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o PN

violence.

violence is growing

nvtations have gone to

" leadership of the homelands, |
. political movcments (includ- |
! ing the ANC, IFP, PAC,
Âç Azapo and SACP) and unions
*(Cosatu and Nactu). - -

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J uminit will be under |

the joint chairmanghip of Dr .

Khoza i 7x0jo, president of the

SACC, Bishop Stanley Mo- |

.summ goba, vice-chairmaniof the ex-

ln,r_responseÂ»toftthe ecut;ye,gcommittee; and
â\200\234glarming proportion as well Archbishop Desmond Tutu of
_as the persistence at which ,â\200\230_Cape"rown.â\200\230,-(Pontical.Stam

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Good Friday

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

Once while down in Cape Town, I was reminded by the unfamiliar moan of a fog-horn

of an incident which took place after the battle of Waterloo. A semaphore message was flashed from a signal ship to the mainland of England. The message began: "Wellington defeated ... and at that moment fog descended over the Channel. The message went like wildfire around England. Wellington had been defeated by Napoleon. Despair gripped every English heart. But then several hours later, the fog lifted, and the message continued: "Well-

ington defeated the enemy". In multiplied

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

Some such experience took place in the

lives of the followers of Jesus after the Resur-

rection. On Good Friday the signal read, "Jesus defeated". The Fog of Sin and Darkness came

down. Disillusionment, despair and fear pervaded the lives of the little band. :

But on Easter Sunday, the fog lifted, and the triumphant signal was flashed to a hopeless planet: "Jesus defeated the enemy". The last enemy, death, had been defeated, his limited hold exposed, and his supposed finality

irreparably shattered. There was more to life. There was more to death. There was more to come. Beyond the grave was God. Suddenly, all

reality took on new perspective. Man was seen to be in essence a spiritual being the great amphibian between nature and supernature,

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

After Easter

All this slowly dawned upon the unsus-

pecting and unbelieving minds of Jesus
disciples in the days following Easter. Nor did
it happen simply and effortlessly. The Risen
Jesus did not materialise out of subjective
wish-fulfilment or overpowering mental expect-
tation. Their mind-set was allina different dir-
ection â\200\224 the direction of disillusionment,
despair and shattered morale. The Cross had
been a terminus, a dead-end street. It had ex-
tinguished every flickering candle of faith and
hope â\200\224 so much so that first reports of the
Resurrection were dismissed as â\200\234idle talesâ\200\235.
Thomas refuses to believe, until he sees,
handles and feels. The others on first seeing

e fog lifts

their Risen Lord are â\200\234startled and frightenedâ\200\235
and full of â\200\234questioningsâ\200\235.

But slowly the momentous truth begins to
break through. Their doubt, incredulity, per-
plexity and unbelief begin to crumble. â\200\234And
He said to them, â\200\230Why are you troubled, and
why do questionings rise in your hearts? See
my hands and my feet, that it is myself, handle
me and see; for a spirit has not flesh and bones
as you see that I have.â\200\235 And while they still dis-

believed for joy and wondered, He said to them
â\200\230Have you anything here to eat?â\200\235 They gave Him
a piece of broiled fish, and He took it and ate
before them.â\200\235 (Luke 24: 38-43).

Believe :

' Here the cul-desac of unbelief and
scepticism are opened up. Here the cheap ex-
planations of hallucination and subjective
vision are irrevocably shattered. Here the
modern philosophical reconstructions and
evasions stand stripped in all their anaemia.
Let us realise therefore that death and despair,
and every other enemy of the life and soul of
humankind have been defeated. For the fog has
lifted. We are the people of Easier_falth. And
we will not be â\200\234faithless but believingâ\200\235. (John

o) AR
o Michael Cassidy is Director of Africa Enterprise.

No consensy

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- by Michael Cassidy

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JORANNESEURG â\200\224 The iy
ment Committee of the Conven{iona?:rg e:

Democratic South Africa (Code '
described as incorrect :Ã@portsstl)i]a%s:nĩ~\201

committee had agreed that traditional lead.

ers, including Zulu Ki

King Goodwill Zweli-

thini, will become full delegates at the con-
vention,

At the same time, the Afri i
3 ican

f)eongxâ\200\230-â\200\231less and SA Communist PartyN:ltsl: 2:-1
ased statements saying the issue had not

been finalised.

In a statement, DMC offici ; '

Â\$ % cial Pravi-

::laent :glgit the sub-committee had nggz&%g-
its work as it was still receiving sub-

missions on the issue.

â\200\234Recent reports attributed to the chair-

person of the sub-Â¢

committee has reach ;
on this matter araghtree%rt:?ggge â\200\230

ommittee that the sub.-

and unfortunately anticipate the possib'l'g

findings of the sub-commi

S g tte â\200\235 L%
Gotl'l_gan pointed out thate 'onl}; s&i,%eâ\200\234'.
is empowered to

Management Committee

take a final decision on traditional leaders,

In its response,
party t0 2 aerecnme

e ANC said it was
agreement on the issue as ::E

nounced earlier, .as individu
rlier, as al

the sub-committee did not râ\200\231e{)rsess:n!l.:iiltl,â\200\230b?::

were serving in their individual
Furthermore, the ANC said it ha; :%â\200\230t':s#i;i

pronounced itself on the matter.

SACP official Joe Slovo agre

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;l:la:it gg;{xty had been reachedsgndtilâ\200\230iie iss:g
id ANC president Nelson Mandela is

still to present his viewpoint, â\200\224 Sapa.

Suspects deny part

Â°
'<] by CRAIG URQUHART

. TG
THREE suspects in the â\200\234executionâ\200\235 killing of two young policemen near Mpophomeni in January yesterday testified that while they were at the scene they played no role in the killings. B

The men, Sibongiseni Buthelezi (26), Thulani Madlala (29) -and John Zuma (32), appeared in the Howick magistrateâ\200\231s court in a bail application in connection with the deaths of Jacques Wilkensen and Wybrand Smit, whose bodies were found in the veld near the Bulwer road.

. A fourth suspect, Bongani â\200\230Buthelezi (29), ;1 etrlxer testimony also denied involvement

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

marriage â\200\230flouris

Assistant editor KHABA MKHIZE throws in his

â\200\230executionâ\200\231 killings

not }nvolved in their deaths. .

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

Madlala testified that he too was in the vehicle, but he played no part in the killings. He said he witnessed the shooting, but only from a distance and he could not accurately identify the policemenâ\200\231s killers.

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

The men were remanded in custody until

their next appearance on May 26.

has it been worth the screeds already written about the fate of the

Mandela marriage.

SO: many reams of copy have been produced discussing the fate of the marriage between Nelson Mandela and his wife. Little consideration has been taken to conserve ink, paper, celluloid film, time etc., since the big story is the shortest story in proportion to many pressing issues this country is undergoing. And one may be excused for thinking that the world is suffering a drought in news. After Mandela made a public statement, which has been dubbed by some media as the 'pain of parting', and explained the separation will be a relief to the ANC, it seemed as most people were touched in a way that transcended political affiliation. Only a few sadists are still glossing over the parting of the ways. Anyway, to me the story, as I have suggested, is very short. What the marriage has been anchored on ever since it was

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

In 1989 the Mass Democratic Movement A

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

~ In a similar vein, I argue that had apartheid not been there the Mandela's

matrimonial union- would not have

undergone the Stompie sagas and would have been healthy today.

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

pressed,

L [13 N e y e]

NRTRC Lorvess

Whew: ds i 2.3

Mandela

hes apartâ\200\231

try. I am not talking only or wme Op-â\200\224

as we can see-how members of
the privileged class have been corrupted
and converted into paid killers. â\200\230

Apartheid sins continue to haunt Godâ\200\231s
people. If the justice machinery of this
country finds her guilty of the Stompie
debacle, I would then plead in mitigation
on behalf of Mrs Mandela. â\200\234Surely apart--
heid and its cronies have hardened the
woman and as such it should be treated
| as an extenuating circumstance.â\200\235 :
When the MDM distanced itself from
Winnie in 1989, I went on record saying
these men should not have done so, bas-
ingmy argument on the simple dictum: A
comradeinneedisa comrade indeed.
And today, after setting aside the Stom-
pie tragedy to the courts, I challenge any-
one under 80 who is a widow or widower
for the past 27 years or a divorcee for the
same period to swear that they could
cope with their partners if they were to
come back to them!
Once a marriage learns and gt_â\200\230a({uates
in enforced separateness, then it is bet-
ter for that marriage to remain an un-
unionised marriage that defies the pro-
mise to God at the altar â\200\224 â\200\234till death do
ls partâ\200\235. In the case of the Mandelaâ\200\231s it
â\200\230x?ï-\201s â\200\234till apartheid do us partâ\200\235. . :

Anthony Harber was correct in his
comment during Agenda this wegw when
he questioned the mediaâ\200\231s overkill of the
Winnie story. Besides the Weekly Mail
and the alternative media as well as.a
very few mainline newspapers we are
getting no progress reports about th
Goldstone Commission. ;

In conclusion the marriage of the Man-
delas flourishes well in separation and
my bet rules out a divorce. Separation 18

tantamountto a boyfriend-girlfriend love

affair. Distance between partners rein-
forces an affair and prevents the usual
traffic thatis capable of suffocating many
dove-type marriages.

. for an all-party interim government by the middle of the year, the two greatest threats to achieving the next goal â\200\224 democratic elections based on a universal franchise â\200\224 are violence and intimidation. Unless both can be brought under control there can be no hope of holding free elections.

Violence and intimidation are closely linked, but while the former is most frequently spoken about, intimidation is no less of a danger to the countryâ\200\231s first-ever democratic elections. Intimidation is rampant in all sections of the community â\200\224 now, â\200\230mainly in the black townships, but also increasingly within the white community as the right-wing Afrikaner forces seek to impose their will, especially in the rural areas.

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

It may be easier, in the end, to cope with political violence than with the less controllable forms of intimidation â\200\224 especially now that it is becoming embedded in daily behaviour. However, no real progress can be made to counteract intimidation â\200\224 especially at a time of elections â\200\224 before political violence has been severely curbed.

_ One of the difficulties about ending violence is that there is no single cause or explanation for its high

incidence. President de Klerk con-

tinues to repeat tirelessly that violence is the result of conflict between the predominantly black political parties and over black ethnic conflicts. This is a gross oversimplification of the problem. He

should, by now, know better.

- The reality is that the long years-of apartheid have left the country with what can properly be described only _ as â\200\234aculture of violenceâ\200\235. Its sources are manifold. The easiest to idpntify are -the violent incidents attributa- ble to the conflicts between the Inka- tha Freedom Party, the African Nat- ional Congress and its ally, the powerful Congress of SA Trade Unions.

" If this were the only source of vio- lence, the problem of dealing with it â\200\230would be relatively easy â\200\224 rela- tively, that is, because. it pre-sup- poses that the ANC and Inkatha leaders exercise effective control over their supporters. If this were

iolence and inti

WITH South Africa now on course

true, greater progress would have been made in implementing the

Peace Accord which was signed by â\200\230both the ANC and Inkatha, among

others. There have been 1500 cas-

- ualties resulting from violence since

the accord was signed last year.

When I recently spoke to Chief |'*

Mangosuthu Buthelezi he talked of a â\200\234culture of violenceâ\200\235 which, he claimed, had reached the point where it was difficult for political leaders themselves to deal with it. He pointed to the fact that violent crime was endemic in kwaMashu, where over a million people live under wretched conditions, â\200\230the great majority of them without work.

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

The wretched poor rob to sustain themselves, stealing from the less under-privileged members of their own communities, and, increasingly, from the more affluent whites in their salubrious suburbs. This has now reached a point where whites in the richer suburbs barricade them- selves behind high walls, fortified by

electronic devices, and employ the services of security firms â\200\224 one of the fastest growing businesses in the

country. :

_ Violent crime cannot be separated '

from political violence because it creates an atmosphere of insecurity which conditions the climate under which rapid political change is occurring in the country. De Klerkâ\200\231s commitment to change is seen by many as the cause of violent crime.

â\200\234â\200\234This is -unfair, but it is widely

believed. :

Among other major sources of Dpolitical violence is the use of clan-

destine security forces. Clear evidence of the governmentâ\200\231s earlier policy of using special security units â\200\224 the so-called Third Force â\200\224 has been presented to commissions of inquiry. This shows that clandestinely-operated security teams have been responsible for killing activists and have engaged â\200\230extensively in intimidation. It is now in the public domain that the government spent millions of rands building up and arming Inkathaâ\200\231s police and security teams, which have been shown to have been involved in many attacks on political activists and their passive supporters. ;

Now that the government has switched away from its policy of undermining the ANC and ceased its support for Inkatha, it seems likely that it may have lost control over the â\200\230Third Forceâ\200\231, which is now possibly ' engaged in either supporting the extremist right-wing forces or in attempting to scupper the negotiat-

ing process under the guidance of senior security personnel hostile to the presidentâ\200\231s policies.

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

" the taxi wars" 200235.
200230. The struggle for power within the

under-administered townships has

. led to rival civic groups assassinating their opponents, as happened

when one of the three rival civic groups in the Cape Peninsula

- ambushed and shot leaders of a re-

spectable Hostel Dwellers' Association.

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

rational explanation; nor is there any explanation why the police have failed to bring to trial any assailants. It is only natural, therefore, that suspicion should be voiced about police

200230 collusion. But what motives can

there be, other than to promote destabilisation? One recent rumour is that a transport mafia is behind these ' gruesome _ attacks, their alleged purpose is to drive passen-

gers off trains in favour of using pri-

vate transport.

s -2

-However, the enormity of the

problem of violence is to be found in

the flood of arms in the country.

There are now 32731335 licthall'lyced

owners of arms in the country and 224 camps prop and 224 Lo

allnll}?st enltand 230iirely in the .hfands of st,ang:rssand 230 gi,?Ai phiglilllisse(i
ls ?rlng tl)}vtllt:g

whites, making an average of one gun per gemt legacies of the apartheid

for alnlost eveng;"white person. Latgfe b

year, alone, 11 577 weapons weresto- @ o itical analyst Coli ;

len, while 7000 illegally held wea- former South Africa: l:ml;)e g{:;n zsi:

pons were confiscated by the police. -England. "g

A new Weapons and Ammunition: '

Law was recently passed requiring

thatd new licencesbi:ouldt;)nly l;g {}s- N % &

sued to and 234responsibleand 235 citizens to be ahe o [s

approved by a police commissioner. K W \and 231Land 231Y\M-SS

4 -.Tlllis ilsl -llllardlyb}ikell))' to begi?t l:o

deal with the problem because of the M- a9n

easy access to illegal arms on a flou- (3 Y (>and 231 &

- rishing black market, where R500

can buy a modern a_utox_l_;\atic,(weigon

like the AK47. These have and 234been

~ brought into the country from neigh-

boring countries like Mozambique

and Angola, and some, undoubtedly

by dissidents in Umkhonto we Sizwe, -

the ANCand 231s armed wing. A recent

development has been the hiring out

of automatic weapons for R50 a

night.

There are now so many automatic

weapons available on the black mar-

ket at knock-down prices that an

. American gun trafficker recently

admitted to a friend of mine that he

had come to buy up weapons for

shipment out of the country. One can

only wish him, and many others, suc-

cess in helping to deplete the coun-

try of as many weapons as possible.

The crucial question, then, is how

at least the political violence can be

stopped. Nelson Mandela recently

proposed that the United Nations or

some other independent agency

should be brought in to supervise the

security forces. This rather sounds

like a council of despair since it is

impossible to believe that the gov-

ernment is likely to accept foreign

control over its security forces.

The government has made some important changes in restructuring the police force, establishing a code

of conduct and creating a new attitude among the police. Many senior

police officers are now visibly engaged in changing attitudes of police towards black people. It is a beginning; so is the decision to recruit

another 75000 policemen and to modernise their methods.

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

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

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

'_I;egal ,grdun_dwo_rk:{aid fOr,-polls &7 ANC/IQ Câ\200\230Onsider

THE ANC yesterday set out a list of 10 items on which it wanted agreement ~ at Codesa II on May 15 and 16, but expressed concern at a news briefing that government â\200\234intransigenceâ\200\235 threatened the possibility of progress. Four members of the organisationâ\200\231s negotiating commission also disclosed at the â\200\230briefing that a working group was already drafting an electoral law for the countryâ\200\231s first nonracial election. % According to ANC national executive committee (NEC) member Mohamed Valli Moosa, the ANCâ\200\231s â\200\234shopping listâ\200\235 for Codesa II included agreements on:

'0 Establishment of an elected constitu-
/ tion-making body whose decisions could
| not be vetoed by any other body;

0 Mechanisms to ensure elections would
be free and fair;

- 0 A general amnesty for exiles and politi-
cal prisoners (as opposed to the temporary
~ indemnity granted to exiles so far) as part
of the creation of an appropriate climate;
- [0 'The scrapping of all legislation imped-
ing free political activity;

| DO Assurances that the security forces
not interfere with free political ac-
ding to NEC member Mac

'3 the security forc

5 templ
â\200\234both negotiations' andâ\200\231el ection

passage of a general law guarantee-
g% shts to all during the tran-
in effect, an interim bill of rights;

is included joint multiparty -

- (i ' 1 CAPE TOWN â\200\224 The ANC would

out demands
for Codesa ~

TIM COHEN
and ALAN FINE

control over the security forces;

O A moratorium on unilateral restructur-
ing in the socio-economic, foreign rela-
tions, security and political spheres;

O Impartial control of state-owned media;
O Overall arrangements for the initial
phase of an interim government; and

[The restoration of SA citizenship to the
approximately 10-million citizens of the
TBVC states to enable them to participate
fully in the political process. An interim
arrangement of dual citizenship would be
acceptable. j ;

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

The NP appeared unwilling to allow

~hands-on control of government functions
by other groups. Further, the ANC believed

strongly, at the very least, that an interim
executive should have the authority to

oversee decisions of the existing Cabinet.
7 Â»rff.l,,;,,; li Moosa rejected government's

claim that because its proposed preparato-
ry councils would include government, it

agreements achieved.

have to investigate the possibility
of introducing anti-trust legisla-
tion to unbundle conglomerates,
ANC economic policy unitâ\200\231s Pat-

rick Ncube said yesterday.

He said most ANC economists had

abandoned the proposal to nationalise industry except for utilities, such as Eskom and Telkom.

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

Ncube said the ANC was not opposed to business as such and recog-

nised that large companies were necessary to achieve international competitiveness and for their research and development capabilities. However, anti-trust laws were necessary to democratise the economy.

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

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

Tax incentives would be given for labour intensive production but no incentives or tax holidays would be

implemented to attract foreign in-

* macro-populism if government

vestment. He said this would come naturally if the economy and prices were stable, the balance of payments - favourable and there were no foreign exchange or price controls.

" Economic policy would be aimed at price stability achieved through a

would naturally be obliged to enforce any minimum of deficit financing and

money creation to keep inflation low. Incentives would be given for export orientated industries to maintain a healthy balance of payments. Ncube stressed that the ANC did not want to take from the rich to give to the poor, but would rely on economic growth to

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

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

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

An investment court to guide investors was also under discussion, |

Ncube said. :
Ncube warned of the danger of

power was shared between the

NP and the ANC, both keen to satisfy |

their constituencies. Overspending, high inflation, price, - import and foreign exchange controls, balance of payments problems and a lack of investment would be the inevitable result of a coalition.

Is anti-trust laws

~

THEBFRERT

THE secretariat of Codesa comprises of Mac Maharaj (ANC) and Fani van der Merwe (NP) â\200\224 what a cosy ANC/NP arrangement!

~ The administration is run by Murphy Morobe (ANC). Mr Morobe has a nasty habit of censoring the mail! On at least one occasion he has been caught intercepting Mr Patrick. Hlongwaneâ\200\231s letter of application to address Codesa on the question of political prisoners.

Mr Hlongwane addressed his letter to the chairman, Zach de Beer, of the â\200\234Consensus at Codesa means agreement between the Nats and the

The Citizen PO Box 7712
Johannesburg 2000

Restructuring of,
Codesa necessary

ANCâ\200\235 fame.

Mr Morobe told Mr Hlongwane that political prisoners did not appear on Codesaâ\200\231s agenda.

Codesa is our best shot at peace, but there is fundamental restructuring of Codesa that is n Perhaps the Nats and the ANC/SACP alliance want a â\200\234put up jobâ\200\235 Codesa. If you do, too, say nothing!

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

The Americans say
â\200\234You only get what you

pay forâ\200\231!.

South Africans appear .

to be more interested in
the cricket than Codesa.

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

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

It is time that South
Africans pull themselves
away from the TV set, put
cricket on hold, and do

something to secure your
future.

DR ED BENARD
IFP Sandton Regional

~ ANC power in France

decreasing <

HAVING been in your
country for ten days I am
surprised: You,
Africans, so concerned
about sport boycotts,

~have not mentioned a re-
cent event which occurred
at the last Five Nations
rugby match in Paris be-
tween France and Ireland
on March 21.

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

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

- 53 i3

South

green, and applauding

him.

This way the French
and Irish wanted to pay a
tribute to South Africaâ\200\231s
re-entry to the world of
international rugby.

So do not give too
much importance to your
local (sport) politicians
like a certain Mr George
(NOSC). I wonder if he
knows anything about
rugby when he says: â\200\234Ro-
mania and Italy are not
even rugby playing coun-
triesâ\200\235 (Romania has
already beaten France
and will probably defeat
Zimbabwe and Namibia'
very easily).

As your country enters
a new era after the refer-
endum on March 17, the
â\200\234disinformationâ\200\235 about
your country is fading in
Europe and ANC power

The ANC/NOSC is
only backed by a group of
socialists and the French
Socialist Party is shrink-
ing (see the last election

results). So to say they
are recognised by many
European governments as
the sole representatives of
the people in South Affri-
ca, is nothing but wishful

The â\200\234modeâ\200\235 is over!
cover that the ANC is
only one part of the
people, and maybe not
the largest.

Looking forward to
seeing your rugby players
on our fields in green and
gold, and even if the jer-
sey is without the â\200\234Bokâ\200\235,
youâ\200\231ll still be the Spring-
boks.

J R BOURGUIGNON
Masons-Laffitte
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\f)rought will lose South Africa billions i in foreign exchange

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

And South Africa, until now a large net exporter of food and related products, will suffer

a massive drop in exports in this field, says Sanlam chief economist Johan Louw in his latest economic report.

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

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

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

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

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

However, the outlook for the capital ac-

ONE of the large loads of maize offloaded in Durban to offset the devastating drought on

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

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

It does not hold out much hope for economic growth this year and suggests forecasts of a real growth rate of one percent may be too optimistic. Inflation for the year should be about 14,5 percent and should have dropped to between 12 and 13 percent by December.â\200\224

\Dnily News Reporter

effects of the

outh Africa's own gentina.

â\200\230maize harvest. The cargo of maize was aboard the Bulgarian ship, Bodina, and came from Ar--
Picture: Robert Dâ\200\231Avice

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AS IT stands on the brink of achieving power in South Africa after 80 years of struggle, the African National Congress (ANC) is in danger of being torn apart by factional fighting. Senior sources in the movement last week said there had recently been attempted â\200\234coupsâ\200\235â\204¢ aimed at marginalising Nelson

Mandela, its leader.

Radicals within the movement claim a faction led by its ~internal wingâ\204¢ â\200\224 those who stayed on in South Africa during the years of 2 id â\200\224 has attempted to sideline Mandela into simply becoming the ANC's The faction has accused Mandela of holding meetings with President F W de Klerk without permission, and of acting in an â\200\234imperiousâ\200\235 manner.

The cabal wants to install Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC's general secretary, as de facto leader. Under the plan, 73-year-old Mandela would become the first president of the new South Africa, but Ramaphosa, as prime minister, would hold most of the power. Mandelaâ\200\231s position would be largely ceremonial. Such a move, though, is being bitterly opposed by the radical wing of the ANC.

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

by Richard Ellis
Johannesburg.. -

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

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

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

including Ramaphosa, who insisted she had to go.

Ramaphosa's supporters, who regard him as her apparent, are now using the Winnie affair to sideline Mandela

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

These people are not stupid, said one senior ANC official.

They are aware that fact

shedding him completely would be a disaster for both

their ambitions and the ANC,
so they just want to
marginalise him.â\204ç

It is understood that a

-delegation-of senior ANC fig-
ures, including Chris

Hani,
. head of the South African

Communist party, met
Mandela last week to warn
him about the activities of the
pro-Ramaphosa faction. The

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sources said the internal wing

had made moves to curb
Mandelaâ\200\231s power in the past â\200\224
including an attempt while he
was in South America last
year â\200\224 10 distance him from
the multi-party talks with the
government.

â\200\234It was quickly reversed.

when he returned, but it made
him angry,â\200\235 one source said.
Last June, at the ANC's an-
nual conference, the group at-
tacked Mandela for meeting
De Klerk without permission.
The existence of damage,
in-ï-\201ghunÃ©'mwithin the AN
was confirmed last week by
Dali Mpofu, Winnieâ\200\231s deputy
in the social welfare depart-
ment, who was dismissed
after her resignation. Mpofu,
who has denied allegations
that he had an affair with

Winnie, blamed Ramaphosa -

and *â\200\234his groupâ\204ç for his sack-
ing. â\200\234This foolish action has
been prompted by the growing

ionalism within the ANC,
pioneered by a secret cabal
whose members are bent on
destroying the organisation,â\200\235
he said

The radicals, while carefully
backing Mandela, have their
own agenda: they would like
one of their own, perhaps
even Winnie, to succeed him

when he does decide to retire
or is forced out by ill-health.

A close friend of Mandela
said the moves against him

Mandela

were nothing new: the first at-
tempts to sideline him had
started on his release from
prison more than two years
ago. At the time, the move-
ment's acting leaders, Walter
Sisulu and Alfred Nzo,
wanted to keep Mandela's role
that of ANC's public rela-
tions officer.

It was a ridiculous at-
tempt, the source said. It
was quite clear from the mo-
ment he walked out of prison
that he was the natural leader
of the movement, and their
plan had to be quickly
dropped. I think it will be the
same with his current trou-
bles.

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

Publicly, however, the ANC
is attempting to show a united

face. Gill Marcus, the ANC's ...

spokeswoman, while admit-
ting there were ambitious
people within the movement,
said the idea that anyone was
trying to overthrow Mandela
was preposterous.

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'DP MPsâ\200\231
â\200\230suspension
may force
â\200\230party spli

By Chris Whitfield

Political Correspondent .

CAPE TOWNâ\200\224A split in the
Party next week
seems certain following an
ANC claim that the four MPs
suspended from the party

Democratic

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be held])

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pices of 3

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| secretary Dr Frank: Chikane,

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â\200\230called in response to:thei:

Salarming proportion as well
_as the persisience at which
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|~ Churches. .. -

â\200\234political violence ls growing
N uI'_COUn.t.ry"Â».â\200\230: o s 1
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political movcements (includ-
"~ing the ANC, IFP, PAC,

- Azapo and BACP) and unions
" (Cosatu and Nactu). - T
.. The summit- will be under
-+ the joint chairmanship of Dr

leadership of the nomelands;â\200\231

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" Khoza : "x0jo, president of the
i SACC, Bishop Stanley Mo- .
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ecutive.committee, and

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' Archbishop Dexmond Tutu of

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caucus had Â«expressed their
personal desire to strengthen
their links with the ANCâ\200\235

The organisation said in a

it had been â\200\234mutu-
ally agreedâ\200\235 that the matter
would be the subject of future
discussions.

The suspended MPs could
be joined by DP chief whip
Dave Dalling, who may force
his own suspension if they are
not reinstated after next
Thursdayâ\200\231s caucus meeting.

However, speculation that
the four â\200\224 Rob Haswell

aritzburg South MP),
Pierre Cronje (Greytown), Jan
van Eck (Claremont) and
Jannie Momberg (Simons-
town) â\200\224 could begin sitting as
| ANC MPs next week, was dis- .

missed as â\200\234prematureâ\200\235 by a
number of sources.

mhe organisation is not reg-
istered as a political party.

Central to DP leader Zach
de Beer's decision to suspend
four of the seven MPs who
met the ANC leadership in Jo-

_hannesburg on Monday, was,
the fact that they were appar-
ently considering joining the

. ANC. This was why they had
been suspended pending an

- inquiry, and not expelled, he
said.

Dr de Beer said yesterday
that if the men could satisfy
himself and their DP col-
leagues that they had not

. been contemplating member-
- ship of the ANC, the suspen-
. sion would be lifted.

Three of the four MPs claim

. theyv were not informed by Dr
de Beer of his decision. Mr

aid yesterday he may

' speak to
â\200\230... put to have this now
comes as quite a surpriseâ\200\235.
Dr de Beerâ\200\231s move was,
however, supported by two of
Ps who met with
_Both Umhlanga MP
Kobus Jordaan and indirectly
elected MP Andre de Wet,
from East London, yesterday
backed the decision to sus-
pend the four.

e e e e

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

Mandela Calls for International Monitors to End Violence in South Africa

in Zielenbach Town The New York Times

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

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Far cry from the barricades: Nelson Mandelaâ\200\231s home in Houghton, Johannesburg's Hum
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pstead. Winnie Mandela stays in her Soweto â\200\230follyâ\200\231

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

THINGS have not changed a
great deal for South Africaâ\200\231s op-
pressed masses since 2 February
1990, the historic day when F W
de Klerk announced that Nelson

Mandela would be released and

that (he exiled leadership of the
African National Congress could
return home,

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

That is one reason why many
of the â\200\234comrade leadersâ\204 of the
ANC have abandoned Soweto

and Alexandra _for homes in
downtown Johannesburg or the

affluent northern suburbs,
Nelson Mandela's spacious
new home in gracious Houghton,
Johannesburg's answer (o Hamp-
stead. is a far cry from the con-

crete cell he occupied on Robben -

Island during much of his 23 years
in prison, :
He bought it after the separation:

From John Carlin
in Johannesburg

new house is not particularly
spectacular. The price. R500,000

(L100.000), is so low it suggests either that the interivv needed an overhaul or the previous owner was seeking to ingratiate himself with the country's future ruler.

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

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

It is not unlike the home ANC chairman Oliver Tambo moved into last year in quite the most

tion from his wife Winnie, having 3 expensive suburbs in the country,

left the rather abeyant palace she had built in Soweto, just down the road, known as Winnie's Folly or the Parliament ..

By Houghton standards the

Sandhurst. The house is said to have cost R3m = an equivalent home in, say, Esher, would cost at least £2m. In Mediterranean style, outdoors the property is all

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

Even though Mr Vumbo, Mr Mandla's predecessor as president of the ANC for 21 years, has been severely incapacitated by a stroke, when he appears in public he is always impeccably turned out. He sets an example in sartorial elegance reverently followed by ANC leaders down to local level. At ANC rallies in the dusty townships, officials are identifiable by their dark suits. (When New York mayor David Dinkins turned-up

),

-utaparty in Mr Tambo's house in

flowing West African tribal dress, he looked distinctly out of place.)

Cabinet ministers, when they meet the top leadership of the

ANC. Jook like Rochdale town
councillors by comparison.

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

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

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

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

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

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THE ZULULAND OBSERVER. APRIL 17, 1992 1

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

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

Students recently staged a class boycott and demanded the Rector's resignation. Dr Mandela called on

students to respect their

Rector and asked the Rector to have the same regard for students.

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

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

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

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

"I will sleep peacefully"

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

Minister Buthelezi and others. "But if we hear

that students are discussing problems together, we will sleep peacefully.â\200\231

The ANC, he said
â\200\230must bring the other political parties into Government when it takes power, to show everyone that we mean

. peaceâ\200\231.

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

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

_attentively to also

Unizul students)\ but following a personal appeal by Dr Mandela, the Rector agreed to admit a large number of school pupils who had arrived by bus.

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

There were no serious incidents during Dr Mandelaâ\200\231s visit to the region, although it was opposed in many quarters. A large national media contingent accompanied him during his tour-of the townships.

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