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SECURITY reasons
have forced the South
African Communist
Party to change the ve-
nue of its first legal
congress inside tt
country since it was
banned in 1950,

The four-day congress,
which starts on Thursday,
will still take place in Jo-
hannesburg, but the ve-
nue will only be made
known today, the SACP
said at a pre-congress
briefing in the city yester-
day.

Except for the financial
report and commissions,
the entire congress pro-
ceedings will be open to
â\200\230the media: i

Building the party and
a New party programme
are expected to be the
main issues for debate by
the 400 delegates, rep-
resenting over 20 00
signed-up members in 300
branches,

A name change, as has
happened with some com-
munist parties across the
world since the collapse
of communist * ryje in
Eastern Europe and the
Soviet Union, was not up
for debate at the con-
gress. :

The SACP was 2 social-
ist party and was â\200\230there-
fore concerndd with s
defence and promotion.

â\200\234Our own programme

remains socialism and of
course the defence of

the

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Noseis

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socialism, and the defence of socialism in this Case means an effort on the part of the SACP to

â\200\230revive the international

communist platform,â\200\235 Mr Ngakula said.

Communist Party representatives from more than a dozen countries, including three from Cuba, have confirmed they will attend the SACPâ\200\231s eighth national congress. :

Significantly though, the list provided to the media yesterday did not include the Soviet Union or any East European countries. Mr Ngakula explained they had been invited and were still expected to attend the cop-

â\200\230gress.

Countries which had confirmed they would attend include China, France, Israel, Italy, Portugal, Senegal, Mozambique, Reunion, Austria, India and Nicaragua.

Mr Ngakula insisted that there was still 5 role for the SACP in South Africa.

â\200\234In this period of negotiation the party primarily is going to be alert to the possibility, and I am laying emphasis on possibility, that the workersâ\200\231 in-

terests might be subverted,â\200\235 he said.

â\200\234The party is going to

be there and make sure

that that kind of does not occur.â\200\235 It was not possible to

say whether or when the
SACP's alliance with the
African National Con-
gress would end.

The SACP was com-
mitted to both the policies
of nationalisation and a
mixed economy, Mr Nqa-

thing

- kula said.

Leadership elections at
the congress will be con-
ducted by secret ballot,
based on nominations
submitted by the 12 re-
gions. The party will no
longer have secret mem-
bers after the congress.

SACP secretary-gener-
al Mr Joe Slovo will not
stand for re-election but he
is working fulltime for the
ANC but it is expected
he will be elected to the
position of party chair-

-man. Sapa,

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KODESA

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BY DI LUBANE-HOTE [S DK~

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DIE staatkundige begrippe federasie en konfederasie word deesdae los en vas in die Suid-Afrikaanse politieke debat gebruik. Daar word gesê die Nasionale Party se grondwetplan vir die toekoms is in wese 'n federale stelsel.

Die ANC het op sy beurt nie lus vir 'n federasie nie. Hy meen die doel daarmee is om die magte van die sentrale regering s6 te beperk dat hy magteloos sal wees om die program van regstellende aksie in werking stel wat hy glo nodig is. Hy het 'n eenheidstaat met 'n sterk sentrale regering in gedagte.

Inkatha het hom ten gunste van 'n federasie uitgespreek. Hy glo daar moet vir streek- en etniese verskille in Suid-Afrika voorsiening gemaak word.

In die geledere van die Konserwatiewe Party word deesdae van 'n konfederasie gepraat. Daar is pas ook deur mnr. Cehill Pienaar, Vrystaatse leier van die party, waag-

moedig na 'n â\200\234hoogs gedesentrali-
seerde federale stelselâ\200\235 verwys.

Konfederasie

Die woord konfederasie is nogal
dikwels gehoor in die vroeë be-
windstydperk van mnr. P.W. Botha
toe kwaai geworstel is om los te
breek uit die staatkundige sandpad
waarop die land vasgeval het. Een
waarnemer meen dat die KP inder-
daad nou begin aansluiting vind by
die beleidsuitgangspunte wat 'n
groot deel van mnr. Botha se tyd-
perk oorheers het.

Kenners van die staatkunde wys
daarop dat m konfederasie in der
waarheid nie 'n erkende staatkun-
dige model is nie. Die Britse State-
bond, waarvan Suid-Afrika deel
was totdat die land as republiek nie
meer welkom was nie, kan as â\200\231n los-
se vorm van 'n konfederasie beskou

Sterk streekouto

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word. Die Union Jack in die land-
vlag is steeds 'n simbool van Suid-
Afrika se verbintenis daarmee.

Die begrip konfederasie het in die
Suid-Afrikaanse konteks reeds in
dr. H.F. Verwoerd se tyd ter sprake
gekom.

Prof. Willie Breytenbach, politie-
ke wetenskaplike van die Universi-
teit van Stellenbosch, sê die state-
bond van Suider-Afrikaanse state
wat dr. Verwoerd in die vooruitsig -
gestel het, kom eintlik op 'n konfe-
derasie neer.

Die Duitse terme verduidelik
goed wat die verskil tussen 'n fede-
rasie en â\200\231n konfederasie is, sê hy.
Die bundestat, die huidige Duitse
staatsvorm, is 'n federasie, terwyl
'n statenbund 'n konfederasie is.

Bismarck se statenbund van 1848
tot 1871 is 'n goeie voorbeeld van
'n konfederasie. Met die unifikasie
in 1871 het Duitsland â\200\231n federasie
geword.

Die federale staatsvorm het reeds

weëreldwyd in die praktyk beslag

gekry en hom bewys as een wat die eise van die moderne tyd kan vol-
doen. .

Duitsland, Switserland, Amerika,
Kanada, Australië en Indië is goeie
voorbeelde daarvan. :

Suid-Afrika het nog altyd 'n soort
federale stelsel gehad met sy pro-
vinsiale opset. Die provinsies het
byvoorbeeld vroeër hul eie vyetge-
wende owerhede (die ou Provinsia-
le Rade) gehad en nog altyd hul eie
besluite oor onderwys, verkeersa-

â\200\231n federasie montlik

ke, gesondheidsdienste en plaaslike
bestuur geneem, om â\200\231'n paar te
noem. :

Prof. Breytenbach sê in die geval
van 'n federasie het 'n mens met 'n
enkele staat met een soewereiniteit
en 'n enkele burgerskap vir almal
te doen. Dit beteken al die burgers
van die federasie stem vir een sen-
trale regering.

'n Konfederasie is 'n aantal state
wat onderling verdrae sluit.

Meer as twee soewereine lande
met hul eie grondwette en sentrale
regerings wat deur middel van ver-
drae onderling ooreenkom om ten
opsigte van bepaalde goed gedefi-
nieerde sake saam te werk, vorm 'n
konfederasie. In die praktyk kan dit
byvoorbeeld neerkom op samewer-
king met pos-, doeane- en veilig-
heidsdienste.

In die geval van 'n konfederasie
is daar â\200\231n vrywillige assosiasie tus-
sen die betrokke lande. Enigeen van
die deelnemende state kan sy deel-
name enige tyd opskort.

Afskeiding

By â\200\231'n federasie is daar nie onder-
linge verdrae nie en word ingevolge
een grondwet gewerk. As 'n staat in
die federasie wil wegbreek, moet dit
deur afskeiding geskied of moet hy
om sy vryheid veg, wat dan op 'n
burgeroorlog neerkom.

'n Federasie bied egter moontlik-
hede vir sterk streekoutonomie,
waaroor beding kan word.

Die hoogste vorm van selfbeskik-
king in â\200\231n federasie sal strgekouto-
nomie of groepsoutonomie wees.

Laasgenoemde is egter 'n seldsame
verskynsel.

Volgens prof. Breytenbach is die
hoogs gedensentraliseerde federa-
sie waarvan mn. Pienaar gepraat
het in die praktyk nie ver van 'n
konfederasie af nie, maar in die teo-
rie iets anders.

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Intensiewe voorbereiding het sukses van gesprek verseker

'n PATROON wat duideliker onder-

skeibaar is as voorheen, het na vore getree ten opsigte van die huidige stand van onderhandelings nd Vrydag en Saterdag se suksesvolle veelparty-werksaamhede in 'n hotel by die lughawe Jan Smuts.

Dit blyk nou heelwat duideliker dat die Regering/NP en die ANC die twee belangrikste bepalers van die koers en tempo is waarin sake beweeg. Hulle kan dié posisie nog n geruime tyd behou en dit selfs verstewig. :

In die onmiddellike aanloop tot,

maar veral gedurende die beraad, het die twee 'n welwillende diktators hulle baie goed van hul taak gekwyt. Hul benadering en strategie was inklusief teenoor die Kleinere partye. Hulle het baie wyd geraadpleeg voordat hulle besluit het, en het besonder moeite gedoen om die standpunte van die kleiner partye in ag te neem.

- Wat in die loop van die naweek tussen die Regering en die ANC gebeur het, gaan noodwendig 'n uitwerking hê op hul wedersydse verhouding vorentoe. In sekere sin het dit reeds gebeur, te oordeel na die duidelik sagter toon wat mnr. Nelson Mandela Sondag aangeslaan het toe hy oor pres. F.W. de Klerk en die ANC se kommer oor die regse verset gepraat het. Iets soortgelyks van regeringskant sal nie as 'n algehele verrassing kom nie.

Na die naweek raak dit nou vir die eerste keer duidelik wat die Regering/NP se onderhandelaars in die laaste maande presies bedoel het toe hulle strykdeur vol vertroue

gebly het in weerwil van terugslae en vyandige retoriek.

Daardie informele konsensus tussen al die partye, waaraan Kklaarblyklik baie hard gewerk is, het die grootste bydrae gelewer tot die sukses van die voorbereidingsvergadering. :

Dit beteken egter nie dit sal voortdurend die geval wees nie, en ook nie dat daar nooit ernstige probleme sal opduik nie.

Op die afgelope beraad was diâ\202ˆ
â\200\234vooraf-konsensusâ\200\235 al klaar die
hooforsaak van die PAC se weer-
spannigheid. DiÃ© beweging het deu-
rentyd 'n groot bohaai opgeskop
omdat die Regering en die ANC
kwansuis die besluitneming vooraf
â\200\234gedokterâ\200\235 het, en het uiteindelik
daarmee as verskoning uitgeloop.

DiÃ© beswaar kan weer opduik en
kan veral groot probleme veroor-
saak as die Inkatha-Vryheidsparty
(IVP) met soortgelyke besware
kom. Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi
was nie Vrydag en Saterdag teen-
woordig nie, maar wanneer Kodesa
op 20 Desember begin vergader, sal
hy beslis daar wees en gaan hy van
hom laat hoor.

Die Regering/NP is waarskynlik
baie bedag op so-iets. Daarom moet
aanvaar word dat daar van hul
kant buitengewone moeite gedoen
sal word om die IVP en dr. Buthe-
lezi nooit uitgesluit te laat voel van
die gesprek nie.

Daarteenoor is daar partye wat
die ANC en die Regering se spit-
werk vooraf verwelkom. Dr. Zach
de Beer, leier van die Demokratiese
Party, het Saterdag gesÃ© dit is dui-

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Hoe het die voorberei-
dingskonferensie van die
Konvensie vir 'n Demo-
kratiese Suid-Afrika (Ko-
desa) wat Saterdag suk-
sesvol afgesluit is, die hui-
dige stand van die onder-
handelingspolitiek bein-
vloed? Dr. Gerrit Viljoen
sÃ© dit was 'n â\200\234waterskei-
dingâ\200\235. Ander onderhande-
laars meen op hul beurt
dat die betekenis van die
ooreenkomste wat gesluit
is, van dieselfde omvang
is as vorige ingrypende
stappe soos die vrylating
van mnr. Nelson Mandela,
die opskorting van die
ANC se gewapende stryd
en die skraping van die
apartheidswette. Tim du
Plessis, grondwetlike be-
riggewer, doen verslag
hieroor.

Dr. Zach de Beer

nr. Keoetse

el

Mnr. Jacob ZuhÃ©

r. Gerrit Viljoen

Dr. Frank Mdlalose
Â¥

delik dat â\200\234baie intensiewe voorbe-
reidingswerkâ\200\235 vooraf deur die Re-
gering en die ANC gedoen is.

Dr. De Beer het dit as 'n uitste-
kende toedrag van sake bestempel
- â\200\231n standpunt wat waarskynlik ge-
deel word deur die Arbeidersparty
en die ander Kkleiner politieke par-
tye in die driekamer-Parlement en

die selfregerende gebiede.

Uiteraard is daar beperkings aan
wat toelaatbaar is. Tussen â\200\230â\200\230vooraf
dokterâ\200\235 en â\200\234deeglike spitwerkâ\200\235 is 'n
taamlike dun skeidsiyn. As dit oor-
skry word, kan die hele benadering
van deeglike oorleg vooraf 'n nood-
lottige knou kry.

Die feit bly egter dat deeglike

voorbereiding vir Vrydag en Sater-
dag se werksaamhede 'n absolute
noodsaaklikheid was omdat diâ\202- be-
raad asâ\200\231t ware die-formele begin
van onderhandelings was. Daar
was geen presedente vir die iets wat

uit niets tot stand gebring moes
kom nie.

- Dit sou groot teenspoed beteken

het as die beraad misluk het omdat

daar nie deeglike voorbereiding -

was nie en die deelnemers hulle nie
vooraf vergewis het van presies wat
hulle moes regkry nie.

Ondanks al die tevredenheid oor
wat die afgelope naweek bereik is,

moet daar geen illusies wees oor die

. grootsheid van dit wat nog voorlê

y s
niel :

Dit het 'n volle dag langer as wat
beplan is, geduur net om oor die
reëlings en die logistiek ooreen te
kom. A

As dit s6 gaan net om 'n naam
vir die veelpartykonferensie, 'n ver-
gaderplek, 'n voorsitter en 'n be-
sluitnemingsprosedure te bepaal -
dinge wat streng gesproke onge-
langrik is kan gevra word wat nie
alles kan gebeur wanneer die werk-
like politieke vraagstukke aan die
orde kom nie.

Saterdag se suksesvolle afsluiting
van die beraad het niks verander
nie aan die feit dat die NP/Regering
en die ANC steeds fundamenteel
verskil oor kardinale staatkundige
en ekonomiese vraagstukke.

En as sekere partye nou al uit-
stap terwyl daar maar gepraat
word oor reëlings en logistiek, kan
nog uitstappery met veiligheid
voorspel word wanneer konsensus
bereik moet word oor sake soos 'n
tussentydse regering en 'n grond-
wetgewende vergadering.

Nietemin, die chemiese reaksie
tussen die deelnemers in die na-
week - soos dr. Gerrit Viljoen dit
bestempel het - is in dié stadium
voldoende aansporing vir die par-
tye om deur te druk en nie by voor-
baat moed te verloor nie.

Met die voorbereidingsvergade-
ring van die veelparty-beraad agter
die rug, weet veral die Regering en
die ANC en ook die Kleiner partye
presies waarom daar gesê word po-
litieke onderhandelings is soos
fietsry: As jy bo wil bly, moet jy

aanhou beweeg.

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SAKP-kongres beslissend
vir sy toekoms in SA

LANK laas is daar met soveel belangstelling uitgesien na die kongres van 1931'n op sigself besonder klein partytjie soos dié van die SA Kommunistiese Party wat moere begin.

Met die ineenstorting van die kommunisme wêreldwyd is dit immers die eerste geleentheid wat die SAKP kry om te onthul in welke mate hy hom by die dramatiese veranderde internasionale situasie kan aanpas.

Dat 1931'n gedugte taak op die kommunistiese afgevaardigdes wag, is seker. Hulle moet die onmoontlike regkry en die onversoenlike versoen.

e

Uit eie reg o

As die SAKP uit eie reg 'n krag in die Suid-Afrikaanse politiek wil word, sal hy op die allermiste as 'n eensgesinde party uit die kongres moet tree. En te oordeel na die geluide wat vooraf in die openbaar uit SAKP-geledere gehoor is, sal dit

nie maklik gaan nie.

Tradisioneel het eenheid in die
weêreld se kommunistiese partye
nooit werklik organies gegroei nie.
Voeg bymekaar wat uit innerlike
oortuiging bymekaar hoort, was
en is geen kommunistiese praktyk
nie. : ;

Die Marxisme maak daarop aan-
spraak dat hy en hy alleen die volle
waarheid en al die antwoorde het,
en dat elkeen wat daarvan afwyk,
tot die dood toe beveg moet word.
Wat die waarheid presies is, hang
dikwels maar af van die vertolking
van 'n bepaalde leier op 'n bepaalde
tydstip.

Dit bring mee dat 'n mens seëns
soveel onverdraagsaamheid, haat
en nyd as juis in kommunistiese
partye kry nie. Al manier om die
eenheid te handhaaf is dus om dit

\ diktatoriaal van bo af te dwing.

Lenin, en veral Stalin, was be-
kend om die meedoënloosheid
waarmee hulle afwykende menings
binne die Kommunistiese Party
van die Sowjet-Unie beveg het. Voor
1917 het Lenin die party telkens en
weer laat skeur om sy weergawe
van die absolute waarheid te laat

en Stalin elkeen wat maar na 'n be-
dreiging gelyk het, in die Goelag
laat opsluit of vermoor.

Stalinistiese verlede

.Die omstandighede waarin die
SAKP-kongres vandeeweek gehou
word, leen hom egter nie tot derge-
like praktyke nie. Bowendien is dit
die uitgesproke doel van die party
om sy Stalinistiese verlede af te
sweer en hom in 'n ope en demo-
kratiese groep te hervorm.

In sulke omstandighede kan 'n
mens vermoed dat die natuurlike
Marxistiese onverdraagsaamheid
na vore sal tree, iets wat bevestig
word deur die ongehoorde openba-
re meningsverskille tussen SAKP-
lede die laaste dae en weke.

Ander krisis wat die SAKP te
bowe sal moet kom, is sy afhank-
likheid van die ANC. Volgens berig-
te het die SAKP in die byna twee
jaar dat hy vryelik in die land kan
opereer nog maar kwalik 20 000
lede gewerf, wat nie op groot open-

bare steun dui nie.

Sy hoop op oorlewing 1Ã© klaar-
blyklik nie in sy eie lewenskragtig-

â\200\230seÃ©vier, en nd die revolusie het hy

heid nie, maar in die mate waarin
hy daarin slaag om op die rug van
die veel kragtiger ANC te ry. Maar
as hy die ANC wil beheer en stuur,
moet die SAKP â\200\231'n eensgesinde par-
ty wees, en op die oomblik lyk hy
nie juis daarna nie.

Sy intieme bondgenootskap met
die ANC, gekoppel aan die wÃ©reld-
wye Kkrisis van die kommunisme,
het ook potensiÃ©le nadele.

Namate dit duideliker word dat
die kommunisme dood is, kan al
hoe meer kommuniste besluit dat
hul politieke oorlewing sekerder in
die ANC as in die SAKP is.

In die laaste tyd het twee promi-
nente SAKP-leiers â\200\224 mnre. Joe Slo-
vo en Chris Hani - om uiteenlopen-
de redes die leiding van die SAKP
van die hand gewys en besluit om
hul politieke loopbane verder onder
die ANC-vaandel te volg.

Ook verskeie ander gewese
SAKP-lede, soos mnre. Thabo Mbe-
ki, Aziz Pahad en Jacob Zuma, het
hul lidmaatskap stilweg laat verval
en hul gewig by die ANC ingegooi.

Onbetwisbare verskille

Sulke voorbeelde kan vir oppor-
tunistiese kommuniste genoeg
wees onr Ook die SAKP die rug toe
te keer. - i

Voeg nou nog hierby die onbe-
twisbare verskille tussen onbe-
skaamde Staliniste soos mnre. â\200\230Harry
Gwala, mense soos mnre. Slovo wat
die sosialisme met die demokrasie
probeer versoen en diegene wat eer-
der in die rigting van die sosiaal-
demokrasie neig, en dit word dui-
delik welke buitengewone opgawe
die SAKP het om sy kongres sonder
kleerskeure teÃ© oorleef.

Wat op die SAKP-kongres gebeur,
sal dus beslissend wees vir die tog-
koms van die party en sy rol in die
land. Die kommuniste sal fyn dop-
gehou word.

Nasionalisasie â\200\230sal
SA totaal vernietigâ\200\231

Land kan dit nie b

.Politieke Redaksie

SUID-AFRIKA kan sosialistiese nasionalisasie hoegenaamd nie bekostig nie. Dit sal die land totaál vernietig, en buitendien het Suid-Afrika nie die materiële vermoëns om later weer na â\200\231'n vryemarkstelsel terug te skakel nie.

S6 het mnr. Johan Scheepers, Adjunk-minister van Wet en Orde, gister in 'n onderhoud aan Die-Burger gesê. â\200\234Ek het met my eie oë gesien wat sosialistiese nasionalisasie aan die voormalige Oos-Duitsland gedoen het. Ons kan dit net nie bekostig nie. Dit sal Suid-Afrika totaal en vir altyd vernietig.â\200\235

Mnr. Scheepers het nd 'n besoek van vier dae aan Berlyn en Maagdeburg, waar hy met verskeie hooggeplaaste regeringsamptenare en politici gepraat het, gesê dit is verskriklik om die verval in die voormalige Oos-Duitsland te sien.

â\200\234Jy hoef nie geboue of plaasopstalle of fabriek wat vervalde voorkom, uit te soek nie. Almal lyk so.

w

En dit gaan miljarde kos om dit en die vryemarkstelsel te herstel.â\200\235

Die koste verbonde aan die herstel van eienaarskap is so hoog dat Suid-Afrika ten gronde sal gaan as eiendom genasionaliseer word en later besluit word dat private eienaarskap weer ingestel moet word.

Volgens mnr. Paul Holzmann, hoof van die afdeling landbou en bosbou van die Treuhandanstalt (trustagentskap) wat die terugwinning van grond, privatisering en

vergoeding van vorige eienaars hanteer, is die 32 miljard Duitse mark (R56 miljard) wat die Treuhand jaarliks van die staat ontvang, plus die inkomste uit verkope van grond en ander eiendom, nie genoeg nie. A

Hy meen die Treuhand het minstens 40 miljard Duitse mark per jaar vir die volgende drie jaar nodig om sy werk na behore te kan doen.

Die Treuhand-hoof van aandele en landbou in Maagdeburg in die deelstaat Sakse-Anhalt het mnr. Scheepers ook gewys op die groot probleme met die herinstelling van vryemarkbeginsels. â\200\234Hy sÃ© dit is

ekostig, sÃ© Scheepers na besoek

bitter moeilik om mense wat volgens staatsprogramme gewerk het, nou te leer om in 'n mededingende ekonomie te opereer. :

â\200\234Een van die grootste probleme is die feit dat alle voormalige staatsondernemings, soos landboukorporasies en nywerhede, uiters ondoeltreffend gefunksioneer het. Byna almal het te veel werknemers gehad, met gevolglike lae produktiwiteit.

â\200\234Daar was ook nooit enige aanmoediging vir die enkele private eienaars om hul eiendomme te verbeter nie. Dus het alles agteruitgegaan. Dit is verskriklik om te sien hoe 'n groot kollektiewe boerdery (naby Maagdeburg) agteruitgegaan het omdat die werkers se enigste doel was om die staatsgereelde produksiekwota vol te maak.â\200\235

Mnr. Scheepers het gesÃ© hy besef dat die huidige en historiese omstandighede in die voormalige Oos-Duitsland van diÃ© in Suid-Afrika verskil en dat Duitse praktyke nie net so op Suid-Afrika van toepassing gemaak kan word nie, â\200\234maar ons moet keer dat ons nie dieselfde foute maak nieâ\200\235.

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The Star Tuesday December 3 1991

3e:

slated for
bemg at talks

?ohtncal Staff

The Transvaal leadership of the
Pan Africanist Congress yester-
day criticised the PAC national

leadershipâ\200\231s decision to -attend

the multiparty preparatory
talks at the weekend, but af-

{irmed its confidence in the
eaders.

, At a press conference in
Johannesburg, three PAC re-
gional chairmen said the organ-
jsationâ\200\231s regional structures
held a meeting at Ham-
manskraal at the weekend to
discuss the national leadershipâ\200\231s
decision to attend the Novem-
per 29-30 preparatory meeting.

The three â\200\224 Ntsundeni Mad-
zunya (West Rand regional
chairman), Lucas Mahlangu

(northern Transvaal regional
chairman) and Thami Plaatjie
(Vaal regional chairman) â\200\224
said the Hammanskraal meet-
ing had resolved that â\200\234the pres-
ence of the PAC at the weekend
talks was grossly unjustifiedâ\200\235.

1 They said delegates at last
yearâ\200\231s congress had mandated
the PAC leadership to enter into
negotiations with the Govern-
ment only to discuss the moda-
lities of creating a constituent
.assembly. The Government had
.;not agreed to a constituent as-
sembly, which did not even fea-
ifure at the weekend talks.

't In a statement, the three men
â\200\230said that what made matters
â\200\230worse was that the PACâ\200\231s pro-
â\200\230posals at the conference that
â\200\230talks be held outside the coun-
fry and be chaired by a repre-
sentative of one of three inter-
snational bodies were rejected.

.+ However, the men said they

:stood â\200\234behind the PAC leader-
.ship in these trying timesâ\200\235.

; The PAC in the Transvaal
.had declared that the recently
â\200\230formed Patriotic Front had
â\200\230been â\200\234grossly compromisedâ\200\235,
â\200\230they added.

PAC leaders COS atu Calls

for full say
at Codes

By Mike Siluma

South Africaâ\200\231s biggest la-
bour federation, the Con-
gress of SA Trade Unions,
has increased the tempera-
ture of the negotiations pro-
cess by demanding the hold-
ing of constituent assembly
elections within 18 months.

In a hard-hitting statement
yesterday, Cosatu also an-
nounced it would only take part
in the Convention for a Demo-
cratic SA (Codesa) â\200\224 which
holds its first meeting in two
weeksâ\200\231 time â\200\224 if it was al-
lowed to attend in its own right,

not as part of a delegation of either the ANC or the SA Communist Party.

Announcing the decision at a press conference, Cosatu general-secretary Jay Naidoo said:

"We believe that the process of political transition should involve as many major players as possible, and that includes Cosatu.

"We want to see democratic, one-person, one-vote elections within 18 months, if not sooner. We believe that 18 months is enough for Codesa to complete its task of preparing for the in-

stallation of an interim govern-

ment which will focus on ensuring free and fair elections to a constituent assembly."

Mr Naidoo said the decision was taken by Cosatu's central executive committee (CEC), its highest policy-making body, after congress after consider-

ing recent developments, including meetings between the Government and the ANC, as

118 D% b 3 Â\$ 03 34

well as deliberations within the Cosatu/ANC/SACP alliance.

"The CEC resolved that if Cosatu could not take part (in Codesa) in its own right, (it) would not do so at all. Cosatu would throw its weight behind the ANC-SACP negotiating teams," Mr Naidoo said. /

Flowing from this, Cosatu had set up a six-person committee to liaise and strategise with the ANC and SACP in the negotiating process.

The Cosatu decision, which effectively overturns one taken last month by the federation's national executive committee, favouring the integration of Co-

satu into ANC and SACP delegations to the talks, betrays

fears about the Government's

- intentions and a desire by the organisation to reassert itself

on the political stage.

It is understood from union sources that Cosatu's decision to insist on attending the talks separately followed the Government's and other conservative parties' resistance to the participation of unions.

Cosatu is understood to have been offered seats on the delegations of the ANC and the SACP, but the feeling among the 80-person CEC was that participation in this way would hinder the Cosatu delegates from independently articulating the federation's views.

Other CEC decisions included urging the Government and employers to agree to the establishment of a macro-economic negotiating forum.

Preparatory

Christmas toyi toyi

children dance to the blast of Radlo 702's mobile sound system at the 702/Pick n Pay Christ-Streetwise centre for street children in Bertrams, Johannesburg, yesterday. The show, accompanied by Emden and Ollie the Clown, will soon be visiting Orange Farm in the Vaal Triangle and the

Picture: Ken Oosterbroek

CAST.;;

By Paula Fray

The Civic Association of the Northern Transvaal yesterday backed down on calls for a lack of

boycott to force the government to take decisive steps to

end the violence. ;

The partial boycott was also to raise the level of vigilance and awareness of protracted violence during the festive sea-

son, which CAST president Moses Mayekiso described as a â\200\234Christmas of mourningâ\200\235.

Last week two of the coun-tryâ\200\231s largest trade union fed-erations said they had not been formally consulted about the in-itial proposed call for a Black Christmas.

â\200\234This councili felt there would be no reason for our communi-ties to behave as if this had

- been a normal year. It is known

that hundreds of our people

have been killed, maimed and their property destroyed,â\200\235 said a CAST statement read by gen-eral-secretary Dan Mofokeng.

CAST members felt that:

@ People supported cutting down on excessive spending. This did not imply that peo-ple could not buy their basic foodstuffs and medicines from white-owned shops.

@ People would refrain from big parties.

@Â® In the tense atmosphere that

existed today, firecrackers were bound to heighten tension and confusion. CAST had ap-pealed to businessmen to act re-sponsibly by not selling fire-crackers during this period.

@ People should be wary of pic-nics and excessive drinking. CAST official Oupa Thibile said it was hoped the boycott would force the Government to take action which was viewed by the community as action to stop the violence â\200\224 such as the arrest of the perpetrators.

Subdued NY
welcome

for Mandela

By Ramsay Milne
Star Bureau

NEW YORK — In strong contrast to the spectacular official and public welcome accorded him on his first triumphant visit to New York 18 months ago, ANC leader Nelson Mandela's arrival in New York yesterday was a damp and subdued affair.

Only a small group of ANC and New York municipal officials were on hand to welcome him at John F Kennedy airport. But this time, he faced reporters, it is a working meeting.

He said he would be having meetings with 30 US foundations interested in aiding a new South Africa, discussing business deals with New York's black business community and keeping sanctions in place until significant political progress had been made. —

Mr Mandela was given ample

support by Mayor David Dinkins,

who told reporters: The struggle is far from won and sanctions have proved enormously effective.

Mr Mandela is to address the UN General Assembly at mid-

day (6pm SA time) today. He will meet President Bush and Secretary of State James Baker in Washington on Thursday. Hugh Robertson reports from Washington that so far the

American public and the media

have greeted Mr Mandela's arrival with only friendly politeness.

Domestic problems, the looming presidential election campaign, and international developments, including the on-off Middle East peace process, are serving as potent distractions.

Today's Washington Post dealt with the subject in a three-paragraph snippet and only three of the 50 or more

television channels available to
cable subscribers referred to

â\200\230Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s visit.

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Predicted
rainfall

Transvaal, Free
State and Natal

: Upington {
: 23/34 Kimberley

18/35 Bloem

15/24
PE

P'burg

17/30
Neispert

Pta 18/30
17/30

Jhb

15/28 11â\200\230)il

15/32

21/31 fod
Dbn

18/26

TRANSVAAL Partly cloudy and hot but warmf;
over the highveld. Isolated thundershowers ar"
expected except in the north.
| JOHANNESBURG CENTRAL Today 8 am 14,0
deg C; yesterday: max 29,2 deg C; min 12,0 deg
| C; rainfall Nil; so far this month 8,0 mm; so far
. | this year 649 3 mm: Average rainfall for Decem-
: | ber over 92 years 135 mm: Average annual ralnw
i fall 769 mm.

(012) 21 9621 for Tvl update i

Amsterdam

Brussels.....
Budapest ..
Copenhagen!
Dublin...

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morrow; 6.48 pm.

MOONRISE today: 2.49 am.

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SUNSET today: 6.48 pm; sunrise tomorrow, 5.08 am; sunset to-

meeting sparks
off controversy

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Staff

The weekend's historic two-day preparatory meeting for multiparty talks has left in its wake raging controversy in various quarters.

As the dust settled after the conference:

ANC president Nelson Mandela criticised the PAC for walking out of the conference, saying forward movement to a democratic South Africa does not depend on the PAC.

Cosatu yesterday demanded that Codesa pave the way for constituent assembly elections within 18 months. Cosatu also said that if it could not attend Codesa in its own capacity, it would not attend at all.

Government sources were quoted as saying the idea of Codesa becoming a form of interim government was one of many ideas being considered, but the ANC strongly rejected this possibility.

The PAC leadership, which observers believe staged a walkout to save face in the wake of dissent within its ranks, was criticised by its Transvaal regions for having

attended the November

29-30 conference.

The Azanian People's Organisation, which did

not attend the conference -

ence, accused the Government of entering into secret-deals with the Government and attacked all participants in the conference.

The Conservative Party yesterday reprimanded Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe after his appearance at the conference.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the

partyâ\200\231s executive had had discussions with Mr van der Merwe yesterday following â\200\234occurrencesâ\200\235 at the hotel.

â\200\234The executive reprimanded Mr van der Merwe over certain errors of judgment he made,â\200\235 Dr Treurnicht said. â\200\234Mr van der Merwe

assured the executive

that it was not his intention to harm the party, and apologised for embarrassment to the party. He reaffirmed that he fully endorsed the CPâ\200\231s standpoint on the all-party conference and negotiations.â\200\235

Mr van der Merwe told reporters at the talks that he was there to introduce an Angolan delegation to Finance Minister Barend du Plessis and not to attend the conference.

ESACP sees itself as â\200\230best force for socialismâ\200\231

â\200\230Political Staff

1'The South African Communist Party, which â\200\230holds its eighth national congress this week, regards itself as â\200\234the best-organised force for socialism in the countryâ\200\235.

! At a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, SACP national organiser Charles Ngakula said the congress, which â\200\230runs from Thursday to Sunday, would be attended by guests from a number of socialist countries.

He said the SACP was in favour of a mixed economy, but would nationalise all major industries.

â\200\234People in this country have been oppressed in the most atrocious of

ways. We want workers
to be in charge of pro-
duction and distribution
in particular in major in-
dustries.â\200\235

Mr Ngakula said the
SACP wanted to â\200\234revive
the international com-
munist platformâ\200\235 and
would pledge solidarity

with Cuba, the partyâ\200\231s
long-time ally.

It was not known
where the congress
would be held because
the original venue had
had to be changed â\200\234for
security reasonsâ\200\235.

Reflecting the partyâ\200\231s
new openness, Mr Nga-
kula released the agenda
and a list of countries
from which guests would
be coming.

He also disclosed that
the party, which had
started with about 5 000
members when it came

into the open after its un-
banning last year, had
registered 20 000.

Most were also ANC
members and some were

.members of the Pan

Africanist Congress and
the Azanian Peopleâ\200\231s Or-
ganisation.

Mr Ngqakula said at
least 400 delegates were
expected to attend the
congress.

Speakers would in-
clude ANC deputy presi-
dent Walter Sisulu and
Cosatu general-secretary
Jay Naidoo.

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

There will be little
Christmas cheer this
1 year for the residents of
at least five Transvaal

' townships which have had their power cut off because of debt.

Two townships are struggling without water

â\200\2301, 2ud one has neither

â\200\230water nor electricity.

The townships affected include Silobela, Carolina (electricity cut October 1990); Siyathuthuka, Belfast (electricity cut May 1991); Munsieville, Krugersdorp (electricity cut last month); Ipelegeng, Schweizer-Reineke (electricity and water cut September 1991); Reagile, Koster (electricity cut September 1991);

S Transvaal townships face gloomy

Siyathemba, Balfour (water cut last month; and Ratanda, Heidelberg (water cut last month).

Negotiations are under way between white and black local authorities. However, a Civic Association of the Southern Transvaal spokesman said white councils frequently violated agreements by putting up tariffs.

(CAST)

Christmas

Negotiations with the authorities are being held to solve the rent boycott in 70 Transvaal townships.

Five townships in the province now fall under the wing of white councils, which are rendering services on an agency basis to the townships. These moves have been condemned by CAST.

At gkt

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Your favourite light cigarette is
as yet only available in the Johannesburg and
Pretoria areas. If you are going on holiday,
be sure that you have sufficient supplies.

Treat yourself to John Rolfe Lights today

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The Star Tuesday December 3 1991

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Ghe Star

Established 1887
South Africaâ\200\231s largest daily newspaper

Realism and
â\200\230optimism

HERE is not much dan that
South Africans will go overboard in
their optimism following the suc-
â\200\230 cessful preparatory negotiations at
;â\200\230 the weekend. There are too many visi-
| ble reminders of the problems we face for
that.

But a draught of optimism, tempered by
a dash of realism, is in order. The meeting
did, indeed, represent a form of interim
government in embryo, and it held togeth-
er despite the PAC walkout and the
CP/HNP/Azapo boycott. The bulk of South
African political opinion was represented
â\200\224 and because of the constructive ap-
{ proach adopted by 19 of the 20 delegations,
! a remarkable degree of consensus was
achieved, remarkably quickly.

. Cyril Ramaphosa, Gerrit Viljoen and
| Frank Mdlalose earned the nationâ\200\231s grati-
tude by acting in statesmanlike fashion

i after the talks, spelling out for a worried public the importance of the meeting and the opportunities it opened up.

! Zach de Beer, in being chosen as the honest broker who will chair the steering committee for this month's formal conference, was justly rewarded for his unfailing integrity and persistently positive role in the negotiations process.

No one should expect that the prevailing atmosphere of goodwill will last very long.

| Gloves-off politicking is both inevitable and necessary when the parties get down to vying for crosses on ballot papers. Even before that, a lot of fireworks can be expected over the details of } rangements (this will essentially be a battle between the ANC on one side and the

NP and IFP on the other), and the fast-collapsing Patriotic Front will see the ANC and PAC sparring viciously.

These battles must be distinguished from the real significance of the weekend meeting. It lies in the fact that the rule-book for the coming political battle is being drawn up by consensus, and in gentlemanly and

. pragmatic fashion.

Getting there

ROM today, traffic streams bearing tens of thousands of holidaymakers to

: the sea begin cascading down the passes | from the highveld. Some have likened this annual exodus to the lemmings' suicidal ! migrations. It is interesting, therefore, to] see in the AA's latest figures that the) Christmas holidays are not nearly as dangerous as we feared. In the week between J Christmas and New Year the death toll drops to a significant all-year low.

a Indeed, the analyses reveal that if pedestrians were more cautious and drivers more intelligent in their assessment of obvious) hazardous pedestrian situations, 1 then we could actually halve our death toll. And if urban traffic were slowed to ! 50 km/h (as in most of Europe) we would } save hundreds more lives.

What appears to save lives between

Christmas and New Year is slower and more relaxed driving and (dare we conclude?) the possibility that the goodwill and | tolerance of Christmas is still around. It is important to know that South Africa, . can driving has some redeeming, if only ! half understood, features. It indicates that the goal of the public's Drive Alive campaign to get South Africans to drive more safely is perfectly attainable.

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â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

' | Koos and Codesa

] VEN historic events have their light
) relief, and at the Codesa meeting on
Saturday it was provided by that stormy
petrel of the Right, Koos van der Merwe.
The Conservative MP, who inclines to
talks, turhed up unexpectedly at the venue
â\200\224 earning a strong rebuke from his leader,
but later claiming it was all â\200\234a helluva
misunderstandingâ\200\235 by the media. Koos
says he â\200\230was there by chance to introduce
some Angolan businessmen to a minister.
: Well, itâ\200\231s interesting enough that the CP is
' | having dealings with Angolans. If these
. | happen to coincide with a tentative show-
ing at the negotiations, all the better.

R

women are seen as an instinc-
tual response of men, then
thereâ\200\231s not much to be done
about the 20321 reported rapes
and estimated 80000 to 400000

IF RAPE and battery of

1 unreported rapes in South Africa

in 1990 â\200\224 and countless cases of
assault.

But if gender related violence is
â\200\224seen as a result of power relations
in society, then those concerned to
end this abuse are back in busi-
ness.

Gill Eagle and Lloyd Vogelmann
of the Wits University Project for
the Study of Violence argue the
second proposition in an article
published recently in the interna-
tional journal Social Justice.

They discuss how the cycle of
violence can be broken, starting
with the assertion that neither
sexual behaviour nor gender roles
is a biological given, but politic-
ally and socially defined â\200\224 and
that the patriarchal pattern has
much to answer for when it comes
to abuse of women.

People are not often aware that
gender roles need not be fixed;

Violence agains

they â\200\234internaliseâ\200\235 their identities
and thus â\200\234although most men and
women would choose to distance

themselves from the roles of aggressor and victim, as products of a patriarchal society they are inevitably caught up in gender relations that encompass the possibility of such demonstrations of powerâ\200\235, Eagle and Vogelmann comment.

They argue that there are specific features in South African society that aggravate this position.

Working-class township fathers, reared to believe they are the ultimate authority in their families, often find this commanding position contradicted sharply in the work place. â\200\234It seems that women generally bear the brunt of menâ\200\231s need to assert power. In the South African political economy where the working class, and particularly black men, daily experience themselves as oppressed and impotent, their frustration is likely to take expression in domination in another domain â\200\224 in dominating womenâ\200\235 Unemployment would probably aggravate this tendency. 1

â\200\234One of the m

Â¥

The â\200\234ongoing war in Natalâ\200\235 has thrown up a link between politically motivated violence and abuse of women, both geographically and generally. The authors refer to Proceedings of a recent workshop which recorded: â\200\234There have been several reports of demands for

sex for protection, both within the

ranks of organisations and as trade-offs with the other side or security force personnel.

â\200\234Women are regarded as property ... a case (was cited) where a comrade justified a rape by his side because it was done in revenge for a rape committed by the other side.â\200\235 : ;

Womenâ\200\231s precarious position in the work force and their involvement in unpaid labour within the home often makes them and their children materially dependent on men. â\200\234A consequence of this dependence is the perception by men that women and their children are in some sense owned by them,â\200\235 the article reads. S â\200\230properlyâ\200\235 should be controlled or discl-

plined by the owner's.
Eagle and Voge D

tered women often stay in such abusive relationships is that of their own and their children's dependence on the male breadwinner's.

Notions of the correctness of heterosexual relationships with the man as the initiator and the woman as the reciprocator; the normality of the state of marriage; the desirability of family life keep women in these set-ups even where the reality has become an unrecognisably ugly distortion of the ideal.

If the roots of women abuse are so tangled and complex, how does one begin to tackle the problem?

Firstly by educating and organising, by interfering with ideas and with power, suggest Eagle and Vogelmann.

They argue that the media have the potential to change attitudes but more often simply perpetuate existing stereotypes, reporting only on the most lurid assaults and emphasising the innocence of particular victims and the abnormality of the perpetrators.

Likewise, the formal educational system, by virtually omitting

instruction in relation to sexuality and gender relations, ensures that ignorance and stereotyping persist and violence and abuse against women endure across generations.

Concerned organisations should fight to have these institutions used for rather than against women in their battle against violence, the authors suggest. But they concede this is unlikely to happen until there is a broad-based feminist movement in South

Africa â\200\224 looking very closely at the social, economic and political relationship between men and women. â\200\234It is important that work around improving the living and work conditions of most South Africans does not take place at the expense of work around reducing the incidence of violence against women.â\200\235 -

If social transformation were to offer better job security and social benefits, this might alleviate the displacement of aggression from the political and economic realms to the domestic.

t women is a huge social problem in SA, reports Jo-Anne Collinge

Victims of the abuse of power

More specific interventions

might include:

• The rebuilding of grassroots organisations, such as street committees, where respected local leadership figures help to press home the unacceptability of violence against women.

• Ensuring that law enforcement and legal procedure are such that appropriately severe penalties for aggression against women can be secured. â\200\234Police who refuse to make an arrest and prosecutors who refuse to file charges give batterers tacit permission to continue their violent behaviour.â\200\235

• Legal reform, for instance to make it possible for a woman to charge her husband with rape.

• Rehabilitation of offenders so that they do not leave prison with the same attitudes that led to abuse.

There is no totally effective solution to the problem, the authors caution. â\200\234But there are solutions that can make a substantial contribution to reducing the problem.â\200\235 O

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A British view of
Ukraineâ\200\231s poll

Like a
cork
ina
storm

HE birth of Ukraine marks the
death of the Soviet Union. If
Ukraine does not sign the union
treaty, neither |will Russia. The
union will then become meaning-

less, and President Gorbachev
will have to find a new job. Eu-
rope, no longer surprised, but still
daunted, will have to accommo-
date a new state of 52 million peo-
ple with rich resources, high am-
bitions and, very possibly, nuclear
weapons. All that is now probable,
given the way the Ukrainian vote
went.

Perhaps when the intoxication
of independence has worn off,
Ukraine will want to sign up for
some kind of economic union.
Leonid Kravchuk, the wily former
communist expected to become
president, has said as much, and
he is a master of the U-turn. But
he will not want to sacrifice his
newly won popularity by jumping
immediately into bed with
Moscow. When he speaks of â\200\234a
community of republics along the
lines of the ECâ\200\235, he is begging a
lot of questions. If negotiations
began, would he turn out to be a
Margaret Thatcher or a Helmut
Kohl?

On paper, economic union looks
attractive, because the economic
regions of the former Soviet Union
are still deeply intertwined. But

bargaining power is divided.
Ukraine depends heavily on Rus-
sian oil and gas, but it also sup-
plies almost half the former So-
viet Unionâ\200\231s farm products and al-
most a third of its heavy industri-
al production. Mutual advantage

could be sought in bilateral negotiations.

Strong pressures will continue to work against union. One is the desire of new states for their own currencies, not merely to satisfy nationalism, but also to escape the almost free fall of the rouble, which is now worth less than a fifth of what it was a year ago. Another is the chaotic state of economic reform, both at the dwindling Soviet level and in the emerging government of Russia. Boris Yeltsin, in the programme he outlined on October 28, offered rapid progress towards a market economy, but the details remain vague, disputed, and liable to sudden alteration. Only three days later, there appeared a long list of prices that would not, after all, be unfrozen, together with mixed signals on monetary policy.

In this turbulent period of transition, the West can feel like a cork in a storm, as a senior bank-

History in The Star

100, 50 and 25 years ago

1891 Christmas numbers of well-known publications already received, are artistic productions of the highest order. Cassell's Yuletide is most abundantly and profusely illustrated.

1941 If Japan seizes Thailand, Britain will

wage war against her. High authorities in Washington said: 'The United States could not stand idly by in such a situation.'

1966 Germiston is licking its wounds after a devastating hailstorm. Insurance companies received thousands of claims for smashed windows, broken car windscreens and damaged

roofs.

er put it recently. But its influence is slightly more than marginal. When new states emerge, they are ready to bargain for recognition and help. They also remember their early friends for a long time. The West clung rather too long to the Soviet Union because it had

Gorbachev. Now, it is nearly ready to recognise Ukraine if it can be reassured on arms control and debt. This is the right ap-

proach, provided it is made in a
welcoming spirit, not grudgingly,
and if it is accompanied by badly
needed technical help.â\200\224 The Inde-
pendent News Service. O

trade does not require union, and

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S P P s o A L
FARZLHY5 28] 77

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important business to do with Mr

Do hunger

P S JORDAAN, of Hartbees-
poort, is disturbed by a news

- story in The Star of November 4 -

about the criminal careers of
three black youngsters. It seemed
to him that it could be â\200\234intended
to justify a life of crime because
of unemploymentâ\200\235.

The youths, two from Alexan-
dra and one from Soweto, told the
reporter how unemployment and
the desperate poverty of their fa-
milies had made them take to
stealing â\200\234simply to surviveâ\200\235. One
of them â\200\234proudly admittedâ\200\235 to
stealing because he saw no other
way to help his mother buy food
and clothing for four school-going
children.

The moral point on which this
matter turns is nothing new. Older
readers may remember a film
called â\200\234The Bicycle Thievesâ\200\235,
made in Italy shortly after World
War 2, which movingly explored
this dilemma in circumstances of
grinding poverty.

Earlier, in 19th century Britain,
men could face life-time transpor-

tation to Australia for snatching up some item of food for their starving families.

It would be absurd to deny the link between unemployment, poverty and crime. Those of us who sleep in warm beds and eat to the limits of our appetites should not be too ready to judge those at the other end of the economic scale.

Yet, in the final reckoning, standards of honesty have to be upheld, or society would drift into anarchy.

Unfortunately, this story was not written with the subtlety and depth that its delicate theme de-

What theyâ\200\231re

talking

about

in Gaborone

NYONE with experience of the Batswana would agree that they are eminently peaceable people to whom violence is foreign.

They do not become embroiled

" in faction fights as do the Zulus of

the Msinga area. They do not get caught up in tribal conflicts as in the South African hostels. And the rate of murder, rape and assault in Gaborone is only a tiny fraction of what it is in Soweto.

All of which makes it a mystery why Botswanaâ\200\231s Cabinet Ministers should be acquiring the reputation of being prone to engage in fisti-cuffs with one another. It may be completely unjustified and the stories going around Gaborone may be entirely untrue. But they are going around.

On thÃ© rumour market of Gaborone you can hear all about how two Cabinet Ministers began throwing punches at one another outside the National Assembly after a caucus meeting three weeks ago. According to the rumours, one of the Ministers flat-tened the other one â\200\224 knocked

Quett Masire
. . .did he

fall or was
he pushed?

Ombudsman|!

JAMES i
McCLURG

manded. I do not for a moment
imagine that the reporter intend-
ed to condone crime; but I cannot
altogether blame readers who
came to that conclusion.

B0 0

A COMPLAINT about the phrase
"Out of Africa", used as the title
of a regular column in The Star by
Gerald Lâ\200\231Ange, has come from S
Raditlhalo, of Orlando.

He assumes that the title is
derived from Karen Blixen's book
of the same name on Kenya,
which he condemns as "derogato-
ry to all Africans", Her writing, he.
says, reflects "images of Africans
as animals, occupying in her cos-
mos the base with God at the
apogee".

It is unnecessary for me to de-
bate the merits of Karen Blixen's
book, since she did not invent the
phrase used as the title of Gerald
Lâ\200\231Ange's column,

The quotation goes back to the
Roman writer Pliny (AD 23-79),
whose words, "Africa semper
aliquid novi" are usually translat-
ed as "There is always something
new out of Africa", ;

In strict fact, Pliny was echoing
a Greek proverb but his striking
phrase has long been used to
evoke the riches, mysteries and
contradictions of this continent.

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A T e et el e A T

A more apt title for Gerald
Lâ\200\231Angeâ\200\231s column would have been
hard to find.

= PR = R

AR SUMNER, of Vaaldam, sus-
â\200\230pects â\200\234censorshipâ\200\235 behind his fail-
ure to have his views printed in
Saturday Starâ\200\231s popular feature,
Speak Out, in which readers are
invited to phone in their opinions
on topical matters.

He alleges that on one occasion
the person taking his call inter-
rupted him and argued with him
about his views. :

This particular complaint is
still being investigated, but the
editor of Saturday Star, David
Allen, is emphatic that there is no
question of those concerned being
authorised to argue with members
of the public or censure their
views.

â\200\234The job of the people taking
comments,â\200\235 he says, â\200\234is to record
what they say and then leave it to
the editor to decide whether they
are fit for publication.â\200\235

Mr Allen has given me a sum-
mary of the basis on which Speak
Out operates. This struck me as of
wide enough interest to be quoted
in full here:

â\200\234The criteria are that com-
ments should be relevant, in good
taste, not inflammatory, do not
defame anyone or contravene any
of the other laws governing the
press â\200\224 and that they should be
brief. -

â\200\234All too often people who feel
strongly about an issue go on at
some length and it is impossible to
publish their quotes in full without
sacrificing someone elseâ\200\231s. There-
need justify crime?

fore we always reserve the right
to shorten comments and edit out
unacceptable material wherever
we feel it is necessary.

â\200\234But even if respondents do

meet all those criteria, there is still no watertight guarantee of publication. If there is some pressure on space, as there sometimes is, decisions may have to be taken about which comments to include and which to leave out.

â\200\234Here the criterion is repetition. If two respondents are making similar points, one may be dropped in the interests of reflecting as wide a variety of opinion as possible.

â\200\234Nevertheless we strive at all times to give everyone who phones in a say, even if it is in abbreviated form.â\200\235

Howâ\200\231s that again?

LAND wanted with river. River must be flowing downhill. â\200\224 Advertisement in the Irish Farmersâ\200\231 Journal.

Â® Have you a complaint about editorial matter in The Star?

Were you offended by a headline, a picture or the handling of a particular news item?

The Starâ\200\231s independent ombudsman, the distinguished media personality James McClurg, is always available to adjudicate on readersâ\200\231 complaints.

Write to him c/o The Editorâ\200\231s Secretary, The Star, Box 1014, Johannesburg 2000. :

James McClurgâ\200\231s regular column will be resumed in the new year.0

Out of Africa

GERALD il
L'ANGE

him out so cold that he had to be carried off in an ambulance.

It sounds an unlikely story, I

know, but I'm just telling you what they are saying in Gaborone.

They say there that you should not believe the official explanation of why President Quett Masire was hobbling around ' on crutches for a while last year. Officially, he slipped and hurt his knee. But on the rumour market the story is that he tried to break up a fight between two members of his Cabinet and got his knee twisted for his pains.

It's hard to believe that one ei-v

ther, but it's what they are saying in Gaborone.

Just two weeks ago, the rumour market reports, two Cabinet Ministers were seen having a nose-to-nose outside the House of Chiefs, which is next to the National Assembly. No punches were thrown this time, it is said, but for a while it looked as if they would be.

It is all very difficult to explain. Could it be that in the absence of any real violence and of a TV substitute like Dallas, the Batswana are turning to inventing stories

about their Cabinet Ministers?

[m] o] //

IN Mozambique a young man who goes out in the morning to buy a pack of cigarettes could find himself in the army before sundown.

Faced with a marked reluctance by the country's youths to do their military service, the army has turned to press-ganging, just as British naval vessels in the days of sail used to send out gangs to seize able-bodied men for service at sea when they were short of crew.

It seems that the vast majority of Mozambican youngsters are reluctant to serve in the army in the seemingly endless civil war

against the Renamo rebels, espe-

cially as the two-year period of national service tends to become arbitrarily extended, sometimes for up to 10 years.

So dismal was the response to call-ups that orders were issued for all draft dodgers to be rounded up. But the army apparently

found it easier to simply grab the first available youths. Newspapers have carried accounts of groups of young men being seen shoeless, shirtless and roped together after being seized by army press-gangs.

Students and even teachers are reported to have been dragged out

of classrooms and put, shaven- |â\200\234 3

headed, into uniform. Youngsters have been picked up in the streets of Maputo, put on aircraft and flown off to join the army without any medical examination or questions about their status or chance to say goodbye to their families. The military command has refused to say how many â\200\234draft-dodgersâ\200\235 have been picked up, declaring the figures a â\200\234military secretâ\200\235. It has tried to play down the press-ganging furore and has denied reports that some of the press-ganged youths were transported or locked up in shipping containers, where some suffocated. Government officials have condemned the press-ganging as illegal. But it seems to be continuing. So just who is in charge? O

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B e

â\200\234Elna Boesak

hearing

faces SABC
disciplinary

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 Looking
glamorous and very preg-
nant, and flanked by lawyers
and a union representative,
television journalist Elna
Boesak arrived at the SAB!

in Sea Point yesterday to face
a disciplinary hearing.

Mrs Boesak, wife of ANC
western Cape chairman Dr
â\200\230Allan Boesak, is on the carpet
over allegations that she
broke SABC personnel regu-
lations by complaining to the
press after 2 documentary
she made was cut and â\200\234wa-
tered down to insignificanceâ\200\235.

She refused to answer
questions as she arrived at
the SABC yesterday, and her
advocate, Denzil Potgieter,
said: â\200\234She is not in a position
to comment. She has a duty
to her employers.â\200\235

Storm

Mrs Boesak, who is a mem-
ber of the South African
Union of Journalists, was ac-
companied at the hearing by
the national organiser of the
union, Karen â\200\230Stander.

The 25-minute documenta-
ry at the centre of the storm
focused on the crisis in aca- = :
demic hospitals. It was cub Complained . . . Elna Boesak at the Sea Point SABC

with Mrs Boesak's approval, \ "ith SAUJ national organiser Karen Stander.
to 13 minutes, and then cut .

down again to five minutes, ~medical experts. tor in chief Johan Pretorius

this time without Mrs Boe- Mrs Boesak claimed that said the corporation viewed
sakâ\200\231s knowledge. ; her documenta had been Mrs. Boesakâ\200\231s ' claims â\200\234i
n a
It was screened during used to â\200\234deliberately protectâ\200\235 yery serious lightâ
\200\235.

â\200\234pgendaâ\200\235 and, according to Dr Venter. ; The corporationâ\200\231s Te N
Mrs Boesak, the programme "uguch an interpretation tion was atpsotalie s dpâ\200\234 2
also featured an interview could confirm claims that the g PR
with Minister of Health Dr SABC is an extension of the The disciplinary hearing is
Rina Venter, instead of a de- Government,â\200\235 she said. likely to last more than one
bate between Dr Venter and Later, SABC-TV news edi- day. :

| zunya (West

-, _, _Ms;l;ated for
| being at talks

: 'i-\201glitical Staff
| The Transvaal leadership of the
| Pan Africanist Congress yester-

day criticised the PAC national

| leadershipâ\200\231s decision to attend

the multiparty preparatory
talks at the weekend, but af-
firmed its confidence in the
leaders.

v At @1 press conference in
Johannesburg, three PAC re-
gional chairmen said the organ-
isationâ\200\231s regional structures
held a meeting at Ham-
manskraal at the weekend to
discuss the national leadershipâ\200\231s
decision to attend the Novem-
ber 29-30 preparatory meeting.
. The three â\200\224 Ntsundeni Mad-
Rand regional

| chairman), Lucas Mahlangu

(northern Transvaal regional
chairman) and Thami Plaatjie

(Vaal regional chairman) â\200\224

talks was gr s

They said delegates at last
| yearâ\200\231s congress had mandated
| the PAC leadership to enter into
negotiations with the Govern-

lities of creating a constituent
assembly. The Government had
pot agreed to 2 constituent as-
| sembly, which did not even fea-
ture at the weekend talks.

. In a statement, the three men
| said that what made matters
| worse was that the PACâ\200\231s pro-
| posals at the conference that

1 talks be held outside the country and be chaired by a representative of one of three international national bodies were rejected. However, the men said they stood â\200\234behind the PAC leadership in these ing timesâ\200\235. >"The PAC in the Transvaal Had declared that the recently formed Patriotic Front had been â\200\234grossly compromisedâ\200\235,

| they added.

l'â\200\224__â\200\231â\200\224_,

| ment only to discuss the moda-

Tpacieaters (Cosatu calls i
or full say
| 5

By Mike Siluma

i 0 IR B vy
South Africaâ\200\231s biggest labour federation, the Congress of SA Trade Unions, has increased the temperature of the negotiations process by demanding the holding of constituent assembly elections within 18 months. In a hard-hitting statement

yesterday, Cosatu also an- -

nounced it would only take part

_in the Convention for 2 Democratic SA (Codesa) â\200\224 which-

holds its first meeting in two weeksâ\200\231 time â\200\224 if it was allowed to attend in its own right, not as part of a delegation of either the ANC or the SA Communist Party.

Announcing the decision at a press conference, Cosatu general-secretary Jay Naidoo said: â\200\234We believe that the process of

olitical transition should involve as many major players as possible, and that includes Cosatu.

â\200\234We want to see democratic, one-person, one-vote elections within 18 months, if not sooner.

enough for Codesa to complete its task of preparing for the installation of an interim government which will focus on ensuring free and fair elections to

a constituent assembly.â\200\235

Mr Naidoo said the decision was taken by Cosatu's central executive committee (CEC) â\200\224 its highest policy-making body, after congress â\200\224 after considering recent developments, including meetings between the Government and the ANC, as

_____ -â\200\224-â\200\224_â\200\224â\200\224"â\200\230

- negotiating processâ\200\235.

n

râ\200\230\"i-\201\

at Codesa

well as deliberations within the Cosatu/ANC/SACP alliance.

.â\200\234The CEC resolved that if Co-, satu could not take part (in Codesa) in its own right, (it) would

throw its weight behind the ANC-SACP negotiating teams,â\200\235 Mr Naidoo said. ' '

Flowing from this, CdÃ©agu |

had set up a six-person committee â\200\234to liaise and strategise with the ANC and SACP in the

Â£

The Cosatu decision, which effectively overturns onÃ© taken last month by the federationâ\200\231s national executive committee, favouring the integration of Cosatu into ANC and SACP delegations to the talks, betrays fears about the Governmentâ\200\231s intentions and a desire by the

organisation to reassert itself

on the political stage.

It is understood from union sources that Cosatuâ\200\231s decision to insist on attending the talks separately followed the Governmentâ\200\231s and other conservative

artiesâ\200\231 resistance to the participation of unions.

Cosatu is understood to have been offered seats on the delegations of the ANC and the SACP, but the feeling among

the 80-person CEC was that participation in this way would hinder the Cosatu delegates from independently articulating the federation's views.

Other CEC decisions included urging the Government and employers to agree to the establishment of a macro-economic negotiating forum.

~ Pretoriato
-give blacks
. sayinlaws

SOUTH Africa's black ma- said: "Once Codesa's off the
majority is likely to be given an ground and working proper-
| effective say in governing the' ly, its decisions would force

country within a few months
as a result of the success of
preparatory talks on a new
constitution. B

. The key to-unlocking black

Power is a. a declaration of .
n

tent, which is being pre-
pared: for the first round. of
negotiations later this month.
The declaration will provide a.
legal basis for the negotiating .
Hosur, the Convention for'd

-desa), and accord it powers to
1 .supervise. legislation during
.the transition period. - .

that, .while. the government
would retain ultimate sover-
eignty, any important legisla-
tion or restructuring of the
economy would have to be
negotiated in the convention.
In effect, the interim govern-
ment started at the prepara-
tory meeting. he said. 9
Taken together with the
national peace agreement of
last September, the powers
that Codesa would command
render it a kind of umbrella

body over the whole transi..

tion process. Various options
were. being considered. For

example, parliament could .

give Codesa a right of veto on
legislation, or leaders of the

negotiating parties could be invited to join the cabinet,

Gill Marcus, a member of the -African National Congress executive committee,

is prevailed upon by the Democratic South Africa (Co-

government to implement them. Any recommendations coming from working groups

-ad accepted by Codesa

- would become policy. Thus, while the mechanics of sharing power have still to be

" worked out, the principle is

-generally accepted and a le-

- g framework will soon be in

place, Cautious optimism

the preliminary meeting last week -
+ agreed to convene the negotiations at a trade centre near

" Johannesburg on December
An official spokesman said ;

20 under the chairmanship

of two senior judges. The government and at least 19 parties will participate.

The only significant absentee so far is the far-right Conservative party, which refuses to negotiate any form of power-sharing. However, the unexpected appearance of Koos van der Merwe, a senior conservative M P, at the venue

of the preparatory talks has fuelled speculation of an impending split in the party. Mr van der Merwe has advocated conditional participation in the negotiations, and he is understood to be lobbying for a referendum.
. A walk-out by the radical Pan Africanist Congress, after its spoiling tactics were brushed aside by the raceting, is not considered a serious setback.

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