

# Transkei, Ciskei

SOWETAN

make up after an

15 FEBRUARY 1991

apology by Gqozo



Transkei's Major-General Bantu Holomisa.

AN ATMOSPHERE of mistrust has been cleared between Transkei and Ciskei following an apology by the Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo to Transkei's Major-General Bantu Holomisa.

After receiving the apology, the Transkei military ruler accused

SABC-TV of "engineering the state of distrust".

The atmosphere arose as a result of allegations supposedly made by Gqozo that Transkei had a hand in the recent troubled state of affairs in Ciskei.

## Coup

Holomisa said in a statement on Wednesday that the Transkei government had unconditionally accepted Gqozo's apology.

"It is patently clear that the persons who were engineering the state of distrust were the SABC-TV and its sponsors," he said.

He said SABC-TV was proving its complicity in the matter by persistently refusing to broadcast Gqozo's public apology to Transkei.

Part of Gqozo's apology reads: "There is no evidence that the coup in which Sebe and Guzana were killed was inspired by the Transkei Government. Any inference of such is regretted."

## Security

"Any embarrassment which may have arisen from the wording of my comments on the part of Major-General Holomisa is regretted."

Holomisa said, however, that the claims by a member of the Guzana family, who is a member of the Ciskei security forces and who has also fled to Transkei, needed to be investigated.

## Approach

The Guzana family claimed that three senior Ciskei Defence Force members approached General Charles Sebe and Colonel Onward Mangwane Guzana to be ready to assume leadership once a coup against Gqozo had been staged.

## Trap

"It is the view of the Transkei government that thorough investigations against the said Ciskei officers be made after which they will have to be brought to book."

"If there are no steps taken against them, it cannot be claimed that General Sebe and Colonel Guzana had indeed gone to Ciskei to stage a coup except being lured into a trap," he said. - Sowetan Correspondent.

# Whither PAC?

SIR - I am concerned as to where the once mighty PAC of Azania is heading.

The PAC of 1991 is engaging in protest marches for which permission is sought from the illegitimate racist regime.

Today's PAC has also abandoned principles for a United Front and has even lost sight of the primary objective of the Azanian Liberation struggle.

Liberatory forces do not have to unite for the sake of uniting; they unite in order to fight and unleash effective revolutionary blows against oppressors.

Unity must thus uncompromisingly be based on the following principles:

- 1 - Apartheid needs to be totally eradicated.
- 2 - The vehicle for change is the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed masses, not the regime.
- 3 - The armed struggle is the chief method of struggle.
- 4 - There should be no collaboration between liberatory forces and the regime.
- 5 - The interests of the workers and peasants should reign supreme.

The PAC/ANC alliance is not based on a single one of these principles ...

To be frank and honest, there is no alliance between the two organisations, but the ANC is systematically and gradually swallowing the PAC.

The PAC is just like the ANC - no longer within the ranks of the liberation movement.

JUSTICE  
HLUNGWAYO  
Katlehong

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THE CITIZEN  
**COMMENT**

15 FEBRUARY 1991

## Missing

THE Case of the Missing Witness deepens.

A young man who is one of the complainants in the Winnie Mandela kidnapping and assault case is allegedly abducted from the Methodist Church in Soweto on Sunday night.

Two co-complainants then refuse to give evidence because they are afraid that something might happen to them too.

A man claiming to be the missing witness telephones several newspapers and a news agency from Harare, saying he is prepared to meet the prosecutor anywhere in the world, but not in South Africa.

"I don't want to give evidence in South Africa. I have no intention of returning," he says, while claiming the trial is affecting his life and he is afraid.

He denies he has been coerced by the ANC to leave the country. "I am working with the ANC," he says.

Asked how he left the country, he says he hired a helicopter and flew to Harare from Jan Smuts Airport.

If he is the missing witness, then it is clear that he was assisted to leave the country, since he is not the kind of person who would have the money or the initiative to leave in this manner.

Furthermore, he would not have made the calls to the newspapers if he had not been put up to it by someone who wanted to publicise his presence in Harare and the reasons for his going there.

The fact that several newspapers were telephoned suggests that it was a well-co-ordinated publicity effort.

He may not, of course, be the missing witness, in which case his calls from Harare may be an elaborate way of diverting attention from the missing witness.

All of this is mere speculation. But the circumstances of his disappearance suggest that, wherever he is and whatever has happened to him, the witness went missing in a plot to upset the prosecution of Mrs Mandela.

The ANC denies it is involved. We have no reason to believe Mrs Mandela has anything to do with the disappearance, either.

But somebody or some group wanted the witness out of the way (or out of the country) so that the prosecution of Mrs Mandela could be hampered.

Although the judge has ordered the remaining two complainants to give evidence, they are still refusing to do so.

Bear in mind also that four of Mrs Mandela's co-accused skipped bail, and you will appreciate the seriousness of the situation.

We do not wish to comment on the merits of the case against Mrs Mandela, which can only be decided by the court.

But if a deliberate attempt is being made by people unknown to defeat the ends of justice, then it is outrageous.

We cannot have witnesses disappear, by abduction or because they have been spirited out of the country.

Moreover, if sympathisers of Mrs Mandela are responsible, then we fear for the future of our legal system should the ANC come to power, as the people involved show utter contempt for the courts and for due legal process.

We also object to the daily gathering outside the court of pro-Winnie crowds carrying posters with slogans that would be regarded as contempt of court if action were to be taken.

What we are seeing is not just the spontaneous presence of well-wishers but organised street theatre of the kind that plays primarily to overseas audiences via television.

The ANC says it recognises the need for justice to take its course, but it must agree that what has been happening in the Case of the Missing Witness has cast doubt about the adherence to normal rules of justice of some of its supporters.

Justice must not only be seen to be done, but it must not be tampered with.

We hope, then, that the Case of the Missing Witness will be speedily solved and that all witnesses will be able to give their evidence freely and without fear.

For without respect for the law and its institutions, we will only descend into anarchy.



# Fearful pair force Winnie trial delay

By Stephane Bothma

DESPITE facing indefinite imprisonment, two key State witnesses in the Winnie Mandela kidnapping and assault trial, fearing for their lives, still refused to give testimony — forcing the State to ask for a postponement.

Mr Justice M S Stegmann postponed the trial to March 6 to give the State and the police the opportunity to find a third witness, Mr Gabriel Pelo Mekgwe, who was allegedly kidnapped earlier this week before he could testify against Mrs Mandela and her three co-accused.

The judge also postponed the sentencing of the two witnesses, who refused to testify in the trial, Mr Kenneth Kgase and Mr Barend Thabiso Mono, to the same date.

Messrs Kgase and Mono — two key witnesses, and also the victims of the alleged kidnapping and assault which took place on December 29, 1988 — on the alleged instructions of Mrs Mandela — refused to testify, claiming they feared for their lives following the kidnapping of Mr Mekgwe.

Mr Justice Stegmann

found that neither of the two remaining witnesses had shown just excuse for their refusal to testify, and were therefore both liable for periods of imprisonment of up to five years, recurring indefinitely until they decide to testify.

## Real fear

He said although he accepted that the immediate fear by the accused for reprisal for testifying was real, the police could for the duration of the trial and for a period thereafter provide protection.

The long-term fears expressed by the two witnesses were, however, too remote.

He ordered that Mr Kgase and Mr Mono be "immediately" taken into custody; and gave them half an hour to reconsider their decision not to testify.

After the adjournment, Mr Paul Kennedy, who represented the two witnesses, stated: "They do indeed still persist in refusing to testify."

But, Mr Kennedy added, discussions with Mr Jan Swanepoel (SC), for the State, revealed that, the confinement of the two men would in the meantime be of a protective nature rather than that of punishment.

Mr Swanepoel told the court that he had to apply for a postponement of the trial to give the police time to investigate the disappearance of Mr Mekgwe, as well as rumours published in the Press that he had left the country of his own free will.

He asked the court to postpone the sentencing of the two State witnesses who refused to testify.

"In view of the co-operation received so far from the witnesses, we feel it would be unfair to commit them to prison at this stage," Mr Swanepoel said.

## Different

He added that the circumstances in the present case were completely different to those in other cases, and that the witnesses were not hostile, but had a true fear of testifying.

The recent developments, Mr Swanepoel said, referring to the alleged kidnapping of Mr

Mekgwe, had made it impossible for the State to continue with its case.

"It is in the interest of justice that the matter should be investigated. The fear by the two witnesses to testify may be removed if Mr Mekgwe is found."

Following a request by the State, the order that the two witnesses be placed immediately in detention for refusing to testify, was revoked by the judge.

In deciding whether or not to accept the fears of the accused as a just excuse to testify, Mr Justice Stegmann found that it was not yet clear what had happened to Mr Mekgwe.

"I cannot make light of the fears raised by the witnesses," he said, and the actions by an obvious misguided unidentified person, who had allegedly taken Mr Mekgwe away against his will, was a good reason for the two witnesses to believe that the same could happen to them.

But, he added, to relieve the immediate fear, the police could safeguard them for the duration of the trial, although they had both chosen not to avail themselves of police protection.

## Opposed

The application for a postponement of the trial was opposed by Mr Hentie Joubert, representing two of the accused, Miss Nompumelelo Falati and her mother, Mrs Zoliswa Falati, on the grounds that the 18-year-old Miss Falati had already missed two years of schooling as a result of the trial.



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When the trial resumes Mr Justice M S Stegmann will decide what action to take with regard to the remaining two State witnesses, Kenny Kgase, 31 and Thabiso Mono, 21, who have refused to testify since the alleged kidnapping of witness Gabriel Pello Mekgwae, 22.

## Autograph

Mr Hentie Joubert, who appears for Nompumelelo Falati (18), applied unsuccessfully for a separation of trials, saying she was 'experiencing hardship' as reporting to the police prior to the trial 'had prevented her attending school for two years'.

If she had not gone to school, it was not because of the these conditions, he stated.

The Judge, referring to an earlier separation of trials, asked if the adjournment would be used to find four missing accused — Katiza Cebekhulu, 22, Mpho Gift Mabelane, 19, Sibusiso Brian Mabuza, 19, and a 17-year-old youth who had failed to appear in court and for whom warrants of arrest had been issued.



COMMENT

# On your Marx

**R**USSIANS strolling in the streets of Johannesburg and Cape Town, admiring the sights on their way to business appointments, would have been unthinkable not long ago. Yet this is what is happening. It is a measure of the irreversible change taking place, not only in South Africa but in the Soviet Union.

The Russian visitors were hoping to see the department head of one private sector organisation this week. They were unable to — he was in Moscow.

This particular group is only one of many missions — another party from the Soviet Union is due today — seeking closer ties with South Africa. Trade delegations from countries which two years ago were regarded as enemies are now commonplace. South Africa's pivotal role in southern Africa is being acknowledged — openly and tacitly.

Reports on the same page in Business Day yesterday concerned the Russian venture, Safto's interest in a harbour project on Lake Tanganyika as part of a drive for business in central Africa, and South Africa's inclusion in a regional economic conference in Harare in May. Organisations like the SA Chamber of Business are constantly involved in discussions to promote trade in African countries. This is happening in spite of political posturing by governments, and the standpoint of organisations like the ANC that South Africa should remain isolated until such time as "the people" give their approval for a change. It is

happening because business now makes sense.

The Russians have been surprisingly pragmatic. They recognise the circumstances for what they are, and see no point in waiting for others to set the pace. The group from the Moscow-based International Projects Centre emphasises relations with the Russian Federation rather than the Soviet Union, ostensibly because the Yeltsin government is less constrained by commitments to sanctions. But there could be another reason — that their country is also in the midst of dramatic change, and the future may lie with the republican governments rather than the USSR.

Meanwhile the Soviet Union is desperately short of all kinds of goods, particularly food and consumer products, like clothing. Many South African factories are operating well below capacity because of the recession. Workers are being laid off, and some plants are being shut down. Projections of future unemployment are horrific, yet black political organisations oppose the lifting of sanctions, clinging to the belief that they remain a necessary weapon against "apartheid".

Such thinking has been overtaken by events. The European Community is planning to lift restrictions and establish a "technical office" here; encouraging statements are coming from the United States, Australia, Canada and New Zealand. The Russians have beaten them to our door. Opportunities seem to be here for the taking.

# Buthelezi *CITIZEN* urges Pope to visit SA

By Michele Vermaak

THE President of Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has urged Pope John Paul II to visit South Africa, in the belief that it might have a healing effect on the violence in the country.

Chief Buthelezi, who returned yesterday from a visit to Italy, said at a media conference at Jan Smuts Airport that he had an audience with the Pope on Wednesday and

the Pope had given him the impression that he was receptive to the idea of visiting the country.

While in Italy, Chief Buthelezi met with the Prime Minister of Italy, Mr Giulio Andreotti and addressed the Italo African Institute.

He said the meeting with Mr Andreotti had gone off very well. He told Mr Andreotti State President De Klerk was moving forward in bringing about changes.

He called for the lifting of sanctions and investment in South Africa and warned against poverty in the new South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi conveyed his thanks to the European Economic Community, presently chaired by Italy, for lifting restrictions against new investments in South Africa.

In a memorandum of his presentation to Mr Andreotti, Chief Buthelezi said now was the time for solid rewards. "We really now do need massive economic growth."

"Spreading mass poverty is the mortal enemy of democracy in Africa. We just have to do something about poverty in

South Africa.

"No government of the future will stand the test of time unless it makes the kind of exciting political changes now taking place meaningful to the people in terms of increased standards of living."

He told reporters yesterday that with an increase in poverty would come and increase in violence.

"If there is no new investment and poverty escalates, those who might rejoice about a new South Africa will discover there is no pot of gold at the end of the rainbow."

Asked by reporters on the continuing violence in Natal despite the January 29 accords between the ANC and Inkatha, Chief Buthelezi said he was very concerned about the leadership of the ANC in the Natal Midlands.

He also said one of the things that really concerned him was the campaign against local government.

"Local government is not perfect but negotiations are about making that which is not perfect, perfect. Negotiations are about to happen."



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## Stop the 'killing talk'

Dear Editor

I refer to the letter entitled "Fed up with Buthelezi" which appeared in your newspaper of February 1-7. The letter is full of the usual venomous vilifications of Dr Buthelezi, Inkatha and kwaZulu Police which has become the stock-in-trade of all dyed-in-the-wool Buthelezi-bashers.

The only reason I bothered to respond to it is because it falls full square within the parameters of what was identified in the historic meeting between IFP and ANC in Durban on 29th January 1991 as "killing talk." It is the type of utterance which merely inflames tempers and promotes mutual hostility and does nothing to bring about a rapprochement and mutual tolerance. It only fans the flames of violent confrontation.

The writer implicitly acknowledges the potentially harmful effect of his/her letter by requesting that his/her name be withheld and not published.

I therefore appeal through you to your readership to make an effort to avoid unnecessarily inflammatory and potentially explosive rhetoric, and to heed the call of our leaders in their recent peace meeting.

Your paper can also play a placatory role by desisting from publishing "killing talk."

I am sure our people will understand if they are requested to moderate their language. This must not be confused with censorship. Your paper in doing so would be fulfilling an important ministry based on the words of the Lord, to wit:

"Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called the children of God."

Dennis Madide  
Inkatha Central Committee  
ULUNDI



16/1/11  
Workers such as these at a Chimoio textile factory, in Manica province, Mozambique, may soon enter an alliance with their South African counterparts

## Searching for allies in a new world

**COSATU'S position on international relations is expected to undergo radical re-examination within the next few months in view of the far reaching changes that have occurred at both a political and economic level in the world.**

One of the issues it will have to reach finality on this year is whether or not to affiliate to the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (Oatuu).

It will also have to examine its relations with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and the World Federation of Trade Union (WFTU).

While affiliation to Oatuu was raised at last week's Central Executive Committee (CEC) meeting there was little discussion and no decision was taken.

Debate nevertheless remains sensitive, especially against the background of the split in Oatuu during the latter half of the 1980's. But this split has been mended. And while there is opti-

mism that remaining problems within Oatuu will be resolved, these will not make the debate easier.

Oatuu has already considered an application for affiliation from Nactu and has decided that it will grant affiliation to both federations.

In the event Cosatu decides to affiliate, it will become Oatuu's biggest member with a membership of over a million. Two of the African federation's biggest affiliates are the Tanzanian federation, Juwata and the Kenyan Central Organisation of Trade Unions (Cotu), which have a combined membership of under a million.

Given its size, Cosatu would be well-placed to further consolidate the progress made in Oatuu towards deepening the unity after the problems in the 1980's.

Cosatu assistant general secretary Sydney Mufamadi attended the recent Oatuu congress in Libya as part of the federation's efforts to strengthen links with African trade

unions.

Cosatu representatives also held a special session with leaders from the Southern Africa Trade Union Co-ordinating Committee (Satucc) during last year's the International Labour Organisation (ILO) conference.

Among those that attended the session were representatives from Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Tanzania and Lesotho.

The need to re-examine its international links comes against the background of the emergence of three poles of development following the restructuring of the world economic order.

These are the European Common Market with Germany as its centre, the Pacific rim with Japan as the centre and North America with the United States as the centre.

Inequalities between the northern and southern hemispheres are certain to be underscored by these developments with workers in the south coming under increasing pressure

from the dominant north. This will require stronger links with unions in the developing countries in the north and beyond Africa.

Cosatu has until now argued for active non-alignment and has steered clear of affiliation to either of the two world federations, the ICFTU and the WFTU.

But there are indications that Cosatu's position may be changing. Last year, the federation pointed out that it did not envisage any problem in meeting with a key ICFTU affiliate, the American labour federation AFL-CIO.

Cosatu's vice-president then met with the AFL-CIO executive as part of an ANC delegation last year.

More recently, Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo attended the ICF-TU congress in Japan.

Cosatu leaders have also visited affiliates of the WFTU during the last year. A high level Cosatu delegation attended the WFTU congress in Moscow. But with the

social and political turmoil in Eastern Europe, a great of uncertainty surrounds the future of the WFTU.

A number of national trade union centres in the Eastern European bloc have applied for affiliation to the ICFTU, resulting in the strengthening of this international centre at the expense of the WFTU.

And it is clear that the Cold War at the level of the trade unions has not ended. This must certainly impact on how Cosatu redefines its international relations.

One positive development, however, in the Eastern Bloc has been the emergence of more genuine brand of trade unionism in direct response to the increasingly difficult conditions being faced by workers there. It is not inconceivable that Cosatu will strengthen links with these emerging formations.

As it strengthens links with African trade unions, it may seek more active involvement in the ICF-TU's special committee on South Africa.



16/1/11

## Support committee formed <sup>SIA</sup>

By Kaizer Nyatsumba  
Political Staff

15/02/91

A group of activists and members of the community have formed a support group for Winnie Mandela who is appearing in the Rand Supreme Court on four charges of kidnapping and assault, it was announced yesterday.

The Winnie Mandela Support Adhoc Committee (WMSAC), was formed to give "unqualified support" and demonstrate solidarity with Mrs Mandela and her family "during these trying times", said WMSAC secretary Joan Fubbs.

In a statement issued yesterday, Ms Fubbs thanked "the thousands" of people who had so far supported Mrs Mandela.

Ms Fubbs also expressed her organisation's "deepest suspicions about the motives of the SAP", saying their behaviour towards ANC supporters outside the Rand Supreme Court had been "grudgingly tolerant".

The ANC had reason to believe that the scuffles and charging of its members with police dogs which took place this week was "calculated to dilute and discourage" its supporters from coming to court.

The WMSAC also questioned the motives of those who insinuated key State witness Gabriel Mekgwe (22) had been kidnapped by the ANC without considering the possibility that the Mr Mekgwe might have "voluntarily decided to leave".



Noted

## MK cadre in towel nabbed by cops

15/02/91

SECURITY police in the eastern Transvaal allegedly raided the Mbuzini home of an Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK) guerrilla and took him away - wearing only a towel - to detain him under section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

According to relatives, when police raided Fish Mahlalela's home last weekend, they found him covered in a towel. He had taken medication for a stomach ailment.

"He had been visiting the rest-room often and was not dressed in his clothing at the time the police arrived in the house," explained a relative.

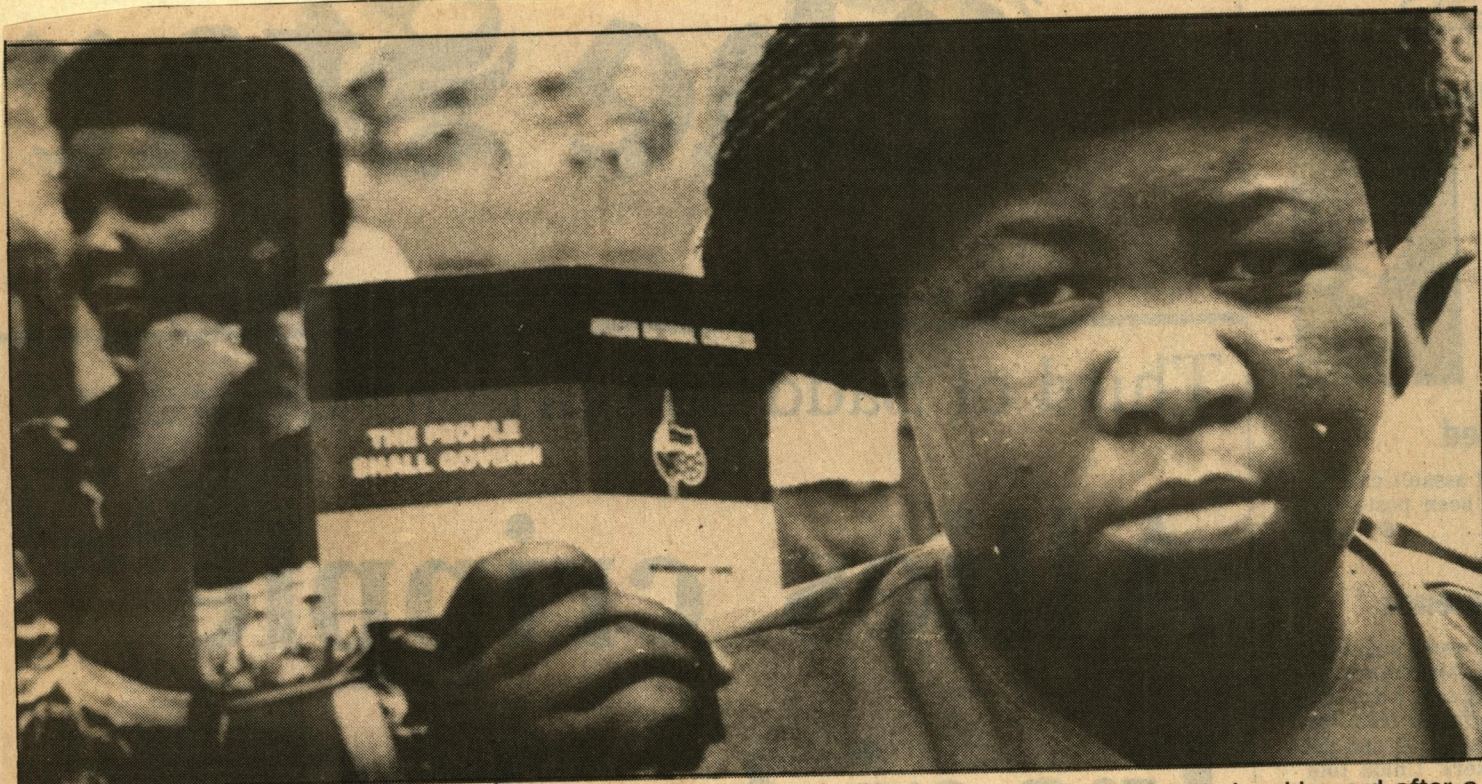
The relative said the police refused to give him chance to get dressed. Family lawyer, Lawrence Mushwana, confirmed that his client was being held under security legislation and that his family had complained about his being detained without clothing.

A Lowveld Council of Churches (LCC) field-worker, Gerald Sono, also confirmed that Mahlalela had been detained without clothes because they had to fork out R302,80 to buy him clothing and canvas shoes.

Police headquarters confirmed Mahlalela's detention, but could not comment on enquiries relating to his clothing.

16/1/11





"The people shall govern" . . . Mananki Seipei, mother of the late Stompie, shows her ANC membership card after a press conference called by the ANC's Parys branch yesterday. Picture: Alf Kumalo

## Stompie's mother changes tune over ANC

Stompie Seipei's mother yesterday displayed apparent solidarity with the ANC and unwillingness to condemn anyone but the "apartheid government" for her activist son's murder in 1988.

Mrs Mananki Seipei's stance at a township news conference called by the ANC was in contrast to previous reported statements in which she expressed bitterness about the ANC.

At a press conference at the Tumahole Advice Centre, the ANC local leadership accused the media of trying to boost their circulation by resurrect-

ing Stompie's death.

He was found dead after being abducted from the Soweto Methodist Church manse. Former "Mandela United coach" Jerry Richardson was sentenced to death for the killing.

The trial in which Mrs Mandela and three others have pleaded not guilty to kidnapping and assault with intent to cause grievous bodily harm stems from the alleged abduction of Stompie and three other youths from the manse.

Yesterday, a statement which reporters were told was com-

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piled by Mrs Seipei and the ANC was released. It said:

"We in Tumahole (the township near Parys) blame his death on the racist regime and we say the people shall decide the fate of this racist regime that rules our country through the barrel of the gun."

Asked what she was looking for from the "Winnie Mandela trial", Mrs Seipei was not as vociferous as the statement.

Speaking through an interpreter, she said: "It has been painful, but her (Mrs Mandela's) pain won't relieve mine. I do

not blame Mrs Mandela as a person."

Mrs Seipei, who seemed to have been muzzled by the local leadership, said that she was still disappointed by the failure of Mrs Mandela to visit her home. She said she would be content if Mrs Mandela would see her to clarify certain issues.

Mrs Seipei maintained that she was a signatory to the press statement. This was in spite of the fact she was uncertain in answering a barrage of questions from local and foreign media. — Staff Reporter, Sapa.

16/1/11



16/1/11

# Winnie's trial postponed to find witness

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15/02/71

By Cathy Stagg  
and Helen Grange

The kidnapping and assault trial in which Winnie Mandela and three others have been appearing in the Rand Supreme Court was postponed yesterday to March 6.

This will give the State time to investigate speculation and facts surrounding the alleged kidnapping of State witness Gabriel Pello Mekgwe (22).

Also on March 6, Mr Justice MS Stegmann will decide what to do with the remaining two State witnesses, Kenny Kgase (31) and Thabiso Mono (21), who have so far refused to testify.

They have said that if Mr Mekgwe is found — and is still willing to testify — they might also reconsider their position.

A smiling Nelson Mandela stood outside the Rand Supreme Court yesterday with his fist raised — moments after a suggestion by the State prosecutor that the trial be postponed.

During yesterday's proceedings Hentie Joubert, who appears for Nompumelelo Falati (18), applied to have her trial separated from the others', but this was refused.

Mr Joubert said she was ex-

periencing hardship because reporting to the police prior to the trial had prevented her from attending school for two years.

But Jan Swanepoel, SC, for the State, said that until May, Miss Falati had had to report to a police station twice a week between 8 am and 6 pm, and since May only once a week. If she had not gone to school, it was not because of these conditions, he said.

The judge asked whether the adjournment would be used to find four missing accused.

Four names appeared on the indictment, but on February 4, Katiza Cebekhulu (22), Mpho Gift Mabelane (19), Sibisiso Brian Mabuza (19) and a 17-year-old youth failed to appear.

Mrs Mandela's other co-accused are her driver, John Morgan (61), and Nompumelelo's mother, Xoliswa Falati (36).

Mrs Mandela, Mr Morgan and the two Falatis on Monday pleaded not guilty to four counts of kidnapping and four counts of assault.

The three State witnesses are the complainants in three of the counts.

The remaining counts concern Stompie Seipei (14). Jerry Richardson was convicted of Stompie's murder and of kidnapping and assault last year.





Alexandra mayor Prince Mokoena after yesterday's meeting between his town council, the TPA and the Alexandria Civic Organisation.  
Picture: CATHERINE ROSS

## Rent boycott accord near

WILSON ZWANE

THE Alexandria Civic Organisation (ACO), the Alexandria Town Council and the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) are expected to sign an agreement next week aimed at ending the five-year rent and services' boycott in the township.

The parties met for about six hours yesterday at the Alexandria Town Council's offices.

After the meeting, the TPA, ACO and the council refused to comment on progress made.

However, a source close to the council said the refusal by the parties to comment should not be understood to mean there were impediments to the signing of the accord.

It was expected the agreement, once signed, would make provisions for the scrapping of about R11m arrears and the introduction of interim monthly rates.

"A joint statement will be issued next week when the agreement is signed," the source said.

## Mbeki to brief Commonwealth ministers

KIN BENTLEY 15-02 -

LONDON — ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki will brief foreign affairs ministers of nine Commonwealth countries during their meeting tomorrow to discuss sanctions against SA.

Mbeki will be the only outsider addressing the all-day meeting, a Commonwealth spokesman confirmed yesterday.

The foreign ministers, who meet under the chairmanship of Canadian Prime Minister Joe Clark, are expected to offer encouragement to President F W de Klerk.

Commonwealth Secretariat director of information Patsy Robertson said yesterday the committee had the "power to recommend action by heads of government".

Robertson noted any decision tak-

en tomorrow would also be considered by the Commonwealth's 10-nation high-level appraisal group of prime ministers including Britain's John Major, which meets in June to consider the body's future role.

Major, who favours the lifting of sanctions before the Harare meeting, has invited ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to meet him for talks if they travel to the UK.

Arrangements for Major's meeting with De Klerk in late April are going ahead.

Yesterday, Commonwealth foreign ministers began arriving for tomorrow's talks amid signs of a split between Australia, which favours the early lifting of sanctions, and the four

African states on the committee — Tanzania, Nigeria, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Other members are India, Malaysia and Guyana.

The Foreign Ministers Committee on Southern Africa was formed in Vancouver in 1987 to "sustain the Commonwealth's anti-apartheid effort". Britain, under then prime minister Margaret Thatcher, decided not to join the committee, which at the time was unanimously pro-sanctions.

Earlier this month Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke came out strongly in favour of lifting sanctions — starting with sport.

However, the OAU ad hoc committee on SA last week decided in Harare to back ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's call for sanctions until all in SA have the vote.



## THE WORLD



# Afrikaners Struggle For Stability Against A Flood of Change

*Apartheid reforms have elicited reactions ranging from strident racism to tolerance*

By John Battersby

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

ZEERUST, SOUTH AFRICA

THE Breytenbach family has everything going for it — except peace of mind about what lies ahead.

"The most important thing in life is security about the future," says Friedrich Breytenbach, an energetic man with a glint in his eye. "You must know that what you are doing will not be destroyed."

How to guarantee continuity in a changing South Africa is something that Mr. Breytenbach thinks about more and more. His doubts have intensified since President Frederik de Klerk signaled his willingness a year ago to negotiate a political settlement with the black majority.

Those doubts have been intensified by Mr. De Klerk's moves to scrap the cornerstones of apartheid. "I disagree strongly with what De Klerk is doing. It is not what a true nationalist would do."

Breytenbach is not about to despair, but the certainty he once had about the future of Afrikaners as the dominant "tribe" in South Africa has given way to nagging doubt.

## Changes at home

A generation ago, a family like the Breytenbachs could have lived in relative isolation from the country's racial problems. Today, changes are creating ripples that reach even to rural backwaters like Zeerust.

Breytenbach, and his wife Margaretha, are Afrikaners whose European origins have been submerged by more than a century in the harsh African environment.

His ancestors came from the town of Holle in Germany four generations ago and settled in the Boer republic of Transvaal — now one of the four provinces of South Africa. Like most Afrikaners, Margaretha's ancestors were of Dutch origin. They established themselves as farmers in the area where the Breytenbachs now live.

Some of the paradoxes that

distort Breytenbach's once clear-cut world emanate from his own family.

His wife Margaretha has a flourishing legal practice in town, in addition to managing a family of four children ranging in age from eight to 17 years. For the past year, or so, Mrs. Breytenbach has been playing the unlikely role of a civil rights lawyer for black activists who have been victims of police repression.

"I regard it as just another job," she says. "It did give me an insight, but it did not change my political views."

This apparent paradox is partly explained by the fact that Mrs. Breytenbach is less forthcoming than her husband about her political views. They appear to be more open than his, but she was reluctant to acknowledge the differences publicly.

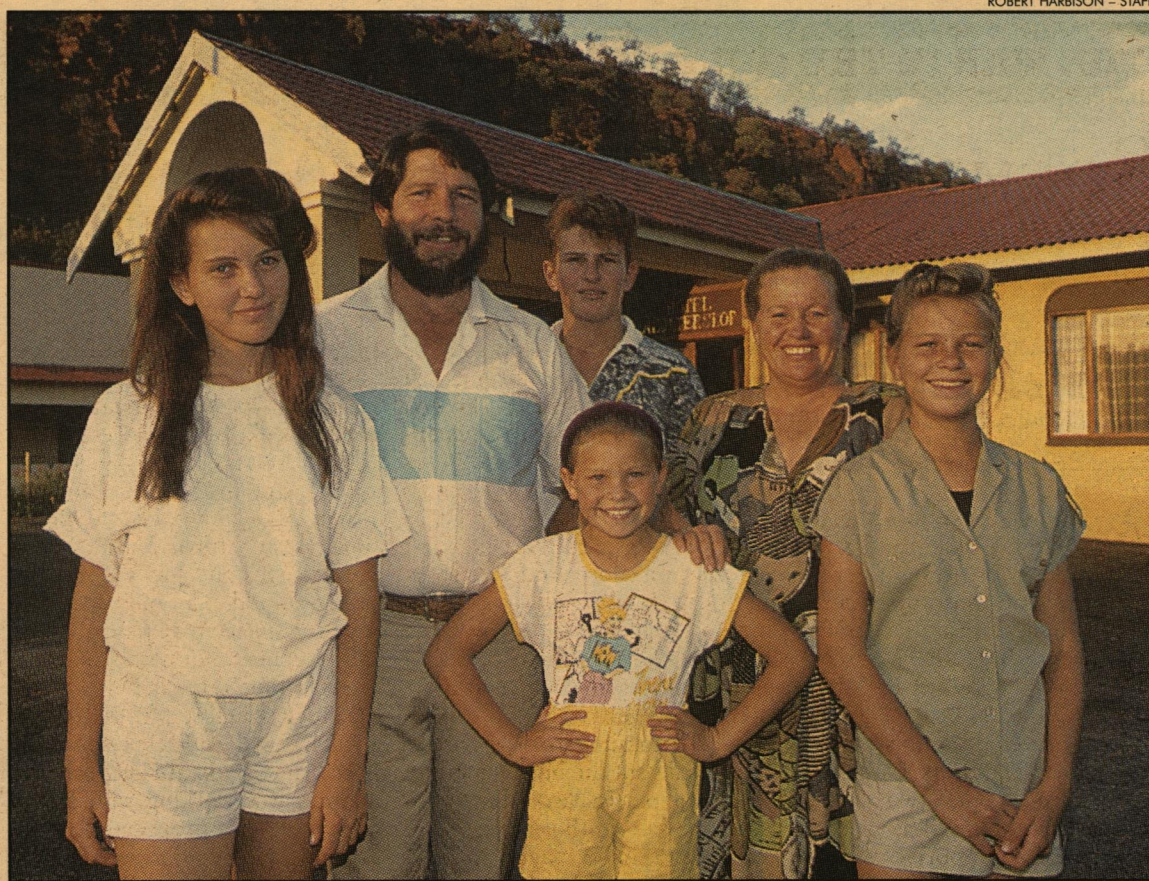
Breytenbach seemed to be least comfortable when defending hard-line apartheid and seemed to be moving — in his own mind — toward the principle of free association.

His doubts have provided fertile ground for the younger generation of Breytenbachs.

A year ago, 17-year-old Mariette Breytenbach was totally opposed to the idea of racial mixing and counted herself lucky that she went to an all-white school.

Then, with her father's encouragement, she went on a six-week exchange program last year to live with a family in Germany.

In Germany, she had her first



THE BREYTENBACH FAMILY: Friedrich and Margaretha have four children still at home in Zeerust: Ulrike (left), Jan (back), Louise (front), and Margaretha (right). They are concerned that the lifestyle Afrikaners have carved out over many generations is now in danger of being destroyed by the advent of majority rule.

mixed-race who shares her school hostel.

"They [the black girls] were the ones who were friendly and made me feel welcome," she says. "In a small town, you never make contact with other races," says Mariette in a joint interview with her friend Rosemary at the German school in Pretoria.

"The blacks there are different," she says, glancing awkwardly at Rosemary. Then the two girls exchange a reassuring smile. "Here they are very nice," says Mariette, slightly embarrassed.

## Change across generations

Breytenbach did not seem in any way concerned by the broadening of his daughter's horizons. This seems slightly less puzzling if one looks at the changes that have taken place over three generations of Breytenbachs.

Breytenbach's views are enlightened compared to those of his father, Jan Breytenbach, who makes no attempt to conceal his racist stand and sees De Klerk's policies as part of a CIA conspiracy.

Breytenbach takes a somewhat less strident position, siding with the right-wing forces intent on thwarting black rule and ensuring the survival of the Afrikaner. He seeks his future security, at least in part, in the concept of a sovereign "white homeland" where Afrikaners will be able to live and work without the possibility of black rule.

But here, too, Breytenbach has reservations. A move to an undeveloped expanse of semi-

desert would entail enormous sacrifice. "Whether or not I go to the white homeland depends on what happens here," he says.

The scrapping of apartheid laws has left Zeerust — a small town about 200 miles west of Johannesburg — almost unchanged for the white inhabitants. Blacks, who live in a segregated township, do not venture into the town's library or swimming pool, and schools are still rigidly segregated.

"The way of life here in Zeerust hasn't changed at all and I don't see it changing in the medium to long term," he says.

Five miles east of Zeerust, Breytenbach runs a small whites-only hotel known as Abjaterskop, a local landmark featured in the stories of South African raconteur Herman Charles Bosman.

A successful businessman, local politician, and farmer, Breytenbach has worked hard to achieve his position of prosperity and prominence in the conservative community.

Breytenbach's day starts at 6 a.m. Most of the morning is spent on the farm checking on his cattle and construction work under way in the town. The afternoon sometimes means business in town, where he is chairman of the town council's management committee.

## Church takes stand

One of the most talked about topics in Zeerust today is the recent decision of the Dutch Reformed Church, the main Afrikaner church, to apologize for the sins of apartheid. That the church moderator chose to make the "confession" at a multiracial church conference, in response to a call from Anglican Archbishop

Desmond Tutu, makes it all the more difficult for Breytenbach to accept.

"This is begging forgiveness from the wrong person," he says. "If you are going to confess, you must confess to God."

"I really don't believe that all our great theologians could have been wrong. ... In any case, you can find many verses in the Bible to prove that separation is justified."

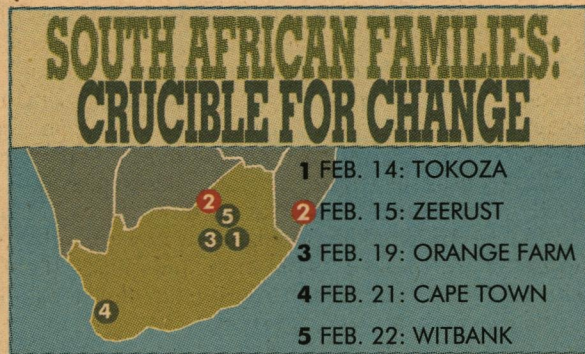
**'I disagree strongly with what De Klerk is doing. It is not what a true nationalist would do.'**

— Friedrich Breytenbach, Afrikaner businessman and farmer

It is after statements like these that Breytenbach appears most uncomfortable. He left the Dutch Reformed Church several years ago, when it began to withdraw its theological justification for apartheid. Today he is a member of the Afrikaner Protestant Church, a right-wing splinter group of the church. "That is where I feel more at home," he says.

Breytenbach has encouraged his children to learn German — the language of their ancestors — because he sees it as an insurance policy if whites lose their position of privilege.

"As I see the future of South Africa — with the rise of black power — you have to either speak Xhosa [the language of the dominant black tribe] or German," he says, in a candid assessment of the future. "You either stay here or you go back to Europe."



social contact with black people of her age. They got along very well, she says. The visit produced a series of revelations for Mariette.

When she returned to South Africa, she asked to be transferred to a multiracial school where instruction is carried on in German.

Today Mariette's best friend is Rosemary Boulton, a girl of