate fully in the political process. An interim arrangement of dual citizenship would be acceptable.

Valli Moosa said government had been sending mixed signals on its willingness to accept anything more than advisory powers for non-NP groups during the first interim phase. In this it faced opposition from almost all other parties at Codesa.

The NP appeared unwilling to allow hands-on control of government functions by other groups. Further, the ANC believed strongly, at the very least, that an interim executive should have the authority to oversee decisions of the existing Cabinet.

Valli Moosa rejected government's claim that because its proposed preparatory councils would include government, it would naturally be obliged to enforce any agreements achieved.

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ANC demands

According to government's formulation, full consensus would be required, which the ANC believed would mean council decisions would be few and far between.

The NP's proposed terms of reference for the councils specified that they would debate actions the government should take in the future. They excluded immediate, hands-on control.

Valli Moosa said if government failed to move on the issue, this would block agreement at Codesa II, and the ANC would be forced to review its position in the negotiations. He declined to speculate on what options it would consider, but said ANC branches had been approached to discuss what the organisation should do.

Maharaj said government's "intransigence" appeared to be due to divisions in its own ranks, problems with elements in the security forces, and attempts to pursue both negotiations and electioneering.

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Valli Moosa said it appeared a conservative faction in the NP still held out hope and was looking for some device "to allow them to stay in power forever".

On other issues facing negotiations, ANC negotiators said they believed the PAC would soon join Codesa. "We believe they have no option. It's a question of time and face-saving," said Maharaj.

On the issue of the Zulu king's representation at Codesa, Maharaj said the subcommittee handling the issue had not finished its work, but there was agreement that the king could not be treated in a separate way from other traditional leaders.

Traditional leaders also agreed they should participate. But it was acknowledged that the king and paramount chiefs should not descend to the playing field itself. Traditional leaders below the rank of paramount chiefs should, however, find representation at Codesa, he said.

CAPE TOWN — The ANC would have to investigate the possibility of introducing anti-trust legislation to unbundle conglomerates, ANC economic policy unit's Patrick Ncube said yesterday.

He said most ANC economists had abandoned the proposal to nationalise industry except for utilities, such as Eskom and Telkom.

Ncube, a member of UCT's economic research unit, was addressing an Aiesec-organised conference on business in the new SA.

Ncube said the ANC was not opposed to "bigness" as such and recognised that large companies were necessary to achieve international competitiveness and for their research and development capabilities. However, anti-trust laws were necessary to democratise the economy.

Another measure of income redistribution would be to decentralise industry away from the PWV, Durban and Cape Town areas. Ncube said the ANC's proposed decentralisation drive would differ from past policies in that it would be focused on small business and the informal sector.

He foresaw an expanded role and increased funding for the Small Business Development Corporation.

Tax incentives would be given for labour intensive production but no incentives or tax holidays would be implemented to attract foreign investment. He said this would come naturally if the economy and prices were stable, the balance of payments favourable and there were no foreign exchange or price controls.

Economic policy would be aimed at price stability achieved through a minimum of deficit financing and money creation to keep inflation low. Incentives would be given for export orientated industries to maintain a healthy balance of payments. Ncube stressed that the ANC did not want to take from the rich to give to the poor, but would rely on economic growth to redistribute wealth.

Annual budgets would be formulated in terms of a three-year plan.

Ncube said the ANC envisaged a mixed economy where labour and capital would negotiate conditions of employment with the state intervening only when talks broke down. The need for strong trade unions and employer bodies was emphasised.

He said an ANC government would attempt to create a degree of security of employment not in outlawing retrenchment, but through the creation of a training fund, funded by the state, employers and unions.

An investment court to guide investors was also under discussion, Ncube said.

Ncube warned of the danger of macro-populism if government power was shared between the NP and the ANC, both keen to satisfy their constituencies. Overspending, high inflation, price, import and foreign exchange controls, balance of payments problems and a lack of investment would be the inevitable result of a coalition.

15-4-92

LETTERS

The Citizen PO Box 7712
Johannesburg 2000

Restructuring of Codesa necessary

THE secretariat of Codesa comprises of Mac Maharaj (ANC) and Fani van der Merwe (NP) — what a cosy ANC/NP arrangement!

The administration is run by Murphy Morobe (ANC). Mr Morobe has a nasty habit of censoring the mail! On at least one occasion he has been caught intercepting Mr Patrick Hlongwane's letter of application to address Codesa on the question of political prisoners.

Mr Hlongwane addressed his letter to the chairman, Zach de Beer, of the "Consensus at Codesa means agreement between the Nats and the

ANC" fame.

Mr Morobe told Mr Hlongwane that political prisoners did not appear on Codesa's agenda.

Codesa is our best shot at peace, but there is fundamental restructuring of Codesa that is necessary. Perhaps the Nats and the ANC/SACP alliance want a "put up job" Codesa. If you do, too, say nothing!

Allow your future, and the future of your children, to be determined by the Nat/ANC/SA Communist Party alliance.

The Americans say "You only get what you pay for".

South Africans appear to be more interested in the cricket than Codesa.

The vast silent majority (black/white/green and purple), have nothing to say.

You will get the government you deserve! It is time that all South Africans stand up and say their piece. Do you want Communism in South Africa? Do you really believe that the ANC can make Communism work when no-one else has?

It is time that South Africans pull themselves away from the TV set, put cricket on hold, and do something to secure your future.

DR ED BENARD
IFP Sandton Regional
Chairman

ANC power in France decreasing

HAVING been in your country for ten days I am surprised: You, South Africans, so concerned about sport boycotts, have not mentioned a recent event which occurred at the last Five Nations rugby match in Paris between France and Ireland on March 21.

Apparently the SABC also missed this moment. If you had received the full event, you would have seen the French and the Irish teams making an unusual entrance to the stadium.

The two teams entered together and formed two lines (the Irish one and the French another), waiting for the South African referee, Freek Burger, alone in gold and

green, and applauding him.

This way the French and Irish wanted to pay a tribute to South Africa's re-entry to the world of international rugby.

So do not give too much importance to your local (sport) politicians like a certain Mr George (NOSC). I wonder if he knows anything about rugby when he says: "Romania and Italy are not even rugby playing countries" (Romania has already beaten France and will probably defeat Zimbabwe and Namibia very easily).

As your country enters a new era after the referendum on March 17, the "disinformation" about your country is fading in Europe and ANC power

in France is also decreasing.

The ANC/NOSC is only backed by a group of socialists and the French Socialist Party is shrinking (see the last election results). So to say they are recognised by many European governments as the sole representatives of the people in South Africa, is nothing but wishful thinking.

The "mode" is over! Soon Europeans will discover that the ANC is only one part of the people, and maybe not the largest.

Looking forward to seeing your rugby players on our fields in green and gold, and even if the jersey is without the "Bok", you'll still be the Springboks.

J R BOURGUIGNON
Masons-Laffitte
France

Drought will lose South Africa billions in foreign exchange

THE current drought will cost South Africa billions of rands in lost foreign exchange and the bill for maize imports alone may reach R3 billion.

And South Africa, until now a large net exporter of food and related products, will suffer a massive drop in exports in this field, says Sanlam chief economist Johan Louw in his latest economic report.

Although 3,4 million tons of maize will come through Durban harbour, Portnet's Captain Jan Mors said that it would not generate more jobs or boost the local economy much.

"It simply means that it would provide some work during a slack period. While Durban will

handle 3,4 million tons, Cape Town will receive one million tons of maize," said Captain Mors.

Although Mr Louw anticipates an upswing in the economies of South Africa's major trading partners, its effects are unlikely to be felt by exporters before late this year. This, coupled with a lacklustre gold price, is expected to lead to a considerably smaller surplus on the current account of the balance of payments.

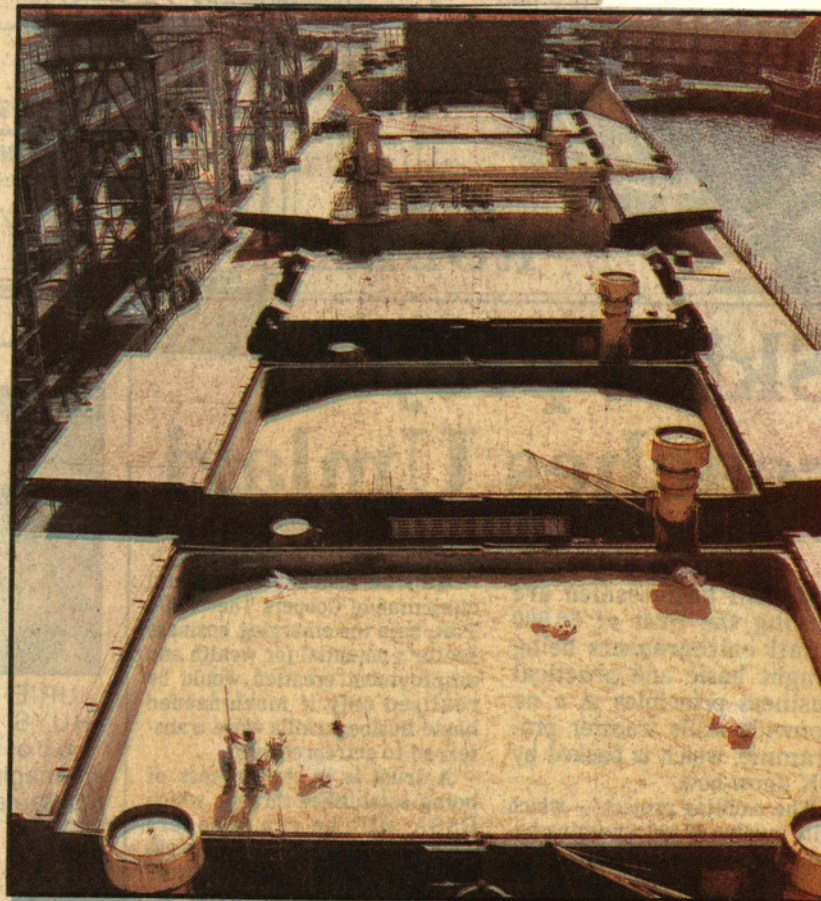
"At this stage Sanlam is predicting a surplus of roughly R4 billion, compared to last year's 7,4 billion."

However, the outlook for the capital ac-

count may be better, with the lifting of sanctions and the possibility of IMF loans playing their part, leading to an overall increase in foreign reserves.

The review raises the prospect of a further drop in interest rates in the third quarter and a prime overdraft rate of between 17,5 and 18 percent by the end of the year.

It does not hold out much hope for economic growth this year and suggests forecasts of a real growth rate of one percent may be too optimistic. Inflation for the year should be about 14,5 percent and should have dropped to between 12 and 13 percent by December.—
Daily News Reporter



ONE of the large loads of maize offloaded in Durban to offset the devastating effects of the drought on South Africa's own

maize harvest. The cargo of maize was aboard the Bulgarian ship, Bodina, and came from Argentina. **Picture: Robert D'Avico**

ANC faction tries 'coup' to neutralise Mandela

by Richard Ellis
Johannesburg

AS IT stands on the brink of achieving power in South Africa after 80 years of struggle, the African National Congress (ANC) is in danger of being torn apart by factional fighting. Senior sources in the movement last week said there had recently been attempted "coups" aimed at marginalising Nelson Mandela, its leader.

Radicals within the movement claim a faction led by its "internal wing" — those who stayed on in South Africa during the years of apartheid — has attempted to sideline Mandela into simply becoming the ANC's figurehead. The faction has accused Mandela of holding meetings with President F W de Klerk without permission, and of acting in an "imperious" manner.

The cabal wants to install Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC's general secretary, as de facto leader. Under the plan, 73-year-old Mandela would become the first president of the new South Africa, but Ramaphosa, as prime minister, would hold most of the power. Mandela's position would be largely ceremonial. Such a move, though, is being bitterly opposed by the radical wing of the ANC.

The disclosure of the power struggle within the movement comes at a delicate time for the ANC. Yesterday, the

multi-party talks involving it and the South African government, which appeared to be deadlocked over the drawing up of a new constitution, were given new life when both Mandela and De Klerk emphasised their commitment to finding a compromise.

If all goes well, it is likely the ANC will, within months, be part of an interim coalition government, and will sometime next year have to fight a general election, which it is almost guaranteed to win. But with polls showing ANC support at around 45%, compared to the National party's 25% and Inkatha's 10%, any public squabble in the organisation could hit it badly.

The moves against Mandela have come to a head after his separation from his wife Winnie, and her resignation from her post as head of the ANC's welfare department. The ANC's senior leadership was split between radical pro-Winnie supporters and those, including Ramaphosa, who insisted she had to go.

The radicals claim that Ramaphosa's supporters, who regard him as their apparent, are now using the Winnie affair to try to sideline Mandela



Ramaphosa: leader in waiting?

himself, even claiming that his recent move to a house in Johannesburg's largely white northern suburbs was an attempt to isolate him from his Soweto support base.

"These people are not stupid," said one senior ANC official. "They are aware that shedding him completely would be a disaster for both their ambitions and the ANC, so they just want to marginalise him."

It is understood that a delegation of senior ANC figures, including Chris Hani, head of the South African Communist party, met Mandela last week to warn him about the activities of the pro-Ramaphosa faction. The

sources said the internal wing had made moves to curb Mandela's power in the past — including an attempt while he was in South America last year — to distance him from the multi-party talks with the government.

"It was quickly reversed when he returned, but it made him angry," one source said. Last June, at the ANC's annual conference, the group attacked Mandela for meeting De Klerk without permission.

The existence of damaging in-fighting within the ANC was confirmed last week by Dali Mpofu, Winnie's deputy in the social welfare department, who was dismissed after her resignation. Mpofu, who has denied allegations that he had an affair with Winnie, blamed Ramaphosa and "his group" for his sacking. "This foolish action has been prompted by the growing factionalism within the ANC, pioneered by a secret cabal whose members are bent on destroying the organisation," he said.

The radicals, while carefully backing Mandela, have their own agenda: they would like one of their own, perhaps even Winnie, to succeed him when he does decide to retire or is forced out by ill-health.

A close friend of Mandela said the moves against him

were nothing new: the first attempts to sideline him had started on his release from prison more than two years ago. At the time, the movement's acting leaders, Walter Sisulu and Alfred Nzo, wanted to keep Mandela's role to "that of ANC's public relations officer".

"It was a ridiculous attempt," the source said. "It was quite clear from the moment he walked out of prison that he was the natural leader of the movement, and their plan had to be quickly dropped. I think it will be the same with his current troubles."

The ANC, a broad liberation movement encompassing everyone from communists to capitalists, has always suffered from factionalism. But the in-fighting has increased as it gets close to assuming the mantle of power, and the clash over policies and rivalry for ministerial posts intensifies. Some analysts expect some sort of split in the movement after the election, with perhaps the breakaway of a radical wing.

Publicly, however, the ANC is attempting to show a united face. Gill Marcus, the ANC's spokeswoman, while admitting there were "ambitious" people within the movement, said the idea that anyone was trying to overthrow Mandela was preposterous.

DP MPs' suspension may force party split

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—A split in the Democratic Party next week seems certain following an ANC claim that the four MPs suspended from the party caucus had "expressed their personal desire to strengthen their links with the ANC".

The organisation said in a statement it had been "mutually agreed" that the matter would be the subject of future discussions.

The suspended MPs could be joined by DP chief whip Dave Dalling, who may force his own suspension if they are not reinstated after next Thursday's caucus meeting.

However, speculation that the four — Rob Haswell (Pietermaritzburg South MP), Pierre Cronje (Greytown), Jan van Eck (Claremont) and Jannie Momberg (Simons-town) — could begin sitting as ANC MPs next week, was dismissed as "premature" by a number of sources.

The organisation is not registered as a political party.

Central to DP leader Zach de Beer's decision to suspend four of the seven MPs who met the ANC leadership in Johannesburg on Monday, was the fact that they were apparently considering joining the ANC. This was why they had been suspended pending an inquiry, and not expelled, he said.

Dr de Beer said yesterday that if the men could satisfy himself and their DP colleagues that they had not been contemplating membership of the ANC, the suspension would be lifted.

Three of the four MPs claim they were not informed by Dr de Beer of his decision. Mr Cronje said yesterday he may have expected some reaction "after going to Dakar to speak to the ANC years ago ... but to have this now comes as quite a surprise".

Dr de Beer's move was, however, supported by two of the other MPs who met with the ANC. Both Umhlanga MP Kobus Jordaan and indirectly elected MP Andre de Wet, from East London, yesterday backed the decision to suspend the four.

Black indaba on violence

LEADERS of all black political formations, including the leadership of the homelands, have been invited to an emergency summit on violence to be held in Johannesburg on Wednesday under the auspices of the SA Council of Churches.

The letter of invitation, being sent out by SACC general secretary Dr Frank Chikane, on behalf of church leaders, says the summit is being called in response to the "alarming proportion as well as the persistence at which

political violence is growing in our country".

Invitations have gone to leadership of the homelands, political movements (including the ANC, IFP, PAC, Azapo and SACP) and unions (Cosatu and Nactu).

The summit will be under the joint chairmanship of Dr Khoza Mokojo, president of the SACC, Bishop Stanley Moga, vice-chairman of the executive committee, and Archbishop Desmond Tutu of Cape Town. — (Political Staff)

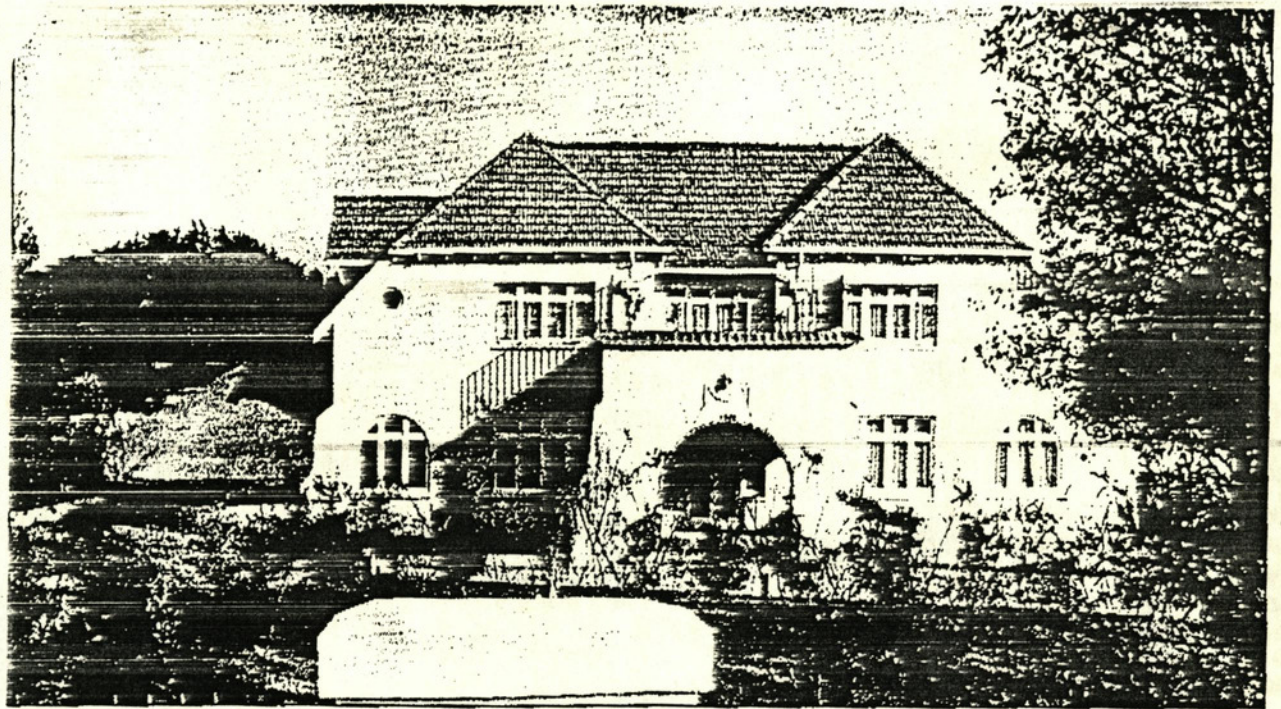


Tim Zienbach for The New York Times

Mandela Calls for International Monitors to End Violence in South Africa

Nelson Mandela, the leader of the African National Congress, after he spoke at a community center in Alexandra, a satellite township in Johannesburg's northern suburb, where he called for international monitors to be deployed in South Africa to stop the politically

motivated violence that has ravaged a number of black townships. Alexandra, where 13 people have died and scores have been injured since Tuesday, was calm yesterday. Mr. Mandela accused the white minority Government of abdicating its responsibility.



Far cry from the barricades: Nelson Mandela's home in Houghton, Johannesburg's Hampstead. Winnie Mandela stays in her Soweto 'folly'

ANC heroes quit the streets of struggle for the lap of luxury

THINGS have not changed a great deal for South Africa's oppressed masses since 2 February 1990, the historic day when F W de Klerk announced that Nelson Mandela would be released and that the exiled leadership of the African National Congress could return home.

If anything, the poor are poorer. And with Inkatha's Zulu warriors on the prowl, township life has never been more dangerous.

That is one reason why many of the "comrade leaders" of the ANC have abandoned Soweto and Alexandra for homes in downtown Johannesburg or the affluent northern suburbs.

Nelson Mandela's spacious new home in gracious Houghton, Johannesburg's answer to Hampstead, is a far cry from the concrete cell he occupied on Robben Island during much of his 23 years in prison.

He bought it after the separation from his wife Winnie, having left the rather aberrant palace she had built in Soweto, just down the road, known as "Winnie's Folly" or "the Parliament".

By Houghton standards the

From John Carlin
in Johannesburg

new house is not particularly spectacular. The price, R500,000 (£100,000), is so low it suggests either that the interior needed an overhaul or the previous owner was seeking to ingratiate himself with the country's future ruler.

This would not be surprising, for stories are legion of big business wooing senior ANC officials. Mr Mandela is reported to have stayed some weeks at the Dallas-style home of a local insurance magnate, Douw Steyn.

The Steyn house has two swimming pools (one indoor, one out), a cinema, a disco, a commercial-sized bar in the guest wing and the obligatory gold-plated taps in all the bathrooms.

It is not unlike the home ANC chairman Oliver Tambo moved into last year in quite the most expensive suburb in the country, Sandhurst. The house is said to have cost R3m — an equivalent home in, say, Esher, would cost at least £2m. In Mediterranean style, outdoors the property is all

patios and courtyards, fountains and sculptured cherubs. The pool is spherical, set in a tree-shaded terrace. Inside, the downstairs floors are all marble.

Even though Mr Tambo, Mr Mandela's predecessor as president of the ANC for 21 years, has been severely incapacitated by a stroke, when he appears in public he is always impeccably turned out. He sets an example in sartorial elegance reverently followed by ANC leaders down to local level. At ANC rallies in the dusty townships, officials are identifiable by their dark suits. (When New York mayor David Dinkins turned up at a party in Mr Tambo's house in flowing West African tribal dress, he looked distinctly out of place.)

Cabinet ministers, when they meet the top leadership of the ANC, look like Rochdale town councillors by comparison.

No one cuts a more dashing figure at these encounters than Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's polished shadow foreign minister. He drives a white, top-of-the-range BMW. This is not entirely unusual: one of the humbler members of the national execu-

tive recently remarked that the underground garage at ANC headquarters looked like a Mercedes and BMW showroom. For several months after Mr Mbeki's return from exile in 1990 he lived at the Carlton in Johannesburg, one of South Africa's most expensive hotels.

Another ANC leader with cultivated tastes is the secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa. Formerly head of the mineworkers' union, he enjoys trout-fishing weekends with senior executives of the giant Anglo American mining group.

Some ANC leaders make more practical use of their positions. Steve Tshwete, shadow minister of sport and the man who spearheaded South Africa's return to world cricket, sends his children to Dale College, an expensive private school in East London.

One of the few ANC leaders who stays close to his roots is the deputy president, Walter Sisulu, who lives in the small red-brick home in Soweto he first moved into in 1941. It is perhaps no coincidence that 79-year-old Mr Sisulu is undoubtedly the best-loved figure in the organisation.

*Independent on Sunday
17/5/92 London*

Codesa won't control SA security forces — Govt source

By Tony Stirling

JOINT control of the police and the South African Defence Force will be handed over to an elected transitional or interim government — but not to any structure of Codesa.

A top-level govern-

ment source involved in the negotiations said yesterday that there had been an agreement in Codesa's Working Group One for joint control of the security forces by an elected interim or transitional government.

Misunderstanding

There appears to be some misunderstanding on this point, he said.

There are parties who appear to be under the impression that control of the security forces will be handed over to structures of Codesa.

"The fundamental departure point of the security forces is that they serve the government of the day, and in this case that is the existing government," he said.

"Once there is an elected transitional interim government, they will become the government of the day and they will exercise the joint control which has been referred to," he said.

Violence

"By that time the question of MK (Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC) and the cessation of violence and the armed struggle, on which the government has insisted as a pre-condition to the establishment of any interim government, will have been dealt with," he said.

In the recent finding bilateral agreements will have to be reached, and in particular with the ANC on the question of MK.

MANDELA OFFERS TO MEDIATE

Dr Nelson Mandela has offered to arbitrate in the dispute between students and the Rector of the University of Zululand, Prof AC Nkabinde.

Speaking during his address to students at the Unizul campus on Friday, Dr Mandela said that he would visit the Rector to discuss student grievances if given the opportunity to do so.

Students recently staged a class boycott and demanded the Rector's resignation. Dr Mandela called on students to respect their Rector and asked the Rector to have the same regard for students.

Dr Mandela made an impassioned plea for unity and reconciliation. He said the resources of the ANC, IFP and the

Nationalist Party should be pooled for the benefit of the entire population.

He urged ANC and IFP students at Unizul to accept the challenge of dialogue and reconciliation. 'When the atmosphere of tension is removed, many brilliant ideas will surface,' he said.

He added: 'I respect and admire IFP students as much as ANC students. I love you all.'

'Will sleep peacefully' The 74-year old leader said he would soon 'sleep forever', along with Chief

Minister Buthelezi and others. 'But if we hear that students are discussing problems together, we will sleep peacefully.'

The ANC, he said 'must bring the other political parties into Government when it takes power, to show everyone that we mean peace'.

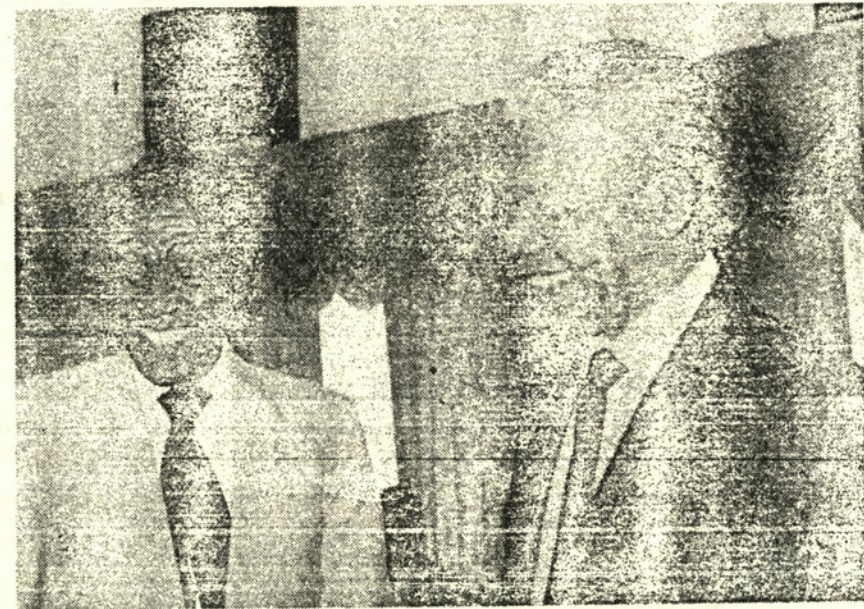
The issue of the abortive effort to visit the Zulu king to pay respects was also discussed.

Dr Mandela warned students that they would have to raise their standards to take their place among much better trained youth in the rest of the world.

The address was originally intended for Unizul students, but following a personal appeal by Dr Mandela, the Rector agreed to admit a large number of school pupils who had arrived by bus.

The crowd in the Bhekezulu Hall swelled to well over 3 000. While a number of these chanted and sang, most listened quietly and attentively to the speeches.

There were no serious incidents during Dr Mandela's visit to the region, although it was opposed in many quarters. A large national media contingent accompanied him during his tour of the townships.



The Rector of the University of Zululand, Prof AC Nkabinde shares a light-hearted moment with Dr Nelson Mandela at a luncheon held on campus.