

The Inkatha Freedom Party has tied its negotiating opponents in knots. The other parties do not know what it is going to say or do next â\200\224 and itâ\200\231s all part of its political strategy. Daily News Political)
| Correspondent Martin Challenor reports.

MEMBERS of the In-

katha Freedom Party are preparing for elections, not civil war.

They have an election committee in place and it is working

| day and night to come up with an -

' election plan. At its recent annual congress in Ulundi, the IFP formed the Buthelezi Election

. Fund â\200\224 it did not call for volunteers to fight a civil war.

As one senior IFP member said, the party was committed to, and preparing for the election: â\200\234There is no question that we are not going to contest it. We cannot go to war, that is just not an option we have.â\200\235

Like all political parties and organisations, the IFP is involved in brinkmanship. At the moment the IFP and the Kwa Zulu Government are not attending the multi-party talks in Kempton Park. This has added fresh fuel to fears that somewhere down the line there will be war in South Africa.

The IFPâ\200\231s withdrawal raises the question of what would happen if it did not return.

It is most unlikely, however, that the IFP will boycott the talks indefinitely: â\200\234There is no

intention to really stay out. For us to stay out would be a mistake,â\200\235 an IFP source said. â\200\234We will probably find a face-saving way of returning.â\200\235

The IFP believes its absence from the table has not slowed the process. Senior members have

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70 FLY OR NOT TO FLY: Will Inkatha fly its colours in the

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P membelâ\200\230/s prepare fles, election

coming election?

explained that their current political strategy has two main aims. They are pushing as hard as they can at the negotiations table for a federal constitution, trying to win as many concessions as they can from their opponents.

At the same time, the IFP wants to distance itself as much as possible from the National Party, and do its best to push the NP and the African National Congress together in a bid to weaken both.

Tried hard

An IFP member said: â\200\234The IFP has tried very hard to put distance between itself and the NP. If you think back about a year, we were painted in the same corner as the NP. We think we have been quite successful in turning that around, and painting the NP in the same corner as the ANC. We propose to carry on with this.â\200\235

Like other parties, the IFP knows it is unlikely to get its own way on everything, including the kind of federation it wants. What the IFP does not win at the negotiating table, it is planning and hoping to win at the polls.

If the final constitution does not go as far along federal lines as the IFP would want, the IFP would turn this into an election issue. It would treat the perceived shortfalls as wonderful election fodder, presenting itself

as the only party campaigning for true federalism.

Pointing out the dangers of a strong central government that could be misused, IFP election posters would read: "Who do you want to rule you, Shell House or your City Hall?"

The IFP intends to use its strength at the polls to further develop the federal aspects of South Africa's new constitution.

In the present political circumstances, it looks as if the IFP and Conservative Party are almost friendly. But this is part of IFP brinkmanship to put pressure on the negotiators.

The CP should, therefore, prepare itself to be abandoned. If the CP stays out of the election, asking all their supporters to vote IFP, then the two parties will stay almost friendly. But if the CP enters the fray, it and the IFP will be election opponents.

"Once we get into an election, we will drop the CP most definitely," an IFP source said. "In an election we would be fighting for different things from the

The IFP wanted the same sort of things other major parties want in a new South Africa — such as democracy, one-person,

"one-vote, and a Bill of Rights. In terms of the big picture, we do not differ with other parties. We just differ on the way to get there.

"The CP are totally different. They want some sort of self-termination for whites. That is totally at odds with everybody

else,â\200\235 an IFP member said.

With its eyes on a federation -
and the polls, and determined to
_control its own political course,
the IFP is coming across as
bloody-minded and sulky. It is
catching a great deal of flack,
but believes the concessions it is
winning for federalism and the
supporters it is a g in
standing up to the ANC

are well

calls negotiations a charade:

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etan a and KwaZulu time to return. g

Sow Ve . : However, he still considered the ne-

EGOTIATIONS BETWEEN AN gotiating forum the place to be.

Inkatha Freedom Party- On TV's Agenda on Tuesday night

KwaZulu Government del- Buthelezi squabbled with members of

egation and the Government

made progress on Tues-

day with the boycotters saying they were

. still aiming to get back to the talks.

This, report stands in shocking con-

trast to a television performance by

KwaZulu Chief Minister and IFP leader

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Tues-

day night in which he characterised ne-

gotiations as a charade.

Yesterday chief KwaZulu negotiator

Dr Ben Ngubane, who met the Govern-

ment on Tuesday, said going back to the

talks was still the first prize and to this

end we are engaged intensively with

Government in an effort to clear the path

back to the talks.

Ngubane said his delegation would

Dot return to the Negotiating Council

yesterday which resumes its debate on

the draft constitution after delaying this

on Monday expressly to allow the IFP

the Press and accused his host, John

Bishop, of chipping in.

Commentators have noted that

Buthelezi's performance was a fright-

- ening indication that there was little

room for accommodation or a settle-

ment if the confused content of what

he said was to remain the IFP-KwaZulu

-position.

A couple of months ago this draft

constitution would have been all that he

required, said Professor Dennis Davis,

director of the Centre for Applied Legal

Studies yesterday, referring to it as a

ument of great compromise and one

offering very, very powerful regional

governmentâ\200\235, i

â\200\234Now he is saying I donâ\200\231t know what
I want but I know I donâ\200\231t want this. On
that basis we will never get a settlement.
Heâ\200\231s got everything he wants and now
he doesnâ\200\231t want it and thatâ\200\231s terrifying.â\200\235

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FP invited â\200\230to put other sideâ\200\231

By Peter Fabricius
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON â\200\224 Conserva-

tive Americans have raised
money to send Inkatha
Freedom Party leader Man-
gosuthu Buthelezi on a fund-
raising tour of the US â\200\224 to
give the other side of the

South African story from -

that of Nelson Mandela.
| A conservative coalition of
organisations called South Afri-
| caâ\200\231s Other Side (SOS) has invited
' Buthelezi to travel in the foot-
steps of Mandela.
his was announced in Chi-

%ai~\201t yesterday by Reverend
al
of the Christian Liberty Acade-
my Satellite Schools System, a
conservative church group
- which initiated SOS.

Lindstrom said that SOS had

already raised enough money
for Buthelezi to tour the US

â\200\234with a whole plane-load of ad-
visers and security guardsâ\200\235.

Once he got here Lindstrom

was sure that he would raise

more funds for voter edugation,

- as Mandela had done.

A key question now is wheth-
er President Bill Clinton will
see Buthelezi. Lindstrom said
that if Buthelezi accepted the
invitation to come to America,

Lindstrom, superintendent

SOS would ask the White House
for a meeting.

Lindstrom said the invitation
had been sent to Buthelezi yes-
terday and SOS had not yet re-
ceived a reply, although it was
confident Buthelezi would
come. He said that SOS was

formed of a number of politi-
cians â\200\224 including members of

the House of Representatives
and state legislators â\200\224 and
church and business leaders
who felt there was a need for

- America to hear the other side

of the story about the peace
process and the transition.
Mandela had been to the US a
number of times to give his
point of view. In Chicago he had

been given the key
and invited to speak i city
council. â\200\234Which is fine. But we
think for people to make degi-
sions based only on one per-
spective is wrong. iy
â\200\234We feel that American tax-
payers are being asked to spend
money on South Africa wh
they are in the dark about the
country. If you had to ask the
average American who is Buth-
elezi he would look at you as
though you had asked him:.a
question in advanced calculus;
â\200\234And not one in a thousand
could tell you what he stands
for. All they know is Mandelals |
view and what is being taught
in state schools.â\200\235 - :

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WASHINGTON â\200\224 Conservative
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to send IFp leader Mangosuthy
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from that of Nelson Mandela.
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Buthelezi to travel in the foot-
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erty Academy Satellite Schools
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â\200\230Why must Buthelezi wait to find out what Natalâ\200\231s powers will be?

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v "I WOULD be tragic if the very

designed to bring peace

and 'democracy to South Africa
â\200\230exacerbated rather than healed
tension. Yet it is increasingly ap-
parent that the constitutional
talks at Johannesburgâ\200\231s World
. Trade Centre are fudging some of
. the most important issues in a
| way that could undermine their
achievements to date.

. If the ANC and National Party
are intent on an outcome that
serves their de facto alliance but

' fails to address the legitimate

| concerns of other parties, notably
| Chief Mangosuthu Butheleziâ\200\231s In-
| katha Freedom Party, the consti-
' tution that emerges will be
| seriously flawed.

: Things have not reached such a
pass yet. The pace has been tor-
tuous, but South Africa has come

| -a long way since Nelson Mande-

| 1aâ\200\231s release more than three years

ago. The draft outline published
this week shows how far: racial
discrimination is banned, human
rights entrenched, and all citizens
will be entitled to vote for a 400-
member National Assembly, with
a senate elected by regional legis-

latures, which together will draw.

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" province.

up a i\201nai' post-apartheid constitu-

tion on principles previously .

agreed. ;
Fundamental issues have yet to
be properly addressed: how the
executive of a new government is
constituted, how it exercises its
powers and precisely what powers

the provincial assemblies will

have. The outline constitution

leaves South Africans little the .

wiser.

The executive will comprise representatives of political parties occupying a specified percentage of the seats in the national assembly. But how will this executive take decisions by consensus, as De Klerk demands, or by majority, as Mandela insists?

An equally serious flaw is the failure of the draft to define the powers of regional governments â\200\224 the key concern of Chief Buthelezi, who has a strong regional base among the Zulus of Natal e draft fudges the issue of regional powers: The buck is to a commission to be set up only after the first elections. ;

It will have regional representatives but the final say will rest

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with the Ã©â\200\234abinet and. the constituent assembly, which are likely to be dominated by the ANC and NP.

" The experts who drew up the draft argue that the constituent

assembly will be bound by consti--

tutional li¬\201n¬¬\202nc_iphs agreed already, calling for significant devolution of power to regions. And they list an impressive array of areas where regions will have at

least some power: health, educa-

tion, housing, local taxation, local policing. But they refuse to say how these powers will be shared with the centre, while the constitutional principles are vague and open to interpretation.

Moreover, asking Inkatha to rely on them misses the point Inkatha is being asked to give up powers it now exercises as a self-governing black homeland in exchange for an uncertain status in future. It is hard to 'see Chief Buthelezi waiting until after an election to find out what Natalâ\200\231s powers will be in the new South Africa.

Until this issue is resolved, one -

can scarcely be sanguine about

the prospects for elections next

April. The trouble is, by boycot-

ting the talks with his customary belligerent rhetoric, Buthelezi is merely making it more likely that he will be dissatisfied with the outcome and creating the risk of a further descent into violence in the coming months.

He needs to understand that no resolution can come about until he returns to the negotiating table.

Equally, the ANC and the National Party need to look beyond short-term party objectives and consider the type of political structure that a regionally diverse as well as multiracial South Africa really needs. For all the statist, centralising instincts of the two main parties, it is not a country that can be ruled from the centre alone, its regional inequalities are too great and the regional rivalries too powerful.)

An attempt to impose a constitution that does not allow for sufficient regional autonomy will merely prompt demands for secession, both from Buthelezi's fol-

lowers or from the white Right.

If South Africa is to have a hope of a period of stability before elections, these issues need to be settled. â\200\224 Financial Times News Service O A

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PRESIDENT de Klerk and Dr Buthelezi after their meeting at Kingâ\200\231s House in Durban today.

President de Klerk was in Durban to meet Mangosuthu Buthelezi today, writes Political Correspondent Martin Challenor.

RESIDENT de Klerk has assured Mangosuthu Buthelezi that no new constitution would be implemented in South Africa without Inkatha Freedom Party support.

The two leaders met for four hours at Kingâ\200\231s House, Durban, today, even as the KwaZulu Government filed an application in the Transvaal Supreme Court to have the April 27 elections halted until the issue of sufficient consensus was settled in court.

President de Klerk said

after the talks that â\200\234we should not even contemplateâ\200\235 implementing a constitution agreed to by all political parties and organisations but the IFP. He said the Government was putting all its energy into reaching a settlement and â\200\234we are getting the same constructive response from the IFP to prevent an impasse from developing.

â\200\234I do not interpret the withdrawal of KwaZulu and the IFP as a total withdrawal from negotiations. We cannot afford to go it alone while some of the major role players stay out of the process.â\200\235

~* Dr Buthelezi said he had ini-

tiated negotiations in South Africa. His position now did not mean that he would be

the first person to destroy negotiations,

cassures

- KwaZulu Government
files court action over poll

Klerk

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Backed by advisers, the leaders discussed their relationship, and their relationships with other parties. They discussed the substance of South Africa's constitutional

future and the future of Kwa-

ulu.

However, President de Klerk did not ask Dr Buthelezi to return to the talks. Instead, the bilateral discussions would continue â\200\234to try to remove any obstaclesâ\200\235, the President said.

President de Klerk was hopeful that the problems of sufficient consensus and federalism could be solved.

The two leaders also focused on violence. President de Klerk said he was talking to other political leaders about violence, â\200\234and I may take Some sort of initiative in this regard in the futureâ\200\235.

Negotiators from the IFP and KwaZulu Government are poised to hold more talks in Johannesburg tomorrow with the South African Government and the National Party.

In a statement before the meeting today, Dr Buthelezi said the negotiation process had avoided federalism.,

On June 15, KwaZuluâ\200\231s requests to table a federal model were rejected and the Negotiating Council proceeded to set an election date before any agreement was reached on the form of state,

The KwaZulu Government objected, its objection was ignored, so KwaZulu was forced to walk out, Dr Buthelezi said.

On June 30, the Negotiating Council instructed the Technical Committee on Constitutional Matters to draft a constitution that excluded federalism and empowered a con-

stituent assembly. The KwaZulu Governmentâ\200\231s objections were again totally disregarded, Dr Buthelezi said.

Therefore, KwaZulu had today been forced to file an action in the Transvaal Supreme Court, he said.

HIS WEEK, EXACTLY NINE months before next year's election, Cosatu launched a campaign of worker-voter education, to ensure that the baby of democ-

racy is born healthy and timeously.

The question some people ask is why are the trade unions so concerned about the introduction of democratic government? Aren't all governments inherently untrustworthy, wasteful and ineffective in improving peoples lives,

particularly of working people and the poor?

Cosatu believes that the whole of society, particularly during this critical period of our

country's history, must actively ensure that gov-

ernment is accountable to the people, and vice versa. This culture of democracy has been systematically destroyed by successive National Party governments.

- But the seeds of a new democracy have been planted in many mass-based organisations, such as trade unions, which have tried to cultivate a culture of mandates and accountability to ensure that ordinary people are able to play a meaningful role in shaping their own destiny.

The introduction of democratic government can enormously enhance this capacity. It will unleash expectations and creative energies in millions of people. These energies will be a positive factor if they are harnessed and devel-

This will be effectively achieved if popular involvement in government is ensured both through representative democracy (mandating parliamentary representatives), and direct involvement of organs of civil society (non-governmental bodies) in the democratic process. If our proposal for a national programme of reconstruction and development is to succeed, we have to put ordinary people at the centre of the process. Millions of South Africans will directly involve themselves in the programmes to build houses, create jobs, restructure our industries, develop the land, and so on.

The most dangerous thing than can happen -

will be for people to sit back after elections and say, "Now we have elected our government, it will deliver all our needs to us". If this mindset takes hold of our country, the new democracy will fail.

- Disaster

-Equally, a democratically elected government - which is unable to govern would be a disaster. This really exists in two forms. Firstly, if the new government is crippled by minority vetoes

and unable to rule from the centre, because the .country has been carved up into federal fiefdoms. This double-pronged â\200\234lame-duckâ\200\235 solution, which the NP is promoting in an attempt to protect existing interests, would be an economic and political disaster for our country,

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Trade unions can contribute to a culture of mandates and accountability to ensure that ordinary people are able to play a meaningful role in shaping their own destiny, says

Cosatu secretary-general Jay Naidoo in the

first of two am'cles;

scenario:

The other threat to democracy would be the entrenchment of existing apartheid institutions and the bureaucracy which serves them. It is clear that apartheid institutions which have been designed to oppress the majority, to operate in secrecy without public control, and to service a minority section of the community, will be totally incapable of implementing a programme of reconstruction and development.

Agreements which prevented a new government from restructuring state institutions, or replacing personnel, would render that government incapable of effecting any meaningful change.

This is why a key element of the reconstruction programme proposed by Cosatu is a democratic political solution, which allows for effective government and the democratisation of

state institutions geared towards serving peoples - needs, not the needs of a bureaucracy.

Democratic elections to a sovereign constituent assembly is the first important step to the creation of effective, democratic and accountable government. There are a number of other mechanisms and processes which we believe are necessary to empower a new government, and the society as a whole, to realign state resources in a way which brings about meaningful change in peoples live.

From now until the end of the century a three-phase programme of restructuring and democratising the apartheid state needs to be put in place, unfolding in the TEC phase, the constituent

assembly phase, and the Government of Na-

tional Unity and Reconstruction phase.

10-point plan

This should include the following 10-point plan:

1. Stop unilateral restructuring by the apartheid state aimed at undermining the democracy process;

2. Rationalise the apartheid civil service, including the bantustans;

3. Undertake studies to determine the person-

-nel needs and structures required for a demo-

cratic state to be able to function effectively, eliminate wastage, and implement programmes

4. Introduce a programme of training, retraining, and recruitment, in a single integrated training system, to reorientate the public service to effectively address peoples needs, and to progressively address the skewed (white male) bias which currently exists;

5. An enforceable code of conduct to ensure that public servants know what is expected of them, to deal with those undermining the restructuring process;

6. Introduce bargaining forums and legislation to give the public sector worker full trade union rights, and involve them in the restructuring process. This should aim to enable workers to protect and advance their rights. Further their contribution to restructuring should be harnessed, by enabling them to monitor and mobilise against corruption, wastage, and mismanagement in the public sector;

7. Introduce mechanisms to ensure public

- accountability and transparency. These could

include an ombudsman's office, an independent audit commission to monitor state expenditure, a commission into corruption to identify and bring to book the culprits, and legislation to ensure wide-ranging access to information;

8. The budgeting process should be open, developed through a process of public and transparent debate, and strongly guided by agreements reached at multipartite negotiation forums;

9. Labour, civics and other constituencies in civil society must be involved in formulating and implementing public policy. Multilateral negotiating bodies such as NEF, and the National Housing Forum will need to be strengthened, and resources made available to enhance their capacity; and

10. In relation to security forces, a single police

force needs to be established, together with a vastly reduced defence force, under the supreme authority of parliament, to change these forces from agents of repression to effective servants of the community.

These are some ideas I am putting forward as a contribution to this critical debate. The next article in this series will focus on the importance

- of collective bargaining and industrial restructuring of responsible development in

tuning for social and economic restructuring

ANC wants
removal of
/pohce captain

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Sowetan Correspondent
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African National Congress has demanded the remov.
{ SAP Captain Johan Booysen and the Murder and Rob-
bery Unit from the investigation into last weekâ\200\231s police
shooting in Durbanâ\200\231s Essenwood Road.

Lawyers acting for the ANCâ\200\231s armed wing, Umkhonto
we Sizwe, which claimed three of the five men killed as its
members, met Attorney-General Mr Tim McNally to get his
assistance in changing the investigation team.

Shooting of cadre

The ANC demand follows information that Booysen was
involved in the shooting of another MK cadre in Umlazi in
July last year.
Anmquestmtolastyearsmdldmtfonnddmtnwasa

! shooting

Wî\201lyhascommhemmc lawyers.

Hemî\202hehdî\202tady held discussions with the SAP but
&!ahî\201med that he could not dtermne the investigating
eifmetrm any case.

â\200\234Controversy has dogged the shooungâ\200\224mwhlchpohoe
lnlledî\201vemcnsuspectedofplannmg to rob a bank â\200\224 after
witnesses claimed that police shot without provocation.

~ Other witnesses have backed the police version that the
â\200\234police opened fire when they were shot at.

ANC Seuthern Natal chairman Mr Jeff Radebe ques-
tioned whether Booysen was â\200\234suitableâ\200\235 to head the inves-
â\200\230tigation. He accused the Murder and Robbery Unit of
â\200\234condtmng a war of a;muon against MK membersâ\200\235.

ANC see 200\230KwaZulu solution

THE ANC was committed to resolving
| all outstanding constitutional matters,
| including the future of KwaZulu and the

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Reacting to Zulu King Goodwill
Zwelethini's speech at an imbizo on

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Zulu king, the organisation said yesterday :

~ DTS 5
Sunday, the ANC said it had committed
itself to restoring the respect for institu-
tions of hereditary rule.

The boundaries of KwaZulu were not
the same as those of the old Zulu king-
dom as the homeland was a creation of
the architects of apartheid. 200\224 Sapa.

HE MUCH-AWAITED performances by the famous London Philharmonic Orchestra at the

Bophuthatswana on August 8 and August 9 will go on as planned.

And there was no cultural ban on entertainment - by anyone in Bophuthatswana, as long as the Bop government is not involved and its

venues are not used, said ANC cultural officer Mr Mtutuzeli Matshoba this week.

Earlier this month the Western Transvaal region of the ANC objected to the orchestra's performances in Bophuthatswana, citing lack of free political activity in the homeland.

- But Matshoba, for the ANC department of arts and culture; said the orchestra's shows would go on and that the ANC's Western Transvaal branch had been notified.

He said the decision followed discussions

- between the ANC and Sunningdale and the London Phil-

harmonic's agreement to perform at NO 10

Sun City Superbowl in

& NO BAN Western Transvaal branch.

objections overruled:

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Matskeba added that there had

been ongoing discussions with Sun International which involved -the ANC's persuasion of Sun to play a more positive role in the development of arts and culture in Bophuthatswana. Sun International's need to realise the importance of free political activity in Bophuthatswana as well as the importance of Sun in the tourism industry in the future was also

part of these discussions.

200\234 Sundirector Mr Peter Venison con-

firmed that discussions had been held between his organisation and the

ANC on the London Philharmonic's

- concerts. Part of that process involved the orchestra's agreement: to stage a free concert, a gracious ges-

ture on their part to give up a day of their time to entertain those who would not afford to watch them

play,said Venison. He also emphas-

sised that the ANC and other organi-

sations had given the London Philharmonic : ,the tour the green light some

time before the official announcement of the orchestra's 10-day visit had been made earlier this month. ; But Venison declined to confirm that * ongoing discussions were held on the

development of arts and culture, free

political activity in Bophuthatswana - and Sun International's importance - in the tourism industry in the future.

Shows by the London Philharmonic at Sun City are part of the ' orchestra's Nedbank-sponsored Harmony '93 Tour of South Africa, ; the first in 38 years.

They are also scheduled: for Pretoria, Johannesburg, Durban, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Bloemfontein from July 30. They are aimed at bringing all communities together in a celebration of the arts through music and to contribute * to arts development in South Africa.

through community - outreach programmes and children's concerts

- which have been jointly organised by .

the Market Theatre Foundation, and*"
the National Youth Orchestra.

/Mandela

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Correspondent

ANC praident Nelson Mandela

yesterday reached out to white
South Africans and appealed for
their co-operation in the recon-
struction of the country.

' Addressing students of the

"Rand Afrikaans University,

- Mandela said that although his

' organisationâ\200\231s top priority was

the improvement of blacksâ\200\231

. standard of living, the ANC re-

mained concerned about the

.fears of whites, particularly

" The ANC would try to ad-

_.dress these as far as possible, he
saxd â\200\234We donâ\200\231t consider any

Boerstaat

offers whites olive branch/â\200\235

icu ar group â\200\224 especlally

the Afrikaner community â\200\224 as
.our enemy. We are working
quietly to explain to all com-
munities, including Afrikaners,
not to fear-democracy,â\200\235 he said.

The third of five leaders in-
vited to address students during
RAUâ\200\231s Youth Week, Mandela
said he had held numerous
meetings with various Afrikaner
leaders â\200\224 including top gener-
als in the SAP â\200\224 since the be-

ginning of this year to dlSCllSSâ\200\234

their concerns.

Mandela referred to his two
meetings with Afrikaner Volks-

unie (AVU) leader Andries Bey- -

ers, whom he had advised

against placing demands for a

the negotiating

table, but rather to give him a

map of the part of the country

*where the AVU wanted its peo-

ple to constitute a majority in a regional dispensation.

I am still waiting for him to come back. I am prepared to recommend to my organisation that we try to accommodate

these demands said the ANC -

leader.

However, Mandela said he had made it plain to the SAP generals he met at the beginning of the year that the present police force could not be used to defend democracy. To do so, he

said, would be a fatal illusion.

Mandela said police officers

protect all South Africans equally would have a vital role to play in a new police force.

He also denounced the killing of people attending a church

service in Kenilworth, Cape

Town, on Sunday as an undescrivable barbarism of gruesome proportions, and called on all leaders to refrain from raising the political temperature in the country further through war-talk and threats of war. Strongly defending his call for the voting age to be lowered to 14, he said the ANC's official position which he fully sup-

ported was that 18 should be

the voting age.

A motley crowd of sea lawyer com-

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mentators have poured scorn on

the strategy and tactics of those parties, including the Inkatha Freedom Party, who have stood back

from the constitutional negotiations at the World Trade Centre.

The unsolicited advice from these quarters virtually urged the dissen-

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ters to swallow the piecemeal disclosures of the government/ANC deal on pain of being designated as

"spoilers". 7

i
The suggestion that a AS We see it, the deal hammered out |

between the government and one other party automatically represented the best interests of South Africa is unprincipled and patently wrong.

The absurd propagand-

da reached its cli-

max in the preposterous suggestion that the objectors

would find that the

draft constitution

mands by the IFP and others that the
â\200\230constitution to re-

| :place the tricameral

apartheid constitution must be a complete constitution

capable,

" of standingf

would in fact meet |

their principal de-

/]

mands and that any protest was futile and unnecessary.

cades, is eminently

reasonable.

In other words the IFP is opposed to a constitution deliberately drawn up as a

_ temporary, transitional instrument. It

consist of ten mpo- SaLy. guaranteespof

ts; tem .â\200\234Mporar boundanes, POWer:

andâ\200\230functxons of

â\200\230Tbis Would prodyce a

temPORary or tran-

sitional government

~ headed by a tempo-

|
T

rary head of state and temporary institutions. Such a _constitution would be replete with constitutional lacuna and uncertainties unbecoming a developed state with vast international obligations such as South Africa. .

his constitutional

scenario clearly suits those who are bent on a seizure of power using as bait for the unwary the slogan of an "elected sovereign constituent assembly".

?\

But let us proceed.

T sei:

The IFP in particu- -

lar was told that federalism would be the characteristic of the draft constitution. It was told it would entrench state powers. No doubt those powers would be less than the self-governing

- states enjoy already.

So that liberation according to the

ANC will mean not |

more democracy

and power to the

people but less.

of federalism, the

constitutional prin. -
ciples coupled with
a constitutional
C â\202¬ a sufficient
safeguard
against abuse of po- |

Wer by any goverp. |

court will p

ment or constituent

coassembly. The:
Court will be an en?

tirely new institution.
Â» â\200\230u~
â\200\230tx on. It will have e
cgal precedents Â¢

guide it. It will be 5 |

But, say the detractors |

national judicial institution and, if the Supreme Court of the United States - is any guide, will hand down decisions that tend to increase the power of the national government at the expense of other institutions. :

But the real Achilles

heel of the current

proposals is that they will have been fashioned bilaterally without the

full participation of

all parties. The irritation and impatience with any other perspective is typical of those who have debated issues clandestinely and arrived at hard de-

cisions whose motivations

cannot be disclosed to the multiparty negotiating forum.

bl

| Regions crucial â\200\224 ANC

| ISUS s 29|18 |
THE ANgn) (i by WYNDHA! HARTLEY wit.1(11 the technical :otx;xlennittee I.p
meaningful powe ~ produce an accep able consti-
t in a clear attempt to Political Editor tutional package and the boycot-
woo Inkatha backtothe multi-party

; ting parties â\200\234should be hereâ\200\235.
talks. problems keeping the IFP from the Tgh% ANC and SACP assurances
ANC secretary general Cyril Ra- table can be resolved in spite ofin- on regional lause
maphosa, with support from the SA conclusive talks on Tuesday night. from Inkathaâ\200\231
s pa
Communist Partyâ\200\231s Joe Slovo, said f;ngtllxea fbxlateral meeting is cerned South
a means has to be found to show sccg. ufe or tomorrow. . . (Cosag). BophuthatsÃ¥
*hat â\200\234the regions won't be short- {of government negotiator tor Rowan Crome said h
e supports
changedâ\200\235. : v said he wished Inka- Ramaphosa while Ciskeiâ\200\231s Mickey
In a speech highly conciliatory to tha had been in the council during Webb raised his hand
s in applause.
the federal lobby in the negotiating the debate yesterday as all the con- This has raised h
opes that they can

council, Ramaphosa also vigor- : influence Inkatha to return. :
ously supported strong regional i â\200\230 â\200\230 The debate, however, gave 2
reptlesentatigtll in a pri-â\201posed nat- Afrlkaners Want own 9let?lr hndxcagg;xdof proble
m areas
ional assembly as well as in the) ~ inthedaysa . ot
senate. state for 25 years There was heated debate over
Ramaphosa said the people of PRETORIA â\200\224 Afrikaners want a citizenship and the statu
s of resi-
South Africa live in the regions and volkstaat, their own Israel, for 25 dents of the TBVC
states. While the
that is where democracy has to years to allow for a cooling-off Afrikaner Volksunie wants
state
i where government rioted before an assessment could citizenship â\200\230in the regions soO t
hat
{: made on whether they should outsiders cannot abuse each

[the real solution to the
regionalism debate is to create.a

e

move closer to â\200\234a future SO th otherâ\200\231s facilities, other delegates
! t caâ\200\235, er insisted on a common South Afri-
mechanism which â\200\234â\200\234will give pow- Jeadar Constand Viljoen said yester- can c
itizenship for . :

ers some meaning for the states, day. â\200\224 Sapa. : There was also disagreement on
provinces, OT rggionsâ\200\235. how deadlocks should be dealt

Slovo said itis important to make : : ; with in the writing of the new con-
the regions feel part of the central Câ\202-erns raised by the IFP in the past stitution, f
traditional
power structures. were brought out. leaders and the way in which a con-
The debate on constitutional â\200\234This shows how flexible the de- stitutional court wil
l operate.
principles came on the third day bate is,â\200\235 Meyer said. In spite of the apparent ser
i-
amid empty Inkatha, KwaZulu gov- {\nother government delegate ousness of the problems, key
nego-
ernment and Conservative Party said that no decisions are being tiators, who declined to be

named,
seats. taken by the controversial Â«guffi- said the problems are manageable
Government and National Party cient consensusâ\200\235 principle. The ne- and can be resolv
ed. The day was a

.

delegates remain hopeful that the gotiating council is interacting " success, they said.

â\200\230Help defence units, says Sexwale)

' TOWNSHIP defence units did not fall
| under the ANC but were recognised by the
national peace accord and were the prop-
erty of the communities they served, ANC
PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale said yes-

committee of the Goldstone
commission investigating attacks on

- policemen, Sexwale said the accord
. only lip service to the units.
peration and communication be-

- attacks on policemen.

Even though the ideals of the units were
. clearly defined in the accord, it lacked the

- â\200\234systems and back-upsâ\200\235 to make the units

' effective. And there was a perception that

* the police was not a force of law and order.
He said the internal stability. unit, par-

ticularly, antagonised communities by act-

DIRK VAN EEDEN

local police stations.

Members of the self defence units need- |
ed licensed firearms and the police had to
train them in communications.

The ANC did not want to antagonise the
police because it would inherit the force
when it won power, he said.

The ANC had on numerous occasions
condemned the killing of policemen. Accu-
sations that the ANC had a double policy in
this regard were unfounded. â\200\234The ANC is a |
vast organisation and we cannot hide a |
policy from the police.â\200\235 ;

Sexwale also denied he had ever incited |
violence against policemen.

Two weeks ago a masked man told the

committee he had wi
ing on people to attack
Sexwale said

with senior policemen

ing without consulting them or even the

a

had accused the ANC of inciting violence.

A new SA needs new

police. says Mla
police, Says via 1Cla

A NEW SA must have a new police force, age and older had shown little or no ANC president Nelson Mandela told a judgment when it had voted 14 times for a Rand Afrikaans University youth summit party with a brutal racial policy, he said. yesterday. . But he added that he was prepared to

Although some policemen would have to compromise on the issue because a nation be retired, this would be done in a responsible way and no one would be thrown out Mandela also said the ANC sympathised into the street, he said. . with the demand for a boerestaat but add-

~ Although the police had been the agency ed he would not accept such a state if it through which repressive laws had been . was based purely on ethnicity. .

| applied, the ANC did not intend carrying The ANC had always rejected the ethnic-out a policy of revenge. based homeland system. We want a unit-

~ We must reorganise the police force ed, undivided SA. A R X

and those policemen who see themselves He said he was prepared to recommend as serving the whole community will play to the ANC that it meet the demand for a a vital role in a future police force. region in which the Afrikaner could exercise Students alternately clapped and jeered cise some form of autonomy.

' as Mandela spoke about issues ranging The NP later welcomed Mandela's re-

from the creation of a boerestaat to conciliatory remarks, but said his recent

lowering the voting age to 14 years. comments about the vote for 14-year-olds

He repeated earlier statements that 14- and reconstruction tax did not contribute year-olds were as competent as 18-year- - to trust and rely on

olds to vote. ' . - It vowed it would fight the

The white electorate all 18 years of socialist policies of the ANC..

ANC Â¢
revoke

{ANY licences granted for SAâ\200\231s
â\200\230two new cellular phone network
-operators could be revoked under
â\200\230a new government, says the ANC
= just weeks before licences are
due to be granted,

"' ANC secretary-general Cyril Ra-
â\200\234maphosa said yesterday that he and a
â\200\234top-level ANC team were involved in
-urgent discussions with government
â\200\234representatives, including Transport
â\200\234and Telecommunications Minister
Piet Welgemoed and Public Enter-
prises Minister Dawie de Villiers,

~ The talks are a. bid by the ANC to
â\200\234get government not to issue the licen-
â\200\234ees until a transitional executive
â\200\234ouncil (TEC) has been established.
"â\200\234 He said there was â\200\234absolutely no
Sway government can continue to act
â\200\234unilaterally at this stage of a delicate
â\200\234and fragile negotiations process,
â\200\234tommit the countryâ\200\231s resources and
tie up a future government for 15
years by issuing these licencesâ\200\235.

In terms of the tender, the licences

would be valid for 15 years, and cost
R100m each.

- Ramaphosa said a future govern-
~ment would have every right to re-
;Voke the licences. He warned that
unilateral action by government
-would not be taken lightly by the
ANC.

., The only time such licences could
_be regarded as legitimate and free of
â\200\234controversy was when the TEC was
in place. The ANC would then ensure
â\200\234that a committee of the TEC looked
-at a mechanism to check the tenders
-and evaluate the licences, Only then
Wwould it give the go-ahead for
-licences to be issued.

ovt

e
MELANIE SERGEANT

De Villiers has said the issuing of
cellular licences had nothing to do
with the negotiation process, and

government was going ahead.

A government source said the ANC
should decide whether it was going
to take a disruptive stance or rather
be constructive and co-operative.

We are trying to establish an
order which will be of use to a new
government. We are doing a fair and
impartial assessment of the tenders,
which are solidly put together, and
are responsible in terms of providing
services to rural areas and to people
with no phones. .

I hesitate to think that someone
would want to undo what we are
doing now. This evaluation and adju-
dication is costing money for govern-
ment, and the tendering companies
have also spent substantial amounts
formulating their tenders.

Government is expected to issue
the new licences by end-August.

ANC head of information systems
Andile Ngcaba said: A licence issued
in the current political circum-
stances will be revoked especially

because the licence is being issued by

people who don't have a clear under-
standing of the cost of cellular sys-
tems, the tariff structures, and other

issues surrounding cellular phones.

Ngcaba said licences issued in the

current political climate would be

illegitimate, because the whole
process is not democratic.

Despite extensive government ef-
forts to show that many parties and

t@\\ \\

g
prepare
cellular licences

interested bodies were consulted be-
fore the issuing of a tender for net-
work operators, Ngcaba said a com-
mission of inquiry would have to be
established to investigate alleged
corruption and cartels which have
been formed in the tender process.

The allegations of corruption were
indicative of the past, where long-
term supply agreements were com-
mon, and jobs for friends were the
order of the day.

With each licensee expected to spend at least R800m on setting up its cellular network, and the possibility of foreign investments in the networks being high, Ngecaba said the ANC definitely wants investment in all sectors and especially in the

telecommunications arena in the

post-sanctions period.

He said the telecommunications regulatory symposium organised by the Centre of the Development of Information and Telecommunications Policy under way in Sandton until Friday was aimed at helping SA to

formulate a new framework for telecommunications development.

The symposium will come out strongly with recommendations for the technical committee in the multi-party negotiations forum, which is drafting the proposal for the Bill to establish a broadcast commission and independent telecommunications authority to oversee developments in these sectors during the transition phase.

It is these types of recommendations which would be ideal for deciding on the policy for cellular in SA among other issues, Ngecaba said.

S

D TP

NP needs to â\200\230co

WAS not in the interests of the Afri-

aher to destroy the NP, but the NP had to come. to its senses, Afrikaner Volksfront directorate chairman Gen Constand Viljoen said yesterday. Aideg

_ Addressing the Pretoria Press Club at the Voortrekker â\200\230Monument, Viljoen said the NP was losing support to the right

- while the Volksfront was a political home A'

only to the Afrikaner.

Other Christian people opposed to a communist government found themselves in a political vacuum, and the NP had a duty to fill this gap, he said.

If this was done and the NP stopped

giving in to the demands of the ANC, the

Volksfront would in future be. prepared to enter into a coalition with the NP opposing , the ANC/SACP alliance. =

me to its sense:

- |B/oa~, ORK van
S(ince ANC had walked out of ~odesa
l to strengthen its position through revolution and intimidation, government and the NP had not been serving the ideals of the Afrikaner, but had rather given in to the demands of the ANC. e

By fighting a revolution on the one hand and negotiating on the other, the ANC had proven its insincerity.

In the light of the revolution and governmentâ\200\231s inability to stem the violence that had escalated to the point of anarchy, the Volksfront refused to be part of multi-

party negotiations or an election, he said.

'The Afrikaner had

been battling with
constitutions for the

past century. |

Umbholi weNkatha ufuna
TR Y

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N 2K

: ; â\200\230D
EGOLI. - Umgqugquzeli weNka

UDU MBATHA

tha Freedom

â\200\224\ Tx.k\i G\

kuthathelwe uMkhonto

weSizwe iZinyathelo

Party, eGoli, uMnuz.

Themba Khoza, uthe uphiko Iwe-ANC Iwezempi, uMkhonto weSi-
zwe, kufanele luthathelwe izinyathelo kulandela ukubulawa ngesi-

hluku kwabholi be-IFP eKathlehong ngeSonto.

Abaholi ababulewe
ngoMnuz. Absalom Sho-
zi, obengusihlalo wesiyi-
ngi se-IFP kulelilokishi
futhi emele i-IFP ekomi-
tini lokuthula noMnuz.
Mavovo Ngobese, obe-
ngusihlalo weziko iNge-
ma Branch,

UMnuz. Khoza uthe
isidumbu sikaMnuz, Sho-
zi sitholakale ngolwesiBi-
li sishisiwe emuva koku-
nyamalala kwakhe nge-
Sonto.

Uthe uMnuz. Shoji
ubulawa-nje, ngomGgi-
belo kwathungelwa umuy.-
zi wakhe ngomlilo, kwa-
thi ngeSonto ekuseni

kwashiswa igalaji nezi-

moto zakhe,

Y

Uqhube wathj
uMnuz. Ngobese yena
ukhishwe ngabantuâ\200\231 ete-
kisini magede bamgenca
waze wafa. Kuthiwa ube-
phikelele eKwesine Hos-
tel lapho abeyohlangana

khona namanye amaZulu
bese bephikelela embi-
zweni yeNgonyama ebi-
seFNB Stadium, eGoli,
ngeSonto.

UMnuz. Khoza uthe
lokhu kulandela ukubu-
lawa kwamanye amazy,
ayisithupha ngomhlaka
July 19, athe abulawa
esetsheliwe amaphoyisa
nabaqaphe ukuthula
ukuthi sekuzwakele uky-
thi kunozungu lokuhlase-
la amabhasi ayevela

engqungqutheleni ye-IFP
oLundi.

Uthe ngemuva kwe-
mbizo yeNgonyama nge-
Sonto eFNB kwacishe
kwafa izinkulungwane
zamaZulu ezazivela
embizweni ngesikhathi
abantu abathile sebesuse
ujantshi wesitimela, ku-
wo okwakuzodlula esas.-

â\200\230gitshelwe ngabalandelj

beNkatha,

UMnuz. Khoza uthe
njengamanje abantu aba-
hlala emahostela bahla-
ngabezana nenkinga uma
beya emsebenzini ngenxa
yokuthi kufanele baha.
mbe babengamaqoqwa-
na ukuze bakwazi ukuzi.
vikela ngoba bayahlase-
Iwa uma behamba nga-
munye, wathj inkinga
idalwa ngabombutho we-

| zokuphepha ngoba baba-

phindisela emuva uma
bebaningi. -

sikaguquk
M% A BTl e

ngeringxoxo zoku

SIPHO NGOBESE :
PHEZU kokuba uhlaka lomthetho-sisekelo.
omusha walelizwe selusezithebeni zamage-

mbu okubonisana

eWorld Trade Centre,
eKempston Park, eGoli,
Party (IFP) noHulumem wa

Inkatha Freedom
KwaZulu kuthiwa

abazukubakhona ezindaweni zabo ukuzo-

phawula ngaloluhlaka.

Eminye imibiko yabe-
zindaba esingatholakala-
nga isiginiseko sayo nge-
sikhathi sokuloba, ithe i-
IFP ne-CP bangase ba-
bekhona ezingxoxweni
uma sekuvunyelwene
ngamaphuzu abawafuna-
yo.

NgomSombukuko la-
magembu omabili anqu-

- me ukungabuyeli esigca-
wini sezingxoxo ahoxa
kusona emuva kokukho-
nonda ngendlela okuvuy-
nyelwana ngayo uma ku-
thathwa izingqomo nge-
ndlela yokuthiwa yi-"su-
fficient concesus."

Ngesikhathi esahoxile
lamagembu ezingxoxwe-
ni, lawo asele abe ese-
thulelwa uhlaka lomthe-
tho-sisekelo okuthe emu-
va kokuba i-IFP noHulu-

meni waKwaZulu sewe-
wuhlaziyile banquma
ukungabuveli ezingxo-

xweni ukuyodmglda lolu-
hlaka.

Isikhalo esikhulu se-
IFP noHulumeni wa-

KwaZulu ngaloluhlaka
ngukuthi alucacisi lutho |

ngeFederalism okuluhle-
lo lukahulumeni ekhole-
Iwa yilona.

Nokho noma lamage-

mbu omabili engezikuba
mdibi munye nalawo
azobe ecubungula ama-
phuzu ohlaka omthetho
sisekelo, kodwa uDr

Frank Mdlalose usihlalo

kazwelonke we-IFP no-
kunguyena oholo ithimba
le-IFP ezingxoxweni zo-
kubonisana, uthe igembu
lakhe hzoqhubeka noku-
xoxisana ne-ANC noHu-
kumeni ngabodwana (bi-

lateral talks) ukuze
kwenziwe imizamo yoku-

xazulula â\200\230amaphuzu adala
ukungaboni ngaso linye.

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THE CITIZEN, THURSDAY 29 JULY 1993

THE CITIZEN

Thursday 29 July 1993

/push for tougher
peace moves

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN, â\200\224New
proposals to reinforce
the peace process in
South Africa may
emerge today, follow-
ing yesterdayâ\200\231s Cabinet
meeting in Pretoria.

- It is believed in political
circles that State Presi-
dent De Klerk is likely to
seek consensus among
political leaders on â\200\234giv-
ing teethâ\200\235 to the peace
structures, with legis-
lation possibly as early as

' | September.

Ahead of yesterday'Â\$

CabinÃ©t meeting, State .

President De Klerk indi-

cated a three-fold respon-
se to the increased viol-

ence: new initiatives to
strengthen the peace
structures, stronger and

more effective police ac-â\200\231

tion, and a determination
to move as rapidly as
possible to the proposed
Transitional Executive
Council.

Proposals for the TEC

! have now been tabled at

the World Trade Centre,
while steps to increase the

size of the police force
and its combat-
ability were announced
earlier this week.

On the issue of peace,
there has been a fairly
wide response, particular-
ly following the St James
Church massacre on Sun-
day. This has seen the
ANC in the Western
Cape throw its weight
wholeheartedly into the
search for those respon-
sible.

Mr Dâ€¢ Klerk has called
for a new summit of sig-
natories (o the Peace
Accord, to recommit

themselves to peace, and

particularly to bring
about discipline among
their followers. .

Moves to enhance the

" peace structures have ap-

arently received added
impetus from advice
given this week by the in-
ternational observer mis-
sions, comprising rep-
resentatives of the United
Nations, the Organisation
for African Unity, the

. Commonwealth and the
â\200\230European Community.

It is understood that at
their meeting with Mr De
Klerk on Tuesday, some
specific methods to re-

"duce the levels of violence
were discussed.

and other proposals are
likely to be raised.

Mr Peter Gastrow,
Democratic Party spokes-
man on law and order,
yesterday
cited by both the Right-
wing and the PAC to
*arm their peopleâ\204¢.

He said these calls did
as much to heighten ten-
sions and polarise society
as did cold-blooded assas-
sinations by anonymous

individuals.

â\200\234These calls lead 10 an
ongoing -and dangerous
situation of outbidding
with threats of aggression
and suggestions of racial
conflict.â\200\235

condemned

cal Jeaders. :

Secondly, it was urgent
to install thÃ© multi-party
â\200\234TEC, and particularly its
sub-council dealing with
the police and defence
forces, I

â\200\234In the face of the pres-
ent rapidly deteriorating
security situation, South
Africa cannot risk any
more delay,â\200\235 said Mr
Gastrow. |

. Mr Kobys Bosman,
deputy chairman of the
National Party study
group on law and order,
deplored aIPAC state-
ment calling for unli-
censed firearms not to be
handed to the SAP, but

Government . spokes- s o given to APLA.
men are expected to meet This cycle of inflam- i ;
political correspondents matory rhetoric needed to â\200\234This is both arrogant
today, at which the possi- be broken by joint con- and presumptuous, he
bility of new legislation demnation from all politi- said.
e 1

SOA JHNNHNS AR 60

" FW expected to

Y 1993

~ THE CITIZEN, THURSDAY 29 Ju

since

Chitzen Reporter
UNREST-RELATED in~
cidents had claimed 653
lives since June 1, with
AK-47 rifles used in at
least 120 of these attacks,
police public -relations
chief, Major-General
Leon Mellet, disclosed

yesierday.

-Â»Sguth-Africa can no ~
Jonger solerate-this-wan-

10n slaying of our citizens.

â\200\234I is now time for all -

peace-loving South Afri-
cans (o assist the police in

restoring peace "and sta- .

bility in our country,â\200\235 he
said.
Gen Mellet yesterday

sion of AK-47s or any
other â\200\234weapons of warâ\200\235

- 10 hand them oves to the

police before the end of
the 60-day amnesty from
prosscution in four daysâ\200\231
ume.

Nlegal possession of -
ï-\202u;searmsa!teflhe -

653 killedâ\200\234â\200\230i'nâ\200\230fiini'est |
June 1: Police

â\200\234urged people in â\200\230posses-

nesty date would result in
mandatory imprisonment
of five to 25 years without
the option of a fine or
parolc, he warned.

So far, though, only 15
AK-47. rifles, one Uz
sub-machine-gun and two

practice grenades had
been voluntarily handed :

3 over to the police. o)

* 'And, despite the am-
pestry, attacks and mur-
ders, especially with AK-
47 rifles, had occurred on
an â\200\234alarmingly regular
basisâ\204ç, aid were escalat-
ing, said Gen Mellel.

In the first five months

of the year, police had
seized 348 AK-A47 rifles;

- 32 other firearms, includ-

ing SKS rifles, PPSH sub-
machine-guns, machine-
guns and RPG Ts; 653 kg
explosives; 101 handgre-
nades, 15 mortars and
21 036 rounds of AK-47
ammunition, he said.

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QA JNNHZNS S

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â\202~14

Former exilesâ\200\231 bid to
gain funds dismissed

AN urgent application by
two former exiles to gain
control of the funds and
assets of the dissolved
National Co-ordinating
Committee for the Repa-
triation of South African

Exiles (NCCR), was dis--

rished in the Rand Su-
preme Court yesterday.

An unemployed jour-
nalist, Mr Neo Sefatlhe
Manase, who fled South
Africa ia 1979 and re-
turned in 1992, and- for-
mer exile, Mr Jan Malule-
ka, claimed that the disso~

lution of the NCCR bed

been cffected in breach of
the organisationâ\200\231s- consti-

tution, and that they, as-

members and beneficia-
rics, were entitled to the
body's remaining. assets
and funds. ;

â\200\230They claimed that the

Bishopâ\200\231s Conference, the
World Conference of Re-
ligion and Peace, as welh
as the ANC, PAC and
AZAPO â\200\224 had dis-
banded- amid allegations
of fraud and impropriety,
without properly consult-
jng its members.

They asked for an m-

â\200\230terdict restraining the

NCCR from disposing of
and distributing its assets,
as well as an order grant-
ing an organisation knwn

" gÂ¢ the National Returnees

Forum the right to admin-
ister such funds.

The NCCR was fonded
by the United Nations
Commission: for Refu-
gees, a Swiss-based com-
paoy, the European
Economic Committee as
welk 28 other donors.

Mr Justice WP Schuz

'THE CITIZEN, THURSDAY 29 JuL

Y 1993

were they named as be-
eficiaries. :]
The members of t'?
NCCR were the SACC,
the Catholic' Bishops
Conference, the World

Conference of Religion .

and Peace and the ANC,
PAC and AZAFO.

These members seem-
ed satisfied with the disso-
lution of the NCCR, b
well as the way in which
the remaining funds were
to be used.

Mr Justice Schutz said
that as private persons,
Mr Manas and Mr M
leka had failed to sh
personal damage, or an
infringement of the rights
vested in them. - .

It appeared as though |

they had embarked on
their own course, th-

out attempting to nego- -

NCCR set up by the however, found that Mr - tiate with members of the |
South African Council of Churches and Mr Mabolets - NCCEL =L |
Churches (SACC), they were not members of the - He dismissed the appte-
South African Catholic organisation. neither cation with GOSTS, |

â\200\224_â\200\224 a ; : ae

SOA 3NNHZNS 90:680 â\202-6

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THE CITIZEN, THURSDAY 29 JULY 1993

7
â\200\234

Hail, Dr-.
Buthelezi [f

THE SABC television -
programme, Agenda, %
hosted by John Bishop is - '
a joke. Take Tuesday R
night (July 27), for in-

'stance. The programme

was called Dr Buthelezi
* meets the Press.

~John Bishop and the

Press ended up getting

egg on their faces.

I say: Hail, hail Dr Bu-

thelezi, you stood your

ground against the openly

hostile John Bishop and
members of the Press.

I have since Tuesday

night's Agenda decided to

join the IFP.

HENDRY MCMAHON
â\200\230-oothâ\200\230:bv.ï¬\202B11\oni

- THE CITIZEN, THURSDAY 29 JULY 1993

7
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: Long live Inkatha

a21Â°d

THE date of South AÂ¥ri-

jcal realities, it becomes
clear that a vote for any
White party would be fu-
tile. The NP is a spent
force and belongs to the
tragic political past of our
beloved country.

Decades of NP rule

ruined our health and
education systems,
caused the collapse of law
and order and made
South Africa an intÃ©rnat-
jopal parish. .-

White voters will have
to align themselves with 2
Black party which sub-

SOA 3MNHZNS SA:e@ â\202˘

? brainwashing propaganda â\200\234there can be no question

brought misery, produced scribes 10 a valve system Long live Inkatha!
a corps of servile voters similar to their own. D PBOTES
through a very efficient When considering this,

caâ\200\231s most crucial election machine and whom to support â\200\224 the
has been deten-ninced.'rh; . newspapers), wrecked 3 Inkatha Freedom Party.
question NOW is which \}j prosperous cconomy, : e
party to support. it made corruption an ac- ChThls Pamâ\200\231l stands tor
LR ceptable norm in society, ristian_values, lejects

Communism, supports 2
free market economy and
believes in federalism en-
suring distinct communi-
ties 3 large measure of
self-determination,

Voters â\200\230neednâ\200\231t look
further for a viable party
sccuring @ good future.

Mtunzini

LN

i

THE CITIZEN, THURSDAY 29 JULY 1993

Arms cache found

A SEARCH by Internal

Stability Unit members of ! thrce

; covered an arms cache of

band-grenades.

a house in Tokoza on the : eight petrol bombs, 2 .38

East Rand Jast night
yielded hand-grenades,
petrol bombs, a handgun,
ammunition Â© and an
AK-47 nfle.

Police said the raid was
made at 8.15 pm. It un-

- special revolver, an AK-
.= 47 rifle, 11 9mm rounds,

* 11 shotgun cartridges, 19
R-1 rounds and 91 AK<47 !
rounds.

Three men were taken
into custody. â\200\224 Sapa.

w el yee

THE CITIZEN, THURSDAY 29 JULY 1993

AFRICAN National
Congress president Mr
Nelson Mandela's inter-
national fund-raising
drive for the ANC elec-
tion campaign wings its

way to the Far East today

- when he leaves for the

' Republic of China (RoC)

" Mr Mandela's week-

long trip begins in the

RoC where he will spend
most of his time.

RoC diplomatic
sources said they ex-

pect Mr Mandela's visit
to be his first to the country
to receive so much of
media attention.

They said the signifi-
cance of the trip was that,
on the one hand, the RoC
is South Africa's sixth big-

gest trading partner and,
on the other hand, the
ANC has in the past had
cordial relations instead
with the RoC's arch-rival,
mainland China.

The sources said the
visit showed the changing
face of the relationship
between the two coun-
tries.

RoC investors have

made the single biggest

Mandela goes
to East for.
ANC funds

national investment in

South Africa in the past
two years through the re-
gional industrial develop-
ment programme, and the
RoC business community

waited to know from the !

ANC, as a major political

player. how safe their in- |

investments would be under

an ANC-led government. .

An estimated R328 mil-

tion was invested in the
country by the RoC busi-
ness community in the
past two years, according

to figures supplied by the -
' Board for Regional In-

dustrial Development.

Britain was the second
biggest national investor
in the same period With
R70 million.

Mr Mandela will,
according to the ANC, be
accompanied by, among
others, ANC treasurer
general Mr Thomas Nko-
bi, the head of the organi-
sation's economic depart-
ment Mr Trevor Manuel,
Umkhonto we Sizwe chief
of staff Mr Siphiwe Nyan-
da, and the head of the
department of informa-

tion and publicity, Dr Pal-

lo Jordan. â\200\224 Sapa.

SOA IMNEZNS

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79 die, girl hurt

[oi
in

Cittzen: Raposter

A 17-yearold gl was
shot and wounded yester-
day and at least two

e were shot and
killed in another night of
- unrest in the battle-
scarred East Rand town-

" ships.
. The young woman was
. shot in the chest in Mafo-

at 10 am yesterday, and
was taken to the Natal-
spruit Hospital.

Police found three
9mm bullets and 10 spent

scene.

East Rand â\200\230police
spokesman, - Licutenant
Janine Smith, said a man
was later found shot in
the right side aad killed in
Twala . Section, Katle-
hong. A spent .38 car-
tridge was discovered
nearcby.

Two armued men shot
and killed a Mrs Dudu at
her home ia Vosloorus on
Tuesday night. .

Lt Smith said â\200\234police
opened firc several times
on mobs in Daveyton
when they attacked pa-
tols with petrol-bombs
and stones throughout
Tuesday night and yester-
day morning.

No one was injured.

"Cupe man was
after an attack in Tolo
Streect, Daveyton, oOn

diggiog â\200\234tank trapsâ\200\231.
threw petrol-bombs and

Police arrested another
four men and seized an

belo Section, Katlehong,

9mm aruidges at the

AK-47 assault rifle and 27
rounds of ammunition at
a house in Sadi section.
Katiehong, on Tuesday
afternoon.

Â® Threc men were
found shot and killed in 3
shack in Sharpeville yes-

terday moruing.

Vaal Triangle police
spokcsman, Major Piet
Van Deventer, said the
men had all been shot in
the head with 9mm pis-
tols. Their identitics were
not yet known.

.. A paliceman managed

stones at a police patrol. -

Tuesday, in which 2 mob

SOA

-loatinguishiï¬\202auathis â\200\230
Sebokeng home on Tues-

day night after attackers
hurled 2 petrol-bomb
through 2 window, setting
his bed-lipen alight, said
Maj Van Deventer.

The policcian was not
injured ia the incident.

Maj Van Deventer suid
the Sharpeville service
voad, between Vander-
bijipark and Vereeniging.
was barricaded with con-
crete blocks on Tuesday
night.

- S â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

. THE CITIZEN, THURSDAY 29 JULY 1993

JHZNS 8060 Â£F

X Goldstone hears of
IFP orders to kill

"DURBAN <A KwaZu- 4

lu policeman told a Gold- {!
stone Commission bear-

â\200\234'Syetterdaythubcm
gwmanAK-ï-\202nï-\202cm

ammunition by Inkatha |
Freedom Party members.

and KwaZulu officals,
and told to kil people
â\200\234creating problemsâ\200\235 for
the IFP in Esikhawini

"M'â\200\235PÂ» pear Empange- .

' Tbe policeman, who
_may â\200\230not be identified,
ssid he had been re-
cruited by the IFP in Na-

WP P s AT

1 Strip. He returoed in 1987

after traimng with 200
] other recruits. :

He was giving evidence
. to a Goldstooe hearing in
Durbap, investigating the .

KwaZulu Police - (KZP)
mesedmvohtmtvt-
olence ip Natal.

Tbhe pumposs of his
\$3id, was to protect mem-
bers of the South African
and KwaZulg Govcnt-

meots, he was told. -

tal to undergo training by

Onlusretmntosoum

THE CITIZEN, THURSDAY 29 JULY 1993

Aï-\202'mbespeutnearlya

bcts beiï-\201lore jo\mJg the
KZP in Esikhawini,

NA

JH71

~ THE CITIZEN,

SlÂ°d

Mr Sexwale was giving evidence before a committee of the Goldstone Commission inquiry into attacks on policemen following earlier evidence by

witnesses.

He told Mr Gert Steyn, chairman of the commit-

had never been in Bophelong.

Mr Sexwale said the ANC had a policy of attacking security forma-

* Jdons before the unban-

ning of the organisation and since its armed struggle was suspended it had not called for the killing of policemen.

He said he had meet-

ings with top generals of -

the police in Pretoria last week, when the question of the prevention of con-

men was addressed.

Mr Sexwale read a Press statement to the

- . . m

committee, which he said ; e kï¬\2021ipg .

he had released the previous day, in which he condemned the killing of policemen. :

As chairman of the PWV region and a National Executive Council member of the ANC he had never heard the police accusing the ANC

leadership of inciting attacks on policemen, he said. :

He criticised Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze for being like 23 1/2 person

about to light a match in a house full of explosives 1/4

with his public statements concerning the violence. Mr Scwale accused

the police in stopping the violence. continued attacks on police - -allegations of him calling for statements. | .

today. 1/2 Sapa.

unsubstantiated statements which could not contri

" "He mentioned the Eikenhof case in which: his region handed over a in the killings 1/2

SABC . journalist the organisation 1/2 bers apprehended pects and handed to the police as examples of the ANC's commitment to work hand in hand with the police. !

Mr Scwale described the killing of the

. The sitting continues

SOA 3NNEZNS 20:60 â\202¬6, &2

THURSDAY 29 JULY 1993

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â\200\224â\200\224

INKARTHRA

â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

Cape Town pays [

â\200\234homage to the

massacred with |

calls for peace

B As the citizens of Ca
to mourn the victims o

e Town united
last Sundayâ\200\231s .. -

church massacre, their mood was one
of solidarity and hope for the future -

FRroM MICHAEL HAMLYN IN CAPE TOWN

ape Town prayed for
peace yesterday as it
mourncd the dead of
Sunday evening'â\200\231s massacre
in St James's church.

Many people throughout
the city heeded the mayor's
call 10 wear a white ribbon.
as a symbol of peate, Near
Johannesburg, however, a
black woman, among â\200\230a
group waiting for a taxl,
was shot dead by white
â\200\230gunmen in the carly hours
yÃsterday in what a senior
police officer sald may have
been reprisal for the mue
der of the 11 worshippers in
St James's, : 2

The woman was killed by
a shotgun round fired by
three men driving by in a
pick-up truck. None of the
other women was hit.
The mourning ceremo-
nies in Cape Town began at
noon. Frank van der Velde,
the mayor, interrupted the
city council meeting o ob-

serve a minuteâ\200\231s silence,

Then he led the councillors
from the new civic centre to

the old city hall, packed
with more than- 1,000
people for an inter-denomi- -
.national service. Another
1,000 outside heard .the
service on loudspeakers.

. A rabbl prayed for
"God's true peaceâ\200\235 and an
imam from the city's large
Malay community called
for blessings. Anglican:
Archbishop Desmond Tutu.
declared that â\200\234rampant evil
is abroadâ\200\235 and said that-
â\200\234evil men perpetrated vile |
deeds of darknessâ\200\235 in dese- |
crating St James's. ?

Mr van der Velde said:
â\200\234We will not give up the
siruggle for peaceâ\200\235 After
the scrvice the crowds filed
out into the large Grand
Parade opposite and linked
hands (o surround it. ,

The Rev Clyde Okill from
Devon, whose son Richard,
17, was killed in the massa-
cre, was at the forefront of
another gathering of more
than 2,000 people crowdin
St James's itself in Keni-
worth on the other side of
Table Mountain. 'There,
100, the crowd spilled into
the street and an annexe to

hear the funeral service for
four of the victims.

Mr Okill stood in front of
the flower-decked coffins,
including his son's, to read
from 1 Corinthians: â\200\234If the

dead are not raised, thenâ\200\231
Christ is not raised cither: i}

..." He and Bishop Frank
Rejlef, the rector. of the
church, both proclaimed:
thehr certainly that Chris-
tianily's promiscd resurrec-
tion of the dead meant the
massacre victims and their

families would be reunited.
- This optimism reflected-

the prevailing mood, even
in the deeply felt tributes

writlen by the families of

the dead. The church itself, :

- thoroughly washed, - re-

g W
. & .

" Tutu: denounced â\204ç"
*deeds of darkness -,

athad i

pa'l.x'llt:ed, "'and â\200\230r;pairÃ@d 10"

eradicate all trace of last

Sunday's attack, scemed to -

suggest a life after death. . -

A group of Ukrainian
.sailors, some of whose' col-
leagues were among the

.vichims of the massacre,
were among the mourners, -

Bishop Retief said many
people had commented on
the strength with which the
congregation had borne the
attack and its aftermath.
â\200\230He attributed this to faith.
â\200\234All of us have an incredi-
ble sense .of peace and we
feel Incredibly loved . ., We
feel able to forgive.â\200\235 he said..

-Later he said: â\200\234The perpe-
trators of this evil deed will
not escape. They will finally.
give an account to the One
who rules the world, then
thi~\201re will be no place to
hideâ\200\235 e :

n . Pretoria {esterday,
I Hemus Kriel,

ister for law and order,
promised extensive finan-
cial aid for violence-torn
black . townships to help
them put peace pro-
grammes into action. He
sald 20 million rands (Â£4
million) would be made
available for projects aimed
at bringing about stability.
He also announced that the
active police force would be
boosted -by at least 10,000
men. .

{3 Johannesburg: Presi-
dent de Klerk yesterday
urgently intervened to de-
fuse a new crisis facing

South Africa's democracy
negotiations after it was
revealed that the KwaZulu
homeland government
planned court action to stop
the country's first all-race
election next April 27 (Ray
Kennedy writes).. G

the min-,

"Mr de Klerk had four
hours of talks with Chief
Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the
leader of the Inkatha Free-
dom Party and chief minis-
ter of KwaZulu, in Durban
and afterwards announced
that the government would
not contemplate adopting a

.new constitution or contest-

ing elections without Inka-

. tha's full participation,

R AT PR S TN LR T

P g e T N NN SRS AT

*93 07-30511:09

THE former head of South
Africaâ\200\231s defence forces
has warned political leaders
the white-led army
Âçl against a future

rnment.

that

could reb
black gove

General Constand Viljoen,
co-prdinator of & right-wing

2 9719351263

by Anton Ferrelra

'_--_--_--â\200\224-â\200\224'__-â\200\224-_
] call on all the people

responsible 0 approach th
{sdom. We must

not underestimate the poten-
tial of thls situation. s pray

with real w

INKATHA

Right wingers demana SCLL ruie

us into accepting defeat...

'}l be there.â\200\235

we'll revert back to armed
action. Then l promise you

Viljoen called the news
conference (0 respond to
accusations b

the governa-
C that his

remarks toa right-wing rally

umbrella group, told & news this will never happen.â\200\231

conference that a â\200\234danger- Viljoen's groups the earlier this week amounte
ous, furious attitudeâ\200\235 was Afrikaner Peopleâ\200\231s Front to war-mongering.

growing among movement (AVU), accuses the govern- He sald his call to follow-
members who demand white ~ment of President FW de ers to prepare for armed
self-rule. i Klerk and the ANC allllance self-defence Was justified i
Asked if 8 defence force of steamroliering white con. the light of what he called
mutiny was possible {f an servative 0 inlon at the 26- government fallure to main-
African National Congress party const tutional negotia- taln law and order and a rev-
olution being waged by the

(ANC) government came to
wer after elections X
Â¢d in April next year, Viljoen

tions taking place outside
of- Johannesburg
Yiljoen Â\$
roposals for white self-rule

ANC.

ald right-wing
potential in

â\200\234Jf you Â¢o

nsider the war
South Africa...

and grown-u
mer Cat partl .

replied:
the Impression is creat- rn a poat-np-rtheld South there is only one way to pre-
; ed that there is an unfalr Africa were aimed at ensur- gare, that is to have a blan-
defence force against the will fog peace and he would do et of defence covering the
: of the people, l feel peopie everything in his power to nation in which every capa-
. inside the defence force will avold violence. But he added: ble woman
be put into & very difficult â\200\234If they (the government child and far
and the ANC alilance) force pateâ\200\235 Viijoen sald.

situation.â\200\235

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| ex X /mfuiï¬\202/;/,(A

AP/ 725

ONCERNS of the Inkatha

Freedom Party (IFP) ove
> T
strong regional government in
Eon-apmheid South Africa
t:ivc largely been met, the

flx ccxgngmwgcx negotiator for
o â\200\234id.can ational Congress
ANC General Sccret
i(.;);rll Ramaphosa sald â\200\230i:nâ\200\230:rx
erview published in th
Wee.ldy Mair on Friday that th:
IFPâ\200\231s concern â\200\234about having
;t::)ggc regn(,%:::l governments
n &

e ssed to a large
Zulu chief Mangosuth
Buthelezi's IFP hugn bcc:
seeking virtual autonomy
within a federal South
Africa and agreement on a
binding constitution before
the country's first all-race
elections are held next

ear,
â\200\234We have agreed to entrench

ANC reaches decision
on regional powers

by lan Nichol

the powers of regiona
overnment in & consuistutionl.
Âç have agreed to a dev-
olution of power. We have
agreed that regions should

have exclusive powers in

ocftain matters. ..

'I think we have a toa
progressive form of regional
govenment,â\200\235 Ramaphosa sald

Inkatha, the semi-
autonomous KwaZulu black
homeland, which Buthelezi
also heads, and the' white pro-
apartheid Conservative Party
(CP) walked out of democracy
negotiations after 19 of the
26 participating groups
33:Â»5{ fon next Apnil 27 as the
clâ\200\230eceuonâ\200\230: the first all-race

_The CP is seeking an

independent white homeland.

Y]

ny

THE CITIZEN, THURSDAY 29 JULY 1993

4

Zimbiri': It

By Hugo Hagen

-~ A MAN calling himself
Carl Zimbiri last night
Atelephoned The Citi-
zen saying he wished to
confirm claims that the
Azanian Peoples Lib-

eration Army was re-

sponsible for the attack
on St James Church,

Kenilworth, Cape
Town, which killed 11
people.

The caller confirmed
information in a Citizen
report yesterday to the ef-
fect that the original
â\200\234Zimbiriâ\200\235 was dead.

Fiâ€ said he and a politi-
cal commissar in APLA'S
structures were using Carl
Zimbiri as their code
name in telephoning
through information to
the media via APLLA at-
[HTS O

He would be supplying â\200\230ing

The Citizen with a special
code which he would use
on each occasion he tele-
phoned, so that the news-
paper would know that
the call was from him
specifically.

â\200\234Zimbiriâ\200\235 said he had
been outside South Africa
at the time of the St

.

James Church attack on
Sunday.

He had returned im-
mediately on hearing of
the attack and had gone

to Cape Town, where he
spoke to APLA opera-
tives on the ground and

TOPAGE 2- |

â\200\230Zimbiriâ\200\231sâ\200\231 claim

It was not a separate

it hurts mostâ\204ç.

FROM PAGE 1

confirmed with them that
Sunday night's attack had
been executed by an
APLA unit.

Referring to calls in
which a group called â\200\234The
Peoples Causeâ\200\235 had
claimed responsibility for
the attack, â\200\234Zimbiri~ said
this was, in fact, the name
of a specific structure
within APLA.

and different organiza-
tion, but a group with cer-
tain objectives. He would
explain this in 2 follow-up
calls.

~Zimbiri~ said the St
James Church had been
selected as a target be-
cause its congregation
was 99 percent White,

APLA had designated
1993 as â\200\234The Year of
Great Stormâ\204ç. in which it
was planned to â\200\234hit where

Attacks against schools
and crÃches had already
been planned on a coun-
trywide basis, he said.

Commenting on con-
demnation of the attack
by the United States and
other governments, he
said he was not surprised,
but when â\200\234the United
States condemns what
you are doing, you know
you are doing the right
thingâ\204ç.

SOA 3HMHZNS T1:60

â\202¬& ,

&

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THE CITIZEN, THURSDAY 29 JULY 1993

Jeers, cheers

for Mandela

ion awai i National
MIXED recception awaited Alfrican
/C\ongrcss president Nclson Mandela at the Rand
Afrikaans University, where he addressed about
t QU0 predominantly Whitc students yesterday.

The ANC leader re-
ceived sustained applause
when he first arrived, but
his visit was cut short dur-
ing question time when
student falsely announced
there was 2 sceurity prfylâ\200\230-
lem outside the andito-
riam.

The Student Represen-
tatrve Council of the uni-
versity expressed its re-
gret that the false atarm
caused the carly ending of
the meeting :

â\200\234We hope o reccive

TO PAGE 2

Jeers and cheers

FROM PAGE 1

Mr Mandela at RAU
agsin in the future,â\200\235 said
SRC president Mari Jan-
sen.

Students alternately
clapped and jeered as Mr
Mandela spoke about is-
Sues ranging from the cre-
ation of a â\200\234boerestaataâ\200\235 to
lowering the voting age to

14,

Hix insistence that]4-
year-olds were as compe-
tent as 18-year-olds to
vote was greeted with
hisses and jecrs,

Many of the students
did not take kindly to Mr
Mandela's view that the

White electorate â\200\224 al) 18 years and older â\200\224 had shown little or no judgment when they had voted 14 times for a party with a brutal racial policy.

â\200\234Why must we respect the judgment of South African voters aged 18 and-over?â\204¢ an angry Mr Mandela asked the booing crowd.

He added that he was prepared to compromise on the issue because a nation could not be built without compromise,

Most of the White students remained stony-faced and silent while Black students cheered Mr Mandela's statement that improving the living conditions of Black people remained the ANC's top priority.

â\200\234But the ANC is also concerned about the fears of minorities,â\200\235 he added.

Mr Mandela said the ANC sympathised with

the demand for a boere-staat, but he would not accept such a state if it was based purely on ethnicity.

The ANC had always Â° rejected the ethnic-based ! homeland system.

â\200\234We want a united. un- | divided South Africa.â\200\235

He was prepared to re-

commend to the ANC that it meet the demand {or a region in which the Afrikaner could exercise â\200\234some, formâ\204¢ of self autonomy,

Mr Mandela said 2 new South Africa must have a new police force.

Although some police-

men would have to be re-
tired, it would be done in
a responsible way and no-
one would be thrown out
into the street,

Although the police
had been the agency
through which repressive
laws had been applied.
the ANC did not intend
carrying out a policy of
revenge.

"We must re-organise
the police force and those
policemen who see them-
selves as serving the
whole community will
play a vital role in a future
police force." said Mc
Mandela. Sapa.

SOA 3NNHZNS BT:

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IFP and CP shun
Trade Centre talks'

NEI'I'HER the Inkatha
Freedom Party nor the
Conservative Party at-
tended proceedings at the
World Trade- - Centre.
Kempton Park, yester-
day, thus extending their
boycott of constitutional
talks.

" Both' parties hed

threatened to stay away
until the jssue of â\200\234suffi-

cient consensusâ\204¢ as a de-

cision roaking mechanism
is resolved to their satis-
faction. ..

â\200\234The IFP and CP have
consistently rejected the
application of this prio-
cple, saying it was g
steam rolling mechanism
to force through the posit-

ions of the African Nat-

jonal Congress and the

government during talks. -

No ' specific progress
was made at the govern-
mentâ\200\231s â\200\230bilateral â\200\230meeting

" tomorrow, Constitutional who decides, the
Development . Minister counailndebe'."be
Roclchycfsaidymu-,_added. Jes |.' :
i A The Democratic

- the state, provincial, re- ;qdurmg negotiations and

future. ;plyers money spent on

*I wish mey could bÂ¢ party political propogan-
bere,â\200\235 Mr Meyersaid. da. - Sapa : :

â\200\234The debate bas shown

Party and KwaZuln del- . bow flexible it is, and has
- dealt with-all their coo-
R, yicerns, Tt B pot (the

The talks will resume " government and C)

Qa\200\234â\200\234tm' "â\200\231daâ\200\235mâ\200\231â\200\234bâ\200\234muonal chairroan, K
en

talks, Mr Meyer - said |

S i Gokh v r ::::â\200\230xcw, issued a|state-
to report regardivg pro-:
gress during the lengthy

bilateral discussion. + the - Kwacuie

vern-

The discussion bad fo- 7 Tent were P"Y"â\200\231iï-\201 dan- |Â°

* gerous political

cused on regionalist and ., oy Te ik Africaâ\200\231s fu.

bad elicited several con- tare:
tributions from the Affri- 4

can National Congress = He -said costly news-
and allied parties, stres-- ipaper advertisemerts by
sing the need for regional d the IFP bad misled the
and exclusive powers for 4' public about the process
gional governments of the y,were a gross abuse f tax-

: "l\' : A\

SOA 3NNHZNS B1:68 Â£6. 62

THE CITIZEN, THURSDAY 28 JULY 1992

anc

JAY 29 JULY 1993

By Charlottle James
AN attempt was made
last night to assassinate
former CCB Regional
Manager, Mr St
Burger. A gunman
fired a single shot at

him moments after he

left his office in the
Urekers Hotel in

Abet Road, Berea, Jo-
hannesburg.

Mr Burger, also former

" head of the Brixton AMur-

der and Robbery Unit,
was driving down Abel
Road in his Mercedes-
Benz at about 7 pm when
a bullet struck the door
frame at the side of his
head and then smashed
the window next to the

MR STAAL BUR-
GER..last night's
picture.

Instinct. o

Urver's seats

He was about 50
metres from the Break-
ers, just opposite the La
Rosa Hotel. y

â\200\234This was a deliberate
and well-planned shot.
Fortunately, it missed its
target,â\200\235 a stunned Mc
Burger told The Citizen

â\200\2341 jumped out of the
car and did not see any-
thing. Then I got back in,
drove home and con-
tacted the police.â\204¢

parts of Abet: Road,
from the Breakers Hotel
to La Rosa Hotel, were
cordoned off by police as

they tried to establish |

where the bullet had
come from.

They were also trying
to locate the bullet itself.

Shattered glass lay at
the side of the road.

Mr DBuwrger said the
weapon could have been
a heavy calibre pistol, be-
cause a bullet from an
AK-A7 would have pen-
etrated the car instead of
just smashing the win-
dow. '

"I know Unu a target Tor
certain groups and I take
the necessary precau-
tions, but you can't isolate
yourself. You've got to
keep living."

He did not want to
speculate on who those

people were, -he said it

*was someone who knows
what he's doing. This was
no steady ballet,

Mr Burger became
commanding officer of
(he Brixton Murder and
Robbery Unit in July

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e g

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THE STAR, THURSDAY 29 JULY 1993

NPA will
look at its
weaknesses |

By â\200\230Helen Grange

e The National Peace Accord -
(NPA) is to take a close 100k at
its shortcomings = with
stricter penalties against trans-
gressors likely. : -
Political leaders are set to
~ meet in Durban next week for a
three-day peace summit to ana-
- lyse the NPA and suggest ways
of making it more effective n
quelling violence and crime.
. President de Klerk told inter-
= national observer missions in
Pretoria this week that working
groups should be established to
make proposals on punitive
measures â\200\224 including fines and
expulsions from parties â\200\224
against signatories who trans-
gressed NPA guidelines.
Political observers have
often stressed the NPA has
little power against political :
. Leaders who breach the accord
with inflammatory speeches.

- Calls are also growing for an-
other meeting of the NPA sig- e
patories, National Peace Secre- =
tariat chairman Dr Antonie Gil- ; -
dehuys said in Durban yester- | -
day that attempts to convene
one had â\200\234eluded us .., but we're .
much closer to a meeting than
we ever have beenâ\200\235. .

He said Natalâ\200\231s understaffed
and under-funded peace struc-
tures were receiving attention.

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THE STAR THURSDAY 29 JULY 1993

Kheswa_â\200\230nbt. |
a member -
of WPMâ\200\231

By Bronwyn Wikinson

The Goldstone Commission has |
found â\200\224 on the basis of records |-
yeized at the home of World
Preservatist Movement (WPM)

Vermeulen â\200\224 that
Â«yaal Monsterâ\200\235 Victor â\200\234Kheti-
siâ\200\235 Kheswa had not been 2
member of the movement. '
Mr Justice Richard Goldstone
said in a statement yesterday
that the WPM records seized
during 3 commission raid 0B
Vermeulenâ\200\231s home early this
month showed -only tbe pames
of white South Africans. .

. Vermeulen claimed the day
after Kheswa died in police cus-
tody on July 10 that Xheswa
had been 2 member of bis or-
ganlsation. He reiterated theâ\200\231

_claim, but later told police he
had made the claim purely for
propaganda 'gurpos:s. :

In a lengtby telephone inter-

_view with The Star days before
the raid, Vermeulen said Khes-
wa â\200\224 and other blacks â\200\224 had
been recruited into his move-
ment and had been members on
a verbal-a reement basis.

id blacks, including

Kheswa, had been -approached
by recruiters asking whether
they would be {interested in join-
ing an â\200\234anti-ANCâ\200\235 organisation.
@ Police have not yet received
| the report on the post-mortem

: Lgnducted on Kheswa.

el

oo v Al A L e

SOA 3NMBZNS 2E:60 EF

9. WL

swoop in
|riot-torn
township

Staff Reporters

â\200\231

into riot-torn Daveyton on
the East Rand today in a
pre-dawn swoop described
as a â\200\234stabilisation operationâ\200\235
after the carnage of the past
five days.

The bodies of three men
were found during the com-
bined police-defence force
search in the Chris Hani
squatter camp.

â\200\224 two for dagga possession
and two for public violence
â\200\224 as security, forces con-, .

~ gearcheR s

scores of deaths on the East
Rand. artel By B licopters
- Su ed by helic S,
policpegealed off the Chris
Hani squatter camp. The set-
tlement is a flashpoint from
where crimes and violence
have been perpetrated, espe-

Security

Security forces swarmed |;

Four people were arrested |â\200\231

those responsible for.the. j

-election date.

â\200\230Wounded

eâ\200\230i~\201t:ac11;s on police contin-
ued in Daveyton yesterday,
and the bodies of three 4
ple were found on the East
Rand.

A member of the Internal
Stability Unit was shot and
wounded in.Daveyton's
Khoza section last night.

Police said a Vosloorus
woman was shot dead on
Tuesday night when gunmen
burst into her home.

Another body was found in
Twala Section, in nearby
Katlehong. -

A body with stab wounds
was found in Pollak Park,

Boksburg/Benoni Peace

Roux said the IFP was still
taking part in peace talks in
Daveyton.

This followed the party's
threat on Tuesday to pull out
of peace structures after two
IFP leaders were killed on
Sunday. o

And yesterday, the Human
Rights Commission said
more than 500 people had
been killed in townships so
far this month, the highest
monthly toll in three years.
_The HRC said most of the
violence took place in town-
ships east of Johannesburg,
where at least 255 people
have been killed since the
July 2 announcement of an

In Natal, initial reports
showed at least 160 people
had been killed since the be-

cially against the SAP, po-
lice said.)

Springs, yesterday morning. -

Committee chairman Con

ginning of the month.

SOA FNNHZNS 2E:60

| THE STAR, THURSDAY 29 JULY 1993

- Q\&-\
- THE STAR, THURSDAY 29 JULY 1993

" :Negotlatorsz'

The KwaZulu government =

was today expected.to seek:
an urgent interdict in the'

Pretoria Supreme Court .

against partles represented
In multiparty negotiations at
the World Trade Centre to-

challenge the controversial ' .
g : m will beâ\200\231 s;wed on the rep-
clple of decision-making inf-esqtlh"

â\200\234sufficient consensusâ\200\235 prin-
the Negotiating Council.

"Bophuthatswana Minister
i_Of State and chief.negot.iatot-

c : 'allengedf

w"\.'?!tâ\200\230

Rowan CronJe told the coun-
Âçil this. morping that the 10-
member planning committee
had been informed that

. KwaZulu had brought an ap- | |
â\200\230plication for an urgent inter-

-dlct against the pegotiators.
- Cronje-said that summon-

Of the 26 par-

â\200\224 Polltical Correspondent.
0 Parties to debate
' consensus - Page 3

LN 'w._:..â\200\230.-,

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Parties to debate consensus to

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

Differences between the 26 negotiating groups at Kempton Park emerged yesterday over aspects of the first draft of the Interim Constitution.

Discussion on the draft document! went ahead without the Conservative Party, Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu government â\200\224 al] three having rejected the document.

Bul debates on sufficient consensus and a confederal option were postponed until today, allowing time for these parties to return to the negotiating table.

In a letter to the 10-member planning committee, IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose requested that debate on sufficient consensus be postponed

until after the partyâ\200\231s central .
committee has met.

. However, negotiators said
Last night the discussion on sufficient consensus would continue today as scheduled. - 3

.+ Although. the Negotiating

Council has agreed to a series of constitutional principles which will be the framework for the Interim and final Constitutions, sharp differences exist between the negotiators, The main points of conflict

which emerged yesterday in the council's four-hour session were: the powers and functions of regions during the transition; the role of the constitutional court; citizenship; the implementation of the Interim Constitution; a time-frame for writing the final Constitution; the

status of the final Constitution; and the name of a constitution-making body. - . 4

" Disagreement arose over whether the powers and functions of regions should be entrenched before or after the first elections for an interim government. i Bophuthatswana government

negotiator Rowan Cronje argued that no provision had been made for the exclusive powers

of regions in the draft document, But the technical com-

mittee on constitutional mat-

ters said regions would have more powers during the transition than provinces had enjoyed previously. :

ANC secretary-general Cyril

-Ramaphosa, supported by the

South African Communist Party and PAC, objected to a constitutional court determining whether the final Constitution adheres to the constitutional principles accepted by the Negotiating Council.

~Officials told me to
*kill says policeman

DURBAN - A KwaZulu policeman

- told 2 Goldstone commission bearing 'iyesterday that he was given an AK-47 .- Tifle and ammunition - by ' Inkatha . Freedom Party members-and Kwa-- Zulu officials two years ago, and was -

.told it would be-used to kill, people in.

Esikhawini, near Empangem

It also emerged at the bearing that a ,nzuulu police officer was murdered

ing his probe into the policeman's illegal :

Yossession. of the AK-47."

** The commission is investigating the'

KwaZulu police's alleged involvement in

- violence in-Natal - s , The policeman, who may not be identi-

fied, said he had been recruited by Inkatha In Natal in 1986 to undergo training by the

SA Defence Force in the Caprivi strip, in - .northeastern Namibia. He returned to SA ? later that year after training with 200 : others, most of who were eventually absorbed into-the KwaZulu Police:

He said -he was given the AK-47 and . aremunition by Inkatha members who said | it would be used to through people living in Esikhawini's H section,"and

. , s

e .

- BUSINESS DAY, THURSDAY 29 JULY 1993

kill two "problematic" KwaZulu Police members.

* Later, members of the KwaZulu police

confiscated the weapon from the police- " man after the SAP began investigating the

illegal weapon case.

Although he was not investigated by his colleagues for possessing an illegal &

. arm, he had been afraid of action by the *SAP : about the end.:hon,

- another incident where he was shot and
- injured while patrolling with the KwaZulu'

Police, and threatening phone calls to him,

which led him to fear for his life and he contacted the Goldstone commission.

The policeman said after the rifle had been confiscated he was told by a prominent Esikhawini Inkatha member that the

case would be quashed. The Inkatha mem-

ber had said KwaZulu Justice Minister C J Mtshwa had contacted the SAP in Emileton to quash the case.

He further testified that he was told by

the same Inkatha member that the men who

had given him the gun had refused to

make statements to the investigating offi-

cer in the case, a Sgt Khumalo, who was later murdered, - Sapa.

1FP â\200\230gave me AK-47

DURBAN = A KwaZulu police-
man told a Goldstone Commis-
sion hearing yesterday that he
was glven an AK-47 rifle and
ammunition by Inkatha Free-
dom Party members and Kwa-
Zulu officials and told to kill
people creating problems for
â\200\230the IFE in Esikhawini township,
near Empangeni. .

The policernan, who may not

!
recruited by the IFP in Natal to
undergo training by the South

African Defence Force in the
Caprivi Strip. :

. 'The purpose of his trainixig.
he was told, was to protect -
members of the South African

and KwaZulu governments.
On his return in 1987 he s

members before joining the ;
KwaZulu Police. â\200\224 Sapa. 5

be identified, said he had been

SOA INNEZNS SE:eR

ent
nearly a year recruiting IFP |

THE STAR, THURSDAY 29 JULY 1993

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â\200\230AK-47 to killâ\200\231

A KWAZULU policeman,
given an AK-47 and
ammunition by Inkatha
Freedom Party members and
KwaZulu officials, was told it
would be used to kill people
near Empangeni, the
Goldstone commission heard
yesterday. Page2

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" THE STAR, THURSDA

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NEWSâ\200\224

r 29 JULY 1993

Council plan â\200\234dictatorialâ\200\231

By Jacqueline Myburgh

The agreement in the Local
Government Negotiating
Forum (LGNF) to establish
nominated non-racial coun-

âils by the end of September

was a form of â\200\234local govern-
ment dictatorshipâ\200\235, a meÃt-
ing of Johannesburg rate-
payer associations was told
last night.â\200\235 - A
â\200\230Speaking to loud applause
from about 150 representatives
at the meeting in a Parktown
church hall, the chairman of the

Northern Consultative Forum, -

Jim Powell said: â\200\234If we allow
this to go through, we can for-

get demo'c'r'ac.y". â\200\235

The â\200\230meeting, called'.â\200\231by the
Northern Areas Group of rate- .

payer organisations to address
ratepayer concerns regarding
local government transition,

- was heated at times.

Among the concerns raised
were whether township resi-
dents would start paying for
rent and services once the boy-

cott was lifted and whether the-

non-racial councils would be ac-â\200\231

countable. . - -

Cheered by the meeting,
Aaron Seboyane of the Alexan-

dra East Bank residents asso- -

ciation volunteered to â\200\234lead a

boycottâ\200\235 against payment of -

municipal service charges by
all ratepayers.

3

. of tax base bounda

Democratic Party councillor,
Sias Reynecke, addressed the
meeting on progress.T)

- He said no detailed agree-
ments had been reached In the
local government negotiations.

â\200\234Fundamental restructuring

ies must
take place before any viable

+* local government wil} be possi-

ble,â\200\235 he sald. . :

" â\200\230He said parties had agreed

" that Jupe 8 next year was the

- most â\200\234attainable dateâ\200\235 for mu-

nicipal elections.

â\200\230The meeting could pot agree
whether a united body of rate-

" payer.orgapisations should

-apply for membership of the
LGNF and the Metropolitan
Chamber.

â\200\224 T

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Y 1993

Constitution to be

redrafted - -

'Bid to break

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deadlock on

regiona

THE ANC, SA Communist Party and government held out an olive branch to the Concerned .South Africans Group and the DP yesterday, insisting that Lhe draft constitution include far more regional powers.

The lechnical comimittee which drew up the draft will rework it {0 strengthen the avlonomy granted to regions and their sep- reseatation in ceniral government.

This is also seen as an atlemp to w00 Inkatha back to talks. Inkatha, the Kwa-Zulv government and Lhe CP did not atient yesterday's negotiations.

. Beginning the debale on the drafl consli-

tution, negotiating council chairman Pravin Gordhan said the main aim was to

identify common ground and differences in

principle. Then in bilaterals and multilaterals the parties can thrash out their differences before full and comprehensive debate on the constitution takes place in the negotiating council.

Dealing with the powers and functions to be allocated to regional or federal state authorities, the ANC, government, NP and DP, as well as Cosag, said there were insufficient original powers entrenched in the interim constitution and this should be corrected in the next draft.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the ANC would be happy with more regional representatives in the national assembly because our people reside at a regional level and that is where :

i

BILLY PADDOCK

L)

democracy and government is most effective

live. He said the ANC had no problem in

with the second chamber consisting solely of regional representatives.

Bophuthatswana chief negotiator Rowan Cronje agreed.

SACP negotiator Joe Slovo said it was important to have regions represented at central level so that they did not feel left out and were part of the central power.

Regional representatives would have 300 of the 500 seats in both houses of the 400 in the national assembly and about 100 in the upper House. They should not feel afraid. This will cement a new SA rather than fragment it.

NP negotiator Dawie de Villiers said the committee had not fulfilled its instructions from the council as it had not listed or allocated the powers. Once this was done, that would have to be negotiated with central government after the elections would be "how to get to a position where they can take over all these powers".

Rtanaphosa said he understood the committee's difficulties but some way had to be found to grant transitional regional governments more powers, while also coping with the difficulty of rationalising the regions' administrative levels.

Cronje said the negotiating forum had

agreed on many principles which defined

C) To Page 2

plan

the Constitution .
the position of the regions as well as their relationship to central government. These agreements were not reflected in the draft. All the regions' powers depended on cen-

tral government's goodwill and this is not what we negotiated - "es
Wills' technicals committee member Prof Marinus Wiechers said the committee was aware of the feelings expressed, but had had difficulty co-ordinating the rationalisation of powers within regions. :
. However, the draft clearly provided for regional autonomy rather than
stated that the position of regions in this draft was much stronger than anything contained in previous legislation.

Ramaphosa said: "The real solution is to find a way that the powers are given real meaning for the regions, so that they do not feel short-changed."

While there is much to be said for the central government, a clash is looming :

It is clear that the regions' powers to certify the provisions of the constitution.

The ANC said any review by a constitutional court - which may judge whether the final document conforms to the set of agreed constitutional principles should

be a prerequisite to its adoption. The ANC would not reject any notion of a timeframe for the majority

to be known, knowing that after the constituent assembly has taken its heels, a final test: the lack of sovereignty should be sufficient to certify the constitution,

have to be addressed.

i Moseneke said

not certify that the elected
use constitutional principles

O From Page 1.

ected to a constitutional court. If

giving them has a problem they can challenge
the constitution in the court. -

Constitutional Development Minister

) Roell Meyer objected, 33y

ter of principle that a 0

ing it wasd mat-
constitutional court

Ramaphosa, with Slovo's support, pro-
posed a compromise whereby one-third of
the elected body could demand that the
constitution be certified if it was unhappy
with it. Meyer and the DP's Colin Eglin
rejected this and the chairman said
this was an area of difference that would

ruled that

Technical committee member Dikgang
said if the constitutional court

body had

tion by a simple majority
Job-breaking mechanisms fail.
Eglin said such a 3 step would be extreme
'ly dangerous. It is not acceptable to have

50% plus one. -

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SOA 3INNHZN

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- BUSINESS DAY, THURSDAY 28 JULY 1983

NEws INBRIEE ||

Finding on â\200\230killerâ\200\231 |, it
THE Goldstone com- }'
mission has. found that : |-
alleged Vaal Triangle L

mass murderer Khetisi
Kheswa, who died in po- Â\$:
lice custody several
weeks ago, had not been
a member of the right-
wing World Preserva-
= | tist Movement.
Movement leader
s e Koos Vermeulen had
said Kheswa belonged
to the body, but later re-
scinded this claim.
Judge Richard Gold-
stone sald membership
records seized during a
raid on Vermeulenâ\200\231s
â\200\234home disclosed only the
names of whites. "~

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BUSINESS DAY, THURSD

Y 29 JULY 1993

DURBAN â\200\224 Leaders and top offi- Â» On the East Rand, a Vosloorus
cials of rmost of SA's political groups Â¥y woman died after being struck in the -
gather in Durban.next weex for a â\200\230% chest by a bullet on Tuesday night, . -
three-day peace summit to analyse police said. . el :
the raticnal peace accord and try to - Police also reported the discovery ;

address its shortcomings.â\200\235
A meeting of accord signatories is

also imminent, says national peace .

secretariat chairman Antonie
Gildeahuys. z .

Next week's peace meeting, organ-
jsed by the National Association of
Democratic Lawyers, will attract
leaders representing all the peace ac-
corÃ© sigzatories. Non-signatories
such as Azapo and the Transkei gov-
ernmen: will also attend.

The natiopal peace committee
would meet tomorrow to try to fina-
lise a meeting of signatories, said
Gildeckuys. A

Meanwhile, STEPHANE BOTHMA
reports that several unrest-related
inciderts, mainly on the Reef and in
Natal. left eight people dead and

severa! injured since Tuesday night, -

police reported yesterday. i

of a body in Katlehong.â\200\235 P
" Three bodies were found in a shack

in Sharpeville.

In Pollak Park, Springs, a man was
stabbed in the neck and fatally
wounded. ST ot

In Natal, violence claimed at least
two more lives, according to Kwa-
Zulu Police reports. 5

Political fighting in Sundumbili,
near Mandini on Natalâ\200\231s North Coast,
left one man dead.

A man was killed in Umdlaziâ\200\231s trou-
bled T Section. ;

The Human Rights Commissionâ\200\231s

- weekly report issued yesterday said

167 people were killed and 116 injured in violence, mainly in the PWV and Natal, between July 21 and July 27.

The HRC said more than 500 people had been killed in townships so far this month, the highest monthly

Â«toll in three years.

â\200\235

SOA 3MNEZNS TF

No plan to gag the media in Gildenhuis "bpfiâ\200\231Gn"-:â\200\224â\200\230f-

Dear Sir, Â© : ' Buthclezi, seems bent on occu ving -Ef7 5 " have no furiher objections.
SIMON Barber {Business Day, July & - Pq Box.1138. : a centre stage, now al any cost. ke : .
SEYMOUR KOPELOWITZ
27) engaged in a practice wilh which Jo'burg 2000 - L Tragically, that cost is mounting : :
: Nationa! director
I have become familiar in Parlia- g Fax: (011) LRI <) up in bodics on mortuary slabs; in SA
Jewish Board of Deputies
menL. When you don't have anything ; -] desperately needed foreign capital ; '
of substance for your speech, scrape ? - "1 flecing forever; in an increasing featâ\200\235
RILF - o e Sl oooo
together some limsy poinis from. structed not to quote such a erson. .| of unsioppable civi
l war. - 3
your qpponenl's speech, pump them That is rubbish â\200\224 an oplion li-â\201al has Witness
the Inkatha Jreedom Par- X4 J Dear SiT. .
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Barber's column focuses on some- According lo Barber, 1 told him 1 Â¥{ been a leader for 30
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ence which 1 atlended. Dr Gilden- Â»banning orderâ\200\235. The only response 1 that leader
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e West realise Lthe meril * decisive, slow and inconsistent. It
â\200\230to weaknesses in the ppace accord â\200\234gaggingâ\200\235 had been used and was
: of political counsel, albeit eritical. i continually blames government for
the use of banning orders apainst onÂ¢ of the options being considered. It is over for Buth
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g_ople who contravene the accord. ilis suggestion that 1 agrecd with come 100 sell-serving
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This would have been an alarming "fhe dumpy which Simon Barber Â¥ \â\200\230]cadm- of a majo
r party today car- i - \ with the thought of spending money
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N < I _~ e bl Â\$ The ANC's use of its inflvence Lo
bul mentioned \hat One of {heseveral renders him out of touch with the de- . Norwood AN fe
alhier ils own nesi, such as its
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ilh Digital to enler the
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s, is even more alarming.
Lravingen the code of conduct be pre- 1WISH to correct the impression you festival organise

rs to comply with Is the ANC intent on establishing
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which were sclout by ils own econvmic Brocderbond. and
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Murnas Foundalion. The is one form of apariheid being
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prevent the Weekly {\Fail Film Fesli- Weekly Mail has now decided Lo pro- replaced by anoth
er?
\ÂWhat Barber further sucks from - tics plays oul. one of the principal val {rom screening
the film, Jud ceed wilh the showing of the film A MCLEGS
his thumb is thal the media be in- anti-herots, The good Dr Mangosuthu &, Suss. subject Lo
Lhose Lerms. We herefore Camps Bay

29 JULY 1993

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Power shift

F THE transitional executive Theaimisto ensure equal politi-
council comes into being withthe cal opportunity in the election
powers proposed for it, President period, and specifically to see that -
de Klerk and his government will the NP and homeland administra-
find themselves in an uncornfort- tions cannot â\200\230use the police or the
ably subservient position. Power army to their own advantage, pass -
and authority will have passed, laws or edicts to the disadvantage
leaving the goverument with little of others, or benefit from state
but the responsibility for every- funds. So the TEC, comprising all 28
thing that goes Wrong. . parties to constitutional negotia-
Until a mnew administration is tioms, will have access to all govern-
elected next April.-the government * ment information; it must approve
will still rule the country, interms all decisions government intends
of the present constitution and in taking which may affect the elec-
the name of President de Klerk. But tion, from voting regulations to the
mary of the orders will comrie from declaration of a state of emergency-
--elsewhere. All decisions in specified . _The TEC will be more & Super
= areas â\200\224 particularly police, finance cabinet than 2 transitional govern-
and election matters " will be sub- ment, but it marks the end of 4
ject to the approval of a higher ~ years of NP rule. The TEC, and not
authority; their plans can be vetoed: the Cabinet, is where ultimate
or altered. or legislation stopped. _power will reside.

SOA 3MNHZNS e 60

THE STAR, THURSDAY 29 JULY 1993

White fears
concern ANC,
says Mandela -

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Correspondent

ANC president Nelson

Mandela yesterday .

reached out to white
-South Africans and ap-
pealed for their co-opera-
tion in the reconstruction
of the country. - :

Addressing students of the -
Rand Afrikaans University, â\200\235
Mandela said that although .-~
top priority was the im-â\200\231

provement of blacksâ\200\231 stan-
dard of living, the ANC re-

â\200\230roained concerned about the
fears of whites.

The ANC would try its
best to address these. â\200\234We
donâ\200\231t consider any group .â\200\224

especially the Afrikaner â\200\224 -

â\200\235

as our enemy.

various Afrikaner leaders â\200\224

including top generals in the - -
-SAP â\200\224 since the beginning -~

â\200\231pO!'â\200\234Oï¬\202}"'._ i

of thisyear. ~ - ,

- Mandela referred to his
two meetings with Afrikaner
Volksunie (AVU) leader An-
dries Beyers, whom he had
advised against placing de-

: mands for a Boerestaat on

the negotiating table, but
rather to give him a map of
the part of the country

where the AVU. wanted itsâ\200\231

â\200\230people to constitute a major-
ity in a regional dispensa-
tion. 2

â\200\234T am still waiting for him
to come back. I am prepared

" to recommend to my organi-
â\200\230gation that we try to accom- -

modate these demands,â\200\235 said

" the ANC leader.

Mandela said police offi-
cers who wdnted to serve

>

. and protect all South Afri-
. canps equally would have a
e 1. . .vital role to play in a new
. Mandela said he had held :

numerous meetings with -

police force... . |
. He' denounced the Cape .

Town church massacre as
~â\200\234barbarisra of gruesome pro-

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SA S|

X 3 i~\201 ey TR -..

ONTROVERSY over the reconstruction levy
proposed by ANC economist Tito Mboweni has ..

reached gale force, with estimates of the extra I

load on income tax burdens running into mul-
_tiples of billio of rands. .

The package!of proposals, with a once-off 15 per- :
cent special levy on income tax, plus a 5 percent tax :

on fixed assets, has sent everyone scurrying for their
pocket calculators. R e

Mbowenl has suye;i short of putting figures to the !
revenue target he has in mind, aimed at creating & !

special fund for varlous soclo-economie upliftment .

programmes to remedy the deprivations caused most |

of black society by apartheid.

However, the massive scale of the programmes

- that must somehow be tackled can be judged by re- |
cent estimates by the SA Chamber of Business, show-
ing that it would take: R40billionâ\200\231 to iron. out',
black/white digparities caused by apartbeid in'such ;

. basic spheres as housing, education and bealth ser- Â°
vices. : ; e ;

The difference in approach to-solutions comes with'
comparisons of strategies. . : e T 0

Sacob d_lrect.or-generalâ\200\230Raymond'Pmonsâ\200\230_Ls con- --
vinced South Africa must match what it needs to do .
with what it can afford to do, and confront the reali- ..
ties that it may recsui.re a programme stretched over.
to

at least 10 years to level the playing fields.

Mboweni clearly wants much quicker results fromâ\200\231 .

political reform. : AR R h T

"lt still leaves everyone in & quandary about the
costs of breaking the conundrum.. :

*A review of 1993 Budget estimates about the size of
'anticipated tax collections in the coming 12 months
makes it obyious that hardest hit by the income tax'
proposals would be individual breadwinners, whose
tax bills in the current 1993/94 financial year already
threaten to climb above R36 billion, lf one assumed -
the proposed levy would add 15 percent, the burden
would increase by RS, 4 billion. "~ . ,

" However, estimates using the R36 billion benchmark could be far from precise because of the wide variations in the average individual levels of normal taxation going into the R38 billion, 3. i et v

~If the levy were imposed on an taxpayer's; what's;vi 4

er their tax bracket, the collections could soar far Riehar, "okl % 8 I B D

But Mbowgeâ\200\230}i~\202 has not yet spelt out who would be included or excluded from the proposed special levy. It is widel umed he would set a threshold level that would relieve lower-income taxpayers of th levy and fix the aim on higher-income brackets. .Â« - any bills are expected to ~bearound

â\200\230Â¥ Comp e R11,9 billion. A 15 pÃ@rcent hike would boost the bills -

Cea i b

to over R13,6 billl

e el ARLIeN

+But even hÃ©avier burdens Â¿ould be expected fromâ\200\235 |â\200\231

the second round of the proposed wealth tax-package ;â\200\230ti percent special levy on the value of 21;; i~\201xgd

- Here, the Econometrix research unit finds it impossible even to guess at the overall .impact until Mboweni provides a more detailed definition of the assetstobecounted. . Â\$ e e

On the assumption that corporate as well as private assets would be scooped into the net;iclearly by - far the biggest contributions to the reconstruction fund would come from the business world. .- . - . For instance, if the formula were based on net . assets, the 5 percent levy would-cost the Barlow Rand ; industrial empire alone about R787 million, based on net assets put at more than R14,74 billion, Â» 7 v With net assets of .nearly R10,297 billion, " SA Breweries would need to find about R515 million.

_Or would the tax collector delve into the complex patterns of fixed assets, plus current assets, and disregard interest-free liabilities? No one knows, -

"Nor does anyone know-how Mboweni would count

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@9:32 SUZANNE VOS

C economist Tito Mboweni has caused controVersy by proposing multimillion-rand tax levies for a fund to Iron out Inequalities caused by apartheid. MICHAEL CHESTER looks at the possible Impact of such a tax

. -on ipe;s_onal and company budgets.

: pÃ@;-sbnal;assets, such as hoï¬\201Ã@&,jciari,' :ï¬\201 sets and CD players, perhaps speedboats or eve'nâ\200\230ygcll.zt.s, bank bal- .

.ances, jepvellery Siew s tae e e 5
= What about shares held in compganies quoted on the
" Johannesburg Stock Exchange if regarded as person-
al assets? With the current market value of equities.

running at more than R628 billion, shareholders could be expected to fork out about R31.4 billion under the S percent levy rule. L : :
- But letâ\200\231s come down to the nitty-gritty. Letâ\200\231s Jook at the scenarios for rank-and-file families without

Sl e .

investment funds: - b "

. Take breadwinners who fall into an average pat-

tern and have 2 spouse and two_children, and who
- earn'a modest R16 500 a year â\200\224 R1375 a month. The

15 percent income levy would increase their tax bill

from around R575 to as high as R3 050. ,

*:Tazabl - R\$5

month, would mean a jump in taxes from R11 825 to

overR20000, - = - - 0. ch Lt s

. The R150 000 house he may live in â\200\224 if regarded as

an_ asset, with no allowance for any outstanding -

amount on a probable mortgage =~ would cost an-

other R7 Â\$00 in the 5 percent asset levy, =1

An annual income of R110 000 would mean income tax bills spiralling from R3S 175 to R51 675. :

.. A R250 000 house; clear of home bond repayments, â\200\230would megn an additional bill of R12500. . .

" Yet to be counted, of course, could be the asset 'value of the car in the garage. We's still haven't come to reckon 'the value of furniture,-or time-share holi-day homeâ\200\230.{ g . > o RTINS YN

* Mboweni insists: â\200\234ThÃ@re is no need for anybody to

be scared. We all have to face up to the difficulties of

building a new and more equal society.

The challenge of building a new society, of reconstructing South Africa, as it were, will demand that

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income of R55 000 a year, or R4583 a

1 . enormous: Building a

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THE STAR, THURSDAY 29 JULY 1993

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Resources - especially financial - be made avail-

able for development, reparation and compensation.

There is near unanimity that without either increasing the tax burden or the budget deficit there is

. Do way in which the ordinary budget of South Africa

can cope with the enormity of the challenge

Econometrix director Dr Azar Jammine responds:

It is not difficult to see that the removal of 15 per-

cent of disposable income in one fell swoop would have a devastating effect on economic activity, the likes of which has never been experienced in the

country's history.

e % RS E RS PR e::'-i-202'.r MESIRr IR s P

AS regards the 5 percent tax on fixed assets, one

- has difficulty with the concept on several counts, -

Measurement of the value of one's fixed assets must -

surely represent a minefield of subjectivity and bu-

reaucracy if the taxes to be levied at a relatively low

threshold level of wealth.

We are all well aware of the urgency of a basic reconstruction of society: However, South Africa must face the brutal reality that it cannot afford to provide all the necessary remedies at one stroke.

We need to build the foundations of reconstruction

tions with care, however, | - et
unless we are going to ;
run the risk of iindermin- ;
ing longer term confi-
degce,?i)Ã©.g:â\200\231.-_ : 5
â\200\230ar better, he. argues, |
would be.to'tackleguthe N
task of a sweeping re-
form of the entire taxa-
tion system. : R |
- Mbowent agrees that |'
the cost of socio-econom- | -
ic reconstructionâ\204¢will be

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new South Africa will
also require a high de-
gree of pational consen-
sus that we should fairly
and squarely deal with
the Â¢ uences. of the

justice, national recon-â\200\230
ciliation and-solidari-

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4 NEW ERA 29 July â\200\224 4 August 1993

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1a Speaks

But Who Is Telling The Truth?

By Williams B Nkuruh

WINDHOEK

WITH ALL THE ACCESS to incessant media reports on Chief Gatsha Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the strongman from KwaZulu, South Africa, I thought I knew the man.

But when I met him for an exclusive interview somewhere in Eros Park, Windhoek, during his recent visit to Namibia as President

Sam Nujoma's guest, the man I - knew suddenly became an enigma.

To many people, Chief Buthelezi is viewed as being at the heart of the conflagration that is tearing at the heart of South Africa.

He leads, they argue, a militant group of Zulu warriors hell bent on carving a political niche in South African for their boss and themselves, even through bullets and bloodshed.

Indeed, to many observers, he is a Savimbi cousin, and like the man from the bush in Jamba, he is prepared to get his fair share of the South African political cake, at any cost.

Others, argue that by association, his hands are drenched with the blood of the thousands of South African victims of township violence sparked off by the conflict between his Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and Nelson Mandela's African National Congress (ANC).

Buthelezi himself acknowledges that he has become the

â\200\230veritable bete noire in South Africa, I can prove it. He has been called bad name 'dahgemus' and an African hater by crimps; and in various sections of the media.

But, at a press conference here, and later in the private interview, the Zulu chief washed his hands clean. â\200\230Guiltyâ\204¢ is not an appropriate adjective to describe his conduct or that of his people and party, he suggested.

Unlike the ANC, he argues, he does not have an army. Unlike the ANC leadership, he does not orchestrate violence. His philosophy, he advances, is one of non-violence.

And if you smell a contradiction here, a contradiction between his avowed philosophy of non-violence and his vocal cadre of spear-wielding Zulus reeling off war chants and stampeding down some street in his â\200\230Zulu nationâ\200\231 or those charging towards a hostel in Soweto, you are wrong.

This behaviour, Buthelezi argues, is an extension of the violent condition that his â\200\230nationâ\200\231 and people have been plunged into. To him, violence feeds on violence and his people cannot be expected to stand, arms-akimbo, while all around them abound threats to their lives.

Without saying it in so many words, he places the blame for

___ violence in South Africa on the

white people and South

â\200\230even in the case of Namibia - does not appeal to Chief Buthelezi. .
" To him, the Zulus are not a-

ARMED TO THE TEETH: Some of the tens of thousands of Zulus who converged on the Soweto soccer stadium, in Johannesburg, recently, to listen to their King, Goodwill Zwelithini, voice concern over the fate of his nation and to demand for regional self-determination for his people in a new South Africa. .

__doorsteps of the ANC and President

F.W. de Klerk's National Party. Instead of merging into a grand coalition for peace as set out in the September 1990 National Peace Accord, these two major political forces in South Africa, he argues, have been engaged in actions to

obliterate the Zulu nation and people from the South African map.

- And Buthelezi is adamant about

the future of his KwaZulu nation.

He won't compromise its interests for the future of peace in South Africa.

The fact that most modern states, particularly in Africa are essentially an amalgamation of tribal groups including established kingdoms -

tribal group but a coherent nation, very rich in history and with more legitimate claim to individuality and higher recognition in a future South Africa.

He insists his nation cannot be forced into a merger with South Africa. We can only merge with the rest of South Africa on our own terms and volition, he said.

His demand : for a federal system in South Africa, it would seem, is his bottomline for continued participation in the negotiation process from which his party pulled early this month. It is also one of eight features it demands the future South African constitution must contain. Buthelezi articulated this strongly during his recent address to his party's 18th General Congress when he noted:

We will not be dragged into the new South Africa without us having any say in the matter. We will exercise our right to self-determination and if necessary we

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aiar .

will die in defence of our right to do so. KwaZulu did not become part of South Africa of its own volition. This is, therefore, the first time that the Zulu nation must decide on what terms they can remain part of South Africa. The Union of South Africa was established by bullets, rather than through the ballot. It was not ordained by God.

The IFP insists it will not participate in a constitutional hiatus or in what Buthelezi calls a challenge-

BUTHELEZI

radeâ\200\231 - meaning the current negotiation process that, he claims, refuses to acknowledge both his partyâ\200\231s demands and its importance in the peace and democratic process. He warns that anyone believing they can go it alone is entertaining an illusion. The Zulu constituency is too big to ignore, he argues, adding that ignoring it would only serve to stoke the fires of violence in that country. Buthelezi also refuses to take the blame for his partyâ\200\231s pull out of the negotiation process. Instead, he suggests that the ANC/NP in-

.. Photograph by NampalReuter

tran3lgence and the mistaken belief that they can impose their will on the rest of South Africa, and South African political forces, had forced them out. y

But as he levels accusations at both organisations, impressions have also been made by other parties that the IFP insistence on federalism and the right and ultra-right demands for a confederacy were mere political gimmicks â\200\230of men bent on protecting their fiefdoms and, therefore, not m the national interest.

It has also been advanced by key actors in the negotiation process, including the ANC, that the absence of parties like the Inkatha Freedom Party, will not derail the process, that the dÃ©mocracy train will roll on to election time, come 27 April, 1994.

In essence, Buthelezi and his party are, in the eyes of parties like the ANC and the NP, guilty of attempting to derail the democratic process. Yet, these same parties are, in the eyes of the IFP, guilty of hijacking the democratic process.

To Buthelezi, a constitution defines the character of a nation and the shape of South Africaâ\200\231s political future should not be left to the whims of one or two parties. Setting up an election date and moving towards the establishment of a Constituent Assembly before collectively evolving a constitution is like â\200\230putting the cart before the horse.â\200\231

And as major South African â\200\231

political actors engage in accusations and counter-accusations, violence continues on the streets, in homes and churches, claiming lives by the day. Equally, one fundamental question remains: Who is telling the truth?

SA Unveils

Constitution
Amid Bloodshed

JOHANNESBURG

SOUTH AFRICA'S democracy negotiations hopped forward on Monday, hobbled by white and black bloodshed and renewed talk of war.

A draft of the first post-apartheid constitution, paving the way for an end to 350 years of white domination, was presented to democracy negotiators but any elation over the historic event was crushed by a renewed spate of killing.

Gunmen firing assault rifles and tossing grenades slaughtered 10 worshippers in a white church in a leafy suburb of Cape Town on Sunday night, the evening of renewed talks.

It was the bloodiest attack on an increasingly nervous white community since President F.W. de Klerk freed Nelson Mandela, legalised black political activity and began demolishing apartheid three years ago. More than 50 blacks were killed and several homes were burned out in scattered township fighting around Johannesburg and in Natal province over the weekend, police reported.

One of the most crucial weeks in negotiations aimed at bringing about the first all-race election next April, opened at Johannesburg's World Trade Centre with the official unveiling by a committee of experts of an outline transitional constitution. The pro-apartheid Conservative Party immediately attacked the draft as a recipe for civil war which destroyed all hope of a peaceful settlement.

"It is a recipe for civil war, further economic deterioration and a spiral of violence and crime which will reduce the country to ruin," party leader, Ferdi Hartzenberg,

said in a statement.

â\200\234He said the draft ignored Afrikaner demands for self-rule and made it impossible for his party to continue participating in the negotiations. - - -

The Inkatha Freedom Party of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi alreadyâ\200\231 is â\200\234boycotting the talks to support demands for self-determination for the Zulu people.

The killing at St Jamesâ\200\231s Anglican church in Cape Town took the violence which has brought misery to blacks to the heart of the white community.

Visiting the wounded in hospital, President F.W de Klerk said: â\200\234This was a horrific incident. It is as if evil challenges that which is good in South Africa.â\200\235

Analysts predict the attack will increase the haemorrhage of support from De Klerkâ\200\231s National Party to the white right, where former police and army generals are mustering resistance to majority rule. Raging violence in black communities, where some 9,000 people have died in three years of apartheid reform, spiralling violent crime in white suburbs and an increasing number of attacks on whites in farms and cities, have created fertile ground for recruitment on the right. Nampa/Reuter

"NEWERA 29 July -4 August 1993

EDITORIAL

Rightists Threaten Walvis Bay

lowly but surely, the South African rightwing spectre is hovering over Namibia. Grapevine tales of a clandestine rightwing threat within Namibia

have been in the air, for sometime now.

Recent developments in Walvis Bay, however, indicate that the threat might be for real. We have gathered from the South African Conservative Party that plans by the party are afoot to unilaterally declare Walvis Bay an independent state under its control. The plot is even more hastened by what the CP claims are advanced plans by the De Klerk government to hand-over Walvis Bay to its rightful owner, Namibia.

If this threat is real, and it was revealed to this paper by none other than Otto Mack, the CP Vice-President for Walvis Bay, then Namibia can prepare itself for another kind of battle. And the CP had better stand warned.

If it carries out its design, it will not only be violating UN resolutions on Walvis Bay but would also hijack a protracted three-year process between the South African and Namibian governments to resolve the contentious dispute over the enclave, peacefully and a direct contradiction of popular thinking among major South African political circles who have indicated that Walvis Bay belongs to Namibia and that to it, it should be returned. Only recently, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told a press conference in Windhoek that Walvis Bay belongs to Namibia and that it should be returned to it, soonest. This is an echo of the

. position held by Nelson Mandela's African National Congress.

Besides the CP gimmick being at variance with this thinking, it does threaten to compromise Namibia's interests and territorial integrity. Indeed, if and when it happens, it will introduce an entirely new political ballgame and one likely to put the peace this country has enjoyed since independence on the line. It is safe to assume that when CP declares its alleged claim on Walvis Bay, it will follow to defend this claim by force or other means. But, it would be myopic to assume that Namibia's territorial integrity would be violated without a fight. Namibia's

democracy is built on a strong belief in peace. It is our conviction that it desires no confrontation. ., .. oo aey VR s !

In the interest of peace, therefore, it would seem that President F W de Klerk and his government have a responsibility to arrest this heinous CP design. The CP design must be seen as an act of desperation, like that of the drowning man clutching at the proverbial straw. Having been beaten and, therefore, unable to cut any visible political niche in South Africa, they seem bent on dragging their disillusionment into Namibia. Surely, this is like chasing a mirage. Like the proverbial straw, this will provide them no anchor for they have no legitimate claim on Walvis Bay. Their heinous design to turn Walvis Bay into some kind of platform on which to erect or bury their shattered political dreams must be

>ye untenable by all forces committed to the cause of peace.

Land, Land, Where Is It?

donga King Elifas Kauluma's recent decision to allow women the right to

continued occupation and use of land belonging to their late husbands is an important step in addressing the land question. But it is only a beginning. Lack of equitable access to land continues to remain a major impediment to the furtherance of genuine development and progress, in this country. Addressing farmers at last weekend's Mangetti cattle show, Prime Minister Hage Geingob referred, in no uncertain terms, to the inequalities that remain the dominant feature in both the ownership of and access to land. He cited a case where an

individual commercial farmer owns arable land of 55,000 hectares, whereas communal farmers in the north â\200\224 where over half the population lives â\200\224have to make do with a mere 63,000 hectares of workable land. Under these conditions, initiatives, such as the abolition of the â\200\234red lineâ\200\235 which restricted northern communal farmers from access to commercial and foreign markets, and the substantial economic benefits that could, thus, be gained from the open and competitive sale of their livestock, will be redundant. Unless sufficient stress is placed upon secure access to adequate land, such provisions for entrance to wider markets will remain progress in name only. Delegates to the Land Conference, held two years ago, were both clear and unanimous in their recommendation that â\200\234there was injustice concerning the acquisition of land in the past and something be done about it as best as practically possible.â\200\235 Many have waited, since then, to see just what these practical possibilities might be. And Geingob has pointed the way, by making it clear to those assembled at Mangetti that it is, indeed, more than time for the landowners of this nation to play their part in ensuring that equality of opportunity becomes more than just a constitutional right. Perhaps, it is time for those who have to share with those who do not.

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Looking At Africa
With â\200\234African Eyesâ\200\235

By John Papworth

LONDON

IF WE WANT TO grasp the real nature of African problems and help to resolve them it is time for more of those of us living outside the continent to look through African eyes.

To say that the continent is in turmoil is simply to stress the obvious. The old white settler mindframe will doubtless ask that else can be expected as it sees its worst fears of the consequences of independence from colonial rule being realised.

Behind such a question is the assumption that Africans are backward, uncivilised and not capable of ruling themselves.

There is another side to this, the African side, and only consideration of it needs to take on board aspects of African life all too commonly ignored.

The African tribal system of government, ubiquitous to the entire continent, evolved over many generations in response to one of the harshest environments on earth. Its

people have, after ;
all, been exposed
to problems of ex-
tremes of climate,
of distance, of .

port difficulties
and of isolation
few other parts of
the world have
known.

To this day the
sheer size of the
continent still fails
to impinge on the
general con-
sciousness of ob-
servers. The Sa-
hara Desert, for
example, is 60
times larger than
Britain, Zambia, is five times as large.

Despite these vast distances, Af-
rica - except in the north, which is
isolated from the south by the barren
immensities of the Sahara - possessed
not a single beast of burden. The
northern camel could not survive be-
yond desert regions. The zebra, like
the African elephant, has always
proved untamable and the horse, a
recent introduction, has always existed
under the obliterating tyranny of the
tsetse fly.

Rudyard Kipling pronounced that
transport is civilisation. He no doubt
meant the railway civilisation which
burst on the world during his lifetime;
but to transport we surely have to add
communication.

To outsiders the African drum may
appear to be no more than a quaint
cultural artifact. To the African peo-
ple, for centuries, it was a vital means
of communication, as important as the
telephone may be today, and it was
used with remarkable skill, precision
and effect.

No royal house was without its
complement of highly trained drum-
mers. Their role was not simply tra-
ditional and ceremonial. They were
messengers speedily conveying the
royal will over considerable distances
on a multitude of matters concerned

â\200\230most part spanning less than a single

KING GOODWILL
ZWELITHINI

with government and administration.

The African solution to its immense environmental disadvantages was the evolution of its tribal system of government, the oldest political system in the world. When the plenipotentiaries of the Egyptian Pharaohs penetrated the interior of Ethiopia, their parlyings were with African tribal chiefs.

No system of government can claim to be perfect and in such a vast land mass as Africa we should, when examining the record, reserve our surprise for the absence of occasional bouts of misrule in one place or another rather than for its existence.

Yet, no system can long endure if it fails to correspond to people's needs at quite fundamental levels. The fact that the tribal system met those needs for millennia helps to explain why its royalty, tribal chiefs and elders were accorded - and in many parts are still accorded a degree of loyalty and respect their European counterparts might well envy.

The colonial period was an astonishing brief and recent one, for the

century, but during that time disrupted, and to some extent destroyed, one of the most enduring and stable political systems in the human record.

Despite the unspeakable tragedy of slave raiding and the multiple disasters of colonial rule, the tribal system retains much of its power and authority. The colonial forces have done no more than establish an eggshell framework of European-style government that has no roots in Africa. Tribalism has come to be seen as a dirty word even among many African people - not least among leaders of national parties to whom tribal forms of rule constitute a direct challenge to their own. These leaders will have their day and pass as indeed they are beginning to pass.

After a long and violent struggle the people of Eritrea decided to become independent from Ethiopia. The Somali tribespeople are seeking the same status. In South African, the

Zulus, led by their King, Goodwill Zwelithini, are putting their foot down and demanding recognition as a nation. The question of tribal independence is increasingly raising its head from one end of the continent to the other.

No doubt the tribal system needs its own forms of modernisation so that it corresponds more closely to developments in current concepts of democratic rule. No doubt it would be a mistake to regard it as a panacea for all the problems of political life. And no doubt the tribal system is as capable as any other of producing its own occasional political scallywag or tyrant. But the alternative to its restoration is to see an entire continent

continue to sink into chaos. Gemini

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Buthlezi Dominates National Scene

Photograph by Alwyn Lubbe

SUCCESS STORY: Deutsche Obershule Head Girl, Antonte Halberstadt FISHING FOR SEAMEN: Ms Ren i van der Merwe of Biblia gospel group and Head Boy, Andreas Richelmann seen at the art exhibition organised by mans the Gospel f or Seamen project launched by her group and aimed at students to celebrate the schoolâ\200\231s 80 years of life. phowsraph by At Luvbe g jving Walvis Bay fishermen a chance to get bibles and read the â\200\230good news.â\200\231

THE MAJOR action on the national scene, last week, was the visit to Namibia of Zulu Chief Minister and President of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Hosted by President Sam Nujoma, Chief Buthelezi, among other things, indicated that his party believes Walvis Bay belongs to Namibia and that South Africa should relinquish its claim on the enclave without delay.

His sentiments on the issue were echoed by a doctor with a private practice at the enclave who, too, said Walvis Bay was Namibiaâ\200\231s property and should be handed to the Namibian government.

On the education scene, the Deutsche Obershule of Swakopmund celebrated 80 years of life while at the Die Muschle Art Gallery, a fine exhibition of African Art

continued. And at Walvis Bay, a religious â\200\231 o - o HOST AND HIS VISITOR: President SamNujoma group launched a campaign to capture <HAND-OVER WALVISBAY"':Sosays Doctor Paud (left) and his guest Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi pose fishermen's souls for the Lord. for a group photograph at State House, Windhoek,

recen t l y- Photograph by Gerson Nghituwamata

Van Staden of Walvis Bay. He also sees joint adminis- tration is a wastage of time. - BEOSrn Gersop NaNoameess:

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GUARDIANS OF THE ENCLAVE?: Some SADF members seen at an AN EYE FEAST: Members of the public view the variety of art pieces on

Autobank in Walvis Bay. They were posted to the the Rooikrop Military base, display during the Art in Africa exhibition at the Die Muschle Art Gallery, here in the town of Capetown. Photograph by Gerson Nghituwamata. South West African Opium Photograph by Alwyn Lubbe