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FOCUS Mandela, a godsend while Buthelezi broke apartheid

The Government
has so far failed
to prove that the
SA Defence Force
did not make a
monstrous
mistake at a
house in Umtata,
writes Esther
Waugh

Since the SADF's raid on Umtata last week, arguments seeking to justify the attack have been bandied about. Chief among these are that Apla is at war with the SADF and that those killed had been used by Apla as combatants. a

But try to push emotions aside and forget about the ages of three teen-33 and two children killed in the Assume that they were trained Apla cadres planning to attack targets in South Africa. Also assume that the Umtata house attacked by the SADF was a base in an internationally recognised sovereign country, as the South African Government maintains it is.

Irrespective of these assumptions. the attack in the early hours of last Friday still amounts to cold-blooded murder by South African soldiers. It also constitutes the latest in a series of raids by the SADF into neighbouring states in which more civilians were killed than trained "terrorists". Bearing in mind that Apla membership is' no longer a crime. much depends on the Governments ability to prove that it was a safehouse for cadres.

During the past seven days no evidence has emerged linking the youngsters or the weapons allegedly seized in the raid to any crime. The strongest evidence to be presented to the public has been an identity photograph, allegedly found in the house, of an Apla cadre linked to three attacks.

Much of the Government's claims have been based on information provided by a section 29 detainee in Bloemfontein.

The documents found in the house. have not proved much beyond the fact that the youngsters seem to have received some form of political or ideological training- -which' in itself is not a crime.

The Government, which is expected to be represented in the Negotiating Council by Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee, will come under heavy criticism, condemnation and examination today.

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:Govt owes public an answer

Just hours before the killings,
Coetsee - who has admitted he was

briefed about the attack beforehand
- sat in the Negotiating Council debating the issue of human rights. Since Coetsee is the political head, he is sure to be asked to identify the officers, to reveal to the council the source of the information on which the decision was made to proceed with the raid. He is certain to face calls for his resignation from the Government's negotiating partners. Central to the Government's so-far unconvincing arguments remain four unanswered questions. The Government has yet to prove its statement that;

I Three of the deceased were untrained terrorists".

I The house was, in fact, used as an "Apla base".

I The weapons seized by the raiders were found in the house.

I Those killed offered resistance.

So far the Government has not convinced the country that the SADF has not bungled in the raid. .

It owes the public an answer.

SOLID pn'ma facie evidence - analysed repeatedly - led to the SA Defence Forces trans-border raid last week, according to Army chief General Georg. Meiring yesterday.

SADF troops stormed a Transkei home - which they say was a suspected Azanian Peoples Liberation Army base - and Solid fevidence led to raid, says Meiring, shot dead five youths, sparking a wave of protests countrywide.

At a flag parade in Bloemfontein, Gen Meiring said the house was a "verified APLA facility", and the SADF's action against APLA stemmed from a series of attacks which the liberation army claimed responsibility for. Information extracted from the five youths shot dead from arrested APLA members had also contributed to the raid, Gen Meiring added; He charged that four of them were involved in APLA activities. He said while the deaths were regrettable, they were nevertheless unavoidable. -. Sapa.

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Burial for 5-57 .

?Kei vicde . ;

By Themba Molefe

Polittical Correspondent

THE fwe youths killed in last week's South African Defence Force raid in Umtata will be buried tomorrow as the Pan African Congress . appealed to its members to exercise maximum restraint.

They were 16-year-old twins Sadat and Samora Mpendulo, Sandiso Yosa (12), Mzwandile Mfeya (16) and Thame Mthembu (17). 0

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu will be the main speaker at the funeral service to be held at the Independence Stadium in Umtata.

PAC deputy president Mr Johnson Mlambo called for "maximum restraint.

' Meanwhile. the Minister of Defence, Mr Kobie Coetsee. will come under fire in the negotiating council at the World Trade Centre today. 4

In another development, head of the department Mrs Patricia de Lille said the Northcott's Victims Fund account had been opened with the First National Bank in Umtata. The account number is 1000092657. '

Sowetan

Comment

F "nu: ANGER THAT exploded in Umtata on Wednesday is any indicator, Transkei is facing a particularly tense weekend. The five youths killed in the South African Defence Force's raid on what it alleges was an Azanian Peoples Liberation Army base will be buried tomorrow.

The Pan Africanist Congress, Aplals .other body, also holds a rally in Umtata on Sunday.

0:: Wednesday, after a memorial service at the Independence Stadium, youths went on the rampage, - smashing ' , shop windows, looting and assaulting whites. .

Everything should be done this weekend to avoid more riots.

Rioting is the reaction of angry people ' - who feel powerless. It is understandable a but does not solve problems.

For one, the killers are now back in the safety of their bases and the people who are being attacked in Transkei are the innocent who have been living peacefully with other Transkeians. They! should not suffer because they are white.

This is time for calm and rational conduct ' .

The PAC has already distanced itself from the rioters, saying they were criminal elements. But more than this is needed. .

_ The people of Transkei must be assured that justice will be done, that the raiders as well as their seniors will - ' answer the allegations against them in open court.

Lawyers for Human Rights, for example, have said that they should be charged with murder.

K The debate at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park today will have achieved nothing if Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee does not agree to the raiders and their seniors answer- . . . lng the allegations before independent jurists.

tlon, Mr Piet Marais, speaks a strange language.

Addreanlng the NI": Cape Congress this week, he bemoaned the fact that more than a_million children were not at school and that 45 000 classrooms

T HE ms or National Educa- , needed to be built.

a He then cautioned, however, against .. ttoverhasty attemptsi' to restructure education.

This kind of twisted logic may ' hoodwink the party faithful at a congress but it is pure poppycock, especially to those who are and were ;y.7 7 victims of iiBantu Educationti. ' "

Contrary to Marais postulations,

" South Africa' 3 education system

' requires immediate and drastic restruc-

turing.

Marais own statistics outline the problem: For every R2,50 spent on a white child, R1 was spent on a black, although the proportion was at one time , . one to 10.

A reversal of the consequences of apartheid education - inadequate facilities, huge backlogs, poorly trained ' teachers, maladministration and even .' corruption in education departments -_ requires the immediate institution of a - single-ministry and equal education for . all.

We are afraid, Mr Marais, nothing less will do.

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Uneasy calm after
rampage in Umtata
East London - An uneasy
quiet descended on Umtata yes-
terday after -Wednesday's m'ob
rampage. which targeted whites
and businesses.

In the wake of the riots, Um-
tata's whites - some ANC mem-
bers - are anxiously awaiting
tomorrow's funeral for the vic-
tims of the SADF raid on a sus-
pected Apla house.

ANC member Gill Redpath, re-
scued from a mob by police, saith
"Joe Slovo or Jesus wouldn't
have mattered. They were look-
ing for whl

Troops and police yesterday
patrolled streets and suburbs
and guarded shops looted by
crowds after a memorial service
for the five victims. .

Transkei Defence Force com-
mander Brigadier TT Matanzi-
ma said the town had returned
to normal, but warned that ten-
sions could explode into violence
He asked people not to take
the law into their own hands.

The Transkei Military Council
said it regretted the damage to
property and the assaults on
whites. and assured them they'
"had nothing to fear. the securi-
ty forces are in control".

But some of the victims of the
attacks are-not convinced.

ANC member Viv Mostert, who
escaped from a crowd with a
broken hand, said Transkeian
whites were "reaping the bene-
fits of the stupid South African
action.

"I think that at the very least
we should get an apology from
(President) De Klerk.

"When I heard about the
Northcrest massacre I thought a
far Right group was involved. I
was horrified to hear that the
president approved of the ac-
tion." - Ecna and Sapa.

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Established 1887 ,
47 SAUER STREET, JOHANNESBURG 2000
Disquieting
questions '
De Klerk must order a judicial investigation into the Transkei's raid:
RESIDENT de Klerk and Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee are emphatic:
last week's SADF raid on a house in Umtata was based on accurate intelligence and was justified as a pre-emptive strike against an imminent Apla attack.
But the controversy refuses to subside, largely because the victims included pre-pubescent boys who - on the admission of the SADF - did not shoot at the raiders and who were therefore not killed in a shootout.
Lawyers for Human Rights has carried out its own on-the-spot investigation. Its report heightens misgivings and suspicions about the raid. LHR investigators deduce from the locality of the bullet holes that the attackers shot downwards and that the victims were killed while they were lying down. They note, too, that the wounds of the eldest victim were in the back of - his body and that the youngest was hit 18 times. '
The prima facie evidence points to pitiless ' killing, in violation of reported orders to the commandos to avoid deaths and, instead, to capture prisoners and bring them to South Africa
:mTo address the disquiet many South Africans feel - including people appalled by the murderous attacks on white civilians attributed to Transkei-based Apla fighters - De Klerk should appoint a special judicial inquiry .
vestigate, and report rapidly on, the Umtata raid. It should also test De Klerk's anti-Coetsee's conviction that the raid was justified. (The terms of reference should further include whether the house was used as an Apla base and whether, as alleged by the Ministry of Defence, Apla is recruiting juveniles for its war against South African white settlers .
A_ ,Www'F-w' "h
Not concrete
The critical-to-hostile response evoked by Housing Minister Louis Shill's announcement of discounts on all State-funded housing should not be read as a thoughtless sour-grapes reaction by opponents who have less to offer.
While the policy extends undeniable benefits to a huge number of families, the Government's inflation of the tally of new beneficiaries suggests that it is as much concerned with hype and image as with the housing problems of the poor.
A closer look reveals that about half the one million beneficiaries claimed by Shill in fact qualified for precisely the same discount more than a year ago. Only 18 000, we learn, have yet made use of it.
Somewhere there is a great gap between promise and delivery: between expectations raised and those fulfilled.
Small wonder that the ANC levels accusa-

tions of political point-scoring, the Conservative Party talks of vote-buying and the Urban Foundation questions the States priorities. It is very legitimate to ask. as do the foundation and the ANC, why Shill unilaterally rode roughshod over negotiating forums.

A near myth

IGH excitement sweeps Hong Kong over word that a local fisherman has caught a mermaid. But the rumour turns out to be a hoax. much to the disappointment oi the 2 000 people who had anxiously awaited the fisherman's return. It just goes to show how stressful life must be for the world's mythical creatures. The mermaidis narrow escape from exposure will have triggered shivers of apprehension among the likes of the Abominable Snowman and the Loch Ness Monster.

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B the same token, Transiteis Bantumsa must be urged to asmst the inquiry instead of being obstructive as he was during Judge Goldstone's probe into Apla.

139 Smit Street, Braamfontein, Johannesburg

A lingering capacity W
for malevolence

UST when the South Ahimn

Defence Force was moving
towards a new openness.

retiring those unable to

change and redefining a non-politt-

ml role for ttself. it carries out what

appears to be a massacre in the
Transkei.

Last weekend's raid on an alleged

Apla base demonstrated the

SADF's lingering capacity for

malevolence. as well as gross

incompetence. Attempts to show

that the target was an Apla base

and that occupants offered armed

resistance have been feeble. The

overriding impression remains that

the raid was an act of misguided

political intervention based on fee-

ble intelligence and driven by

revengeful bloodlust.

II the SADF had wanted to show

its strength and competence in

dealing with Apla. it would have

ensured its information was impec-

cable and the evidence demonstra-

ble - and then troops could have

surrounded the house and forced

the occupants out.

The mystery is why the raid was

sanctioned by President FW de

Klerk. It appears that he has him-

self not caught on to the fact that

the SADF cannot behave like this

with impunity anymore. or that

there are greater political impera-

tives than plamting the rightwtng.

There ts one positive side. This

incident may speed up the process

of joint control of the security

forces. increase the pressure to

clear out those resisting change

and force the SADF to be more

scrupulously apolltiml;

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War talk at
memorial
service

Pamela Dube

"IN the name of Jesus Christ one
settler one bullet!" was the
chant in Johannesburg's Central
Methodist Church during a Pan
Africanist Congress memorial ser-
vice for the victims of the SADF's
Umtata raid.

Looking uncomfortable, Rev-
erend Mvuxne Dandala requested
the master of ceremonies to ask .
the audience - which included
African National Congress mem-
bers - to desist.

The MC. who urged discipline
during a church service. was booed
down. Chanting and the singing of
liberation songs continued
throughout the proceedings.

In another odd twist. a represen-
tative of the MGM Cowel-
of South African Trade Unions
called for the resumption of the
armed struggle. Addressing the
service. Sipho Binda said:

"Because we have been promised
freedom we have dropped our guns
.. that is our biggest mistake.

"Those five children were
slaughtered in Umtata because we
have now reduced our vigilance
and militancy. Ground structures
7'

n

PAC.

Cosatu. Azanian People's Organi-
sation. South African Council of
Churches and National Council of
"do something

about the slow death of the major-
ity unemployment.

hunger and violence - what are
you doing? The issue here is not
who was killed it's what are we
doing to defend the innocent

The PAC's Enoch Zulu called on
President FW de Klerk to hand
himself over to the Transkei gov-
ernment leader - can .

book for murder. why can't De
Klerk be? They are both killers."
he said.

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Strangetiming Of Transkei raid
The circumstances under
which the SADF raid on a
former Apla base took
place and the targeting of
Transkei have raised a
number of questions,
write Claire Keaton _
and Louise Flanagan
HE South African Defence
Force based last week's
bloody raid on an Umtata
house on intelligence that
was some weeks old. and failed to
confirm the target immediately before
the attack. say knowledgeable
scum in the Transkei capital.
The sources indicate that top
Azanian People's Liberation Army
(Apla) guerrillas had indeed stayed at
the target house - but some weeks
earlier. Presumably it was those
guerrillas the SADF thought they
were targeting.
The raid killed five people, all relat-
ed to prominent Pan Africanist Con-
gress member Slingo Mpendulo.
Among family members and the .
PAC. the young at 12 years
old. and none of the victims were
Apla members.
The SADF said the raid, authorised
by President W de Klerk himself,
was a success. They said the dead
were three Apla operatives and two
Apla supporters who twisted during
the 27-minute assault Weapons and
documents were confiscated.
Documents seized in the raid were
handed to newspapers later as 'evi-
dence' of Apla's power: but appear
to have been childish scribbles of
no military value.
Questions have been raised about
why Transkei was targeted and the
timing of the raid.
While Apla operates fairly freely in
Transkei, its operatives are not con-
fined to the territory. Security form-
and or tionai sources have, for
some time, indicated that Apla oper-
ates from within Ciskei and from
South Africa itself.
South Africa has used the Apla
bogey to put pressure on Transkei in
the past and the raid appears an
extension of that strategy.
In April, Defence Intelligence Agency's
South African Police "secret" infor-
mation note titled "Transkei: Military
activities of the Azanian People's Lib-
eration Army" toniitary nuer Major-
General Bantu Holomisa-
The seven-page document com-
plained that the West police were
intimidated by the military council
into not co-operating with the SAP. It
also listed Apla operatives and their
'bases' in Transkei: among them the
Umtata house of prominent civil

rights lawyer Dumisa Ntsebeza and several PAC members across 'h'anskei. . .

"Some of our places are identified by these lunatics as Apia places," said Ntsebeza after Friday's raid. Like others mentioned in the SAP list, he now witnesses the SADF attack on his home. ,

In M. the South African authorities threw a security cordon around 'h'anskei which severely damaged the regional economy. It did nothing to stop Apia which, a month later, claimed responsibility for the armed attack on the Highgate Hotel in East London.

Widespread opinion in the region is that the attack was intended to destabilise Transkei, promote violence in the region and disrupt the precarious economy. Observers say South Africa must have foreseen a backlash against whites and even organised a plan to attach over the border. -

The South mm: is' trying to provoke the Transkei government. The first attempt, the blockade, did not have any results. Now they've tried something else," said the general secretary of the Transkei Chamber of Commerce. Andile anmana. '

'It is generally safe to live in Umtata. Why is the SADF now putting our lives at risk?" asked Umtata resident Janet Hayward.

White South Africans in Umtata threatened to stage a petition, supported by over 700 signatures, demanding that De Klerk apologise for it.

By mid-week, their fears were starting to be realised. Youths returning from a memorial service on Wednesday systematically looted shops in downtown Umtata. Earlier in the week, a white-owned business in Calabumbani was threatened to close.

The timing of the raid is interesting. Holomisa was with Nelson Mandela on tour with ANC leader Nelson Mandela. The SADF would perhaps have been a little more cautious if Holomisa had been at home.

The raid also came at a time when negotiations were under pressure from the ANC and the opposition for unilateral action by the South African government was limited by the impending installation of the Transitional Executive Council. Observers see a pattern of old-style National Party "kragdadigheid", motivated by a pre-election desire to stem further defection of white voters to the right. -

The raid coincides with a unilateral government move on subordination

of the sale of statemed housing
and follows the government
stonewaning oi the National Econom-
tc Forum on the petrol price incrmse.
Suggestions of an underlying polit-
Iml motive for the raid are reinforced
by South African tmonsistency over
the "independence" of the Eastern
Cape hometands.

While the SM)? could rald
Transkeians whose extradition had
not been requested. South Afrimn
authorities have reiterated for
months they cannot iniluencc Clskei
military ruler Brigadier Oupa quo
to step down although he ts facing
murder charges. - Ema

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a HAD roman: SOME 30 years ago
that apartheid was doomed to fail
but was " 'n bietjie bang " at the time
to condemn it publicly. Fortunately.
it appears. there is ANC ptesident
Nelson Mandela. a "gift from God for South
Africa". to pick up the pieces after the collapse
of apartheid - aithough it is Inkatha leader
Mangosuthu Buthelezi who desewes teeogni-
tion as the man who 'iabsolutely broke apart-
heid".

These thoughts. expressed or implied, are
ruminations of Piet Koomhof in an interview
with Vrye Weekblad editor Max du Free: in the .
latest issue of the magazine.

Koomhof. a former general secretary of the;
Afrikaner Broederbond, cabinet minister and
ambassador to Washington, recalls that his doc- . I
toral thesis. completed at Oxford University in
1951. contradicted everything envisaged by the
architects of apartheid - yet it was in that cinele ' .
that he chos: to go and work.

It was "very difficult". he says. His idea.
however, was to change the system "from the ,
inside". Even so. particulars of his thesis leaked
out and he became branded among conserva- '
tives as a "traitor and communist" and "al wat
bleddie slag is". He persisted. though. in "pro-
muting good relations" to the best of his ability.
His decision to "work from the inside" was
taken as a social anthropologist. he explains,
and as someone who was convinced of what he
Was doing. in the same way that he has had to
make decisions about Marcelle Adams (the
. woman whose child he has adopted). Even
- though people did not understand or agree with
- him it was. for him. nevertheless, the right thing ..
t to do.

Apart from having summed up apartheid fori I
what it was. Koomof clearly considers himself
to have been. even way back when. an astute
judge of the qualities of black leaders.
He says: "I think Mr Mandela is a gift from
God for South Africa. Mr De Klerk also. as well
'as Mr (Cyril) Ramaphosa and Mr (Tokyo) '
Sexwale, 'n baie agtermekaar kErel. Good lead-
ers. In fact. I have often said that I can prove that
blacks produced better leaders during my life
than whites .in our country."

To substantiate his own assessment of
Mandela, Koomhof calls on none other than_
General Lang Hendrik van den Bergh. former
big boss of Boss. for support.

He says the general told him, even then. "that
of all the blacks I have ever met - and Lang
Hendrik had had a lot of dealings with blacks _
the most intelligent and outstanding man is Mr
Mandela. You w0n't believe how clever and
This article is condensed from an interview by Vrye
. ; Weekblad editor Max du Free: with Pie!

Fanlo Hattlugh:

I Koomhof and translated by Sowetan sub-editor
FLASHBACK Dr Plot Koomhot and Marcello Adams anlvo back from tho Unltod
States In Febmary.

outstanding he is, And Lang Hendrik believed'it
from the depth of his soul. that long ago".

In speaking about IFP leader Buthelezi.

Koomhof becomes positively expansive.

"When I came back from Oxford in 1951

a Buthelezi was already a leader and he is still a
leader today." he says.

"I don't think I know any other leader who has remained so consistent in what he believes for so many years as Buthelezi. I always told PW Botha: you will never have to contend with a more difficult negotiator than Buthelezi. You will also find it difficult to find a negotiator with more integrity than Buthelezi."

Underestimated

duced the Buthelezi Commission which was the beginning of negotiations for a New South Africa." Buthelezi's standpoint. Koomhof says. boils down to one thing. "He says you can't create a constitution now and leave it to whoever gets a majority to do with the constitution as they please."

In the April election. Koomhof predicts, the "ANC will do unbelievably well. They are playing their cards very well. Their two platforms are , peace and freedom. and Mandela is playing it like a master. Now with the lifting of sanctions and so on they are also-saying that they are bringing protest'ly. Those are the three things that count.' ' ' ' -

3' " 'T'If they have the right emblem, like Mugabe's

_ Koomhof says the Zulus are "once again being/"moster, people will vote for them and the re is

underestimated" and warns that no one should' ' take signs of disunity among them/seriously.

' "When push comes to shove they have always stood together. They will do 56 again."

He adds: uI think the man who absolutely broke grand apartheid. the philosophy of apartheid. was Buthelezi.

"He arrested the whole process in the homelands. scuttled the entire plan. Then he introduced

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even the possibility of a two-thirds majority. The rising sun of the National Party is a good symbol and if they could bring peace and convince people that it was their doing. they could do very well among blacks. Mr de Klerk has cautiously jumped on to the freedom wagon, because he unlocked it.

"However, the cards in the hands of the ANC are very good of late."

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Local govt forum
is being sidelined
LOCAL government negotiations
were going on behind closed doors between government and the ANC/civic organisations alliance to the exclusion of all other parties, Johannesburgis management committee chairman Ian Davidson said yesterday. He said the Local Government Negotiating Forum (LGNF), set up to formulate a new system, was being sidelined. The forum had not met since June, and its management committee meeting scheduled for earlier this week had been summarily cancelled by Local Government Minister Tertius Delpont. Davidson said other negotiators had a "feeling of disquiet" over being left out of important discussions. It was particularly disturbing that government and ANC/civic negotiators lacked expertise in this field. While bilateral discussions were necessary to iron out problems between government and the ANC/civic alliance, they had to include other parties who understood local government. The United Municipal Executive was kept informed of discussions on an "ad hoc" basis, which was unsatisfactory. It would meet soon to discuss the lack of information. Organisations such as the Inkatha Freedom Party and the CP were also not being accommodated in these negotiations.

GAVIN DU VENAGE
gotiations.
"The process of negotiating the finer points of local government seems to have been taken off the agenda," he said. ANC head of local government Thozamile Botha denied the LGNF was being sidelined. He said politicians did not have the expertise to work out a new system, and could formulate only guidelines. He said restructuring of local authorities would be left to local government players. But difficulty in coming to agreement within the negotiating forum's working groups, despite months of talks, had made bilateral discussions necessary. The forum, as well as Chapter 10 of the new constitution, would only set the parameters within which local authorities could work out their future. Botha said each local authority was expected to form a negotiating forum with its neighbours to work towards integration. Failure to do this would mean it would have to be imposed on them. A government spokesman said yesterday any decision reached in bilateral discussions would have to be put to the negotiating forum. Exclusive discussions were needed as they "cleared the mud" and made further negotiations possible.

BIDIW
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Regional govt
debate faulty
ADRIAN HADLAND
THE debate on regional

government in SA had been skewed by political agendas and failed to examine ways of encouraging co-operation between different levels of government, the Human Sciences Research Council said.

Announcing the publication yesterday of a study by the HSRCS Centre for Constitutional Analysis, study author Bertus de Villiers said national negotiators had overemphasised competition between regions and central government at the expense of intergovernmental co-operation.

If structuring intergovernmental relations had been attended to, parties might have experienced more consensus on regional powers.

De Villiers said that, from the experience of the US, Australia, Germany, Nigeria and Canada, it was a clear effective intergovernmental relations could ensure regions were involved in national government while allowing the national government to keep a stake in the development of regional policies.

De Villiers called for the establishment of a commission on intergovernmental relations which would monitor and evaluate communications and interrelations between different tiers of

Higher rates likely

. for all, ANC warns

GAVIN DU VENAGE

BLACK and white communities will have to pay substantially higher rates and service charges once local authorities are amalgamated, ANC local government head Thozamile Botha says.

After market-related charges were levied in black areas and the cross-subsidisation of white ratepayers fell away, both communities would pay more, Botha told the Transvaal Local Government Association congress in Randburg yesterday. The ANC wanted a single tariff structure applied uniformly in each "amalgamated" municipal area. This would eliminate cross-subsidisation.

Not everyone would pay the same tariff, he said. Poorer communities and specific groups such as the elderly and unemployed would still have to be subsidised.

Botha alleged that whites had long enjoyed the cross-subsidisation of property rates by electricity and other tariffs.

Whites would have to pay a market-related price to maintain their standards. However white areas would not be expected to carry township reconstruction costs alone. Instead, money would be raised on local capital markets, through metropolitan levies and state subsidies.

Botha said tariffs in most black local authorities were based on out-dated valuations. Reassessments could mean increases of as much as 200%. However, likely resistance to big increase meant they would have to be phased in gradually.

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Two clauses mar the draft Bill of Rights

The latest draft of the

Bill of Rights is an

improvement on others.

but it contains some

unacceptable clauses.

particularly those

regarding property

and customary law,

a writes Dennis Davis

E draft Bill of Rights which

will govern South Africa during

the next five years, was

unveiled at the World Trade Centre

last week. The negotiating council

has approved all but two clauses.

though details of other clauses might

still change.

Under the circumstances of politi-

cal compromise. the committee that

drafted the Bill has done well. This is

a major improvement over previous

drafts. When implemented. the doc-

ument will undoubtedly render

South African government far more

accountable than ever before.

But there are a number of unac-

ceptable features. the most signifi-

cant of which are in the two clauses

not yet passed.

The first deals with customary law.

As a result of objections by a number

of traditional leaders. the technical

committee was compelled to provide

that the equality provision - which

prohibits discrimination on the

grounds of. inter alia. gender or sex

- should not be enforced immediately

in relation to customary law.

The draft clause is almost incom-

prehensible. It appears to mean that

every person has a right to freedom of

association and any person who

exercises that right and belongs to a

community government by African

customary law shall have the right to

ensure that customary law regulates

community affairs.

Any court which applies a system

of customary law (and determine the

extent to which customary law

undermines the provisions of equali-

ty and decide when the rules of cus-

tomary law should be brought into

conformity with the Bill of Rights'

requirements of equality.

in short. provisions of customary

law. even though they may discrimi-

nate against women. are given

greater weight than the provisions of

equality. Any court could decide

when equality becomes more impor-

tant than customary law.

imagine that Eugene Terre'Blanche

claims he is unable to comply with

the anti-discrimination clause regarding race for a period of live years because his people will require time to adjust to the new standards. To accommodate him. the relevant Bill of Rights clause is suspended for tlveyws to give him time to prepare for it.

Outrageous? Absolutely - but that is precisely what is envisaged for Airican women. Their chance to be protected by the equality clause will now be at the whim of any court.

The second objectionable clause relates to property. The protection of property in a South African Bill of Rights will cause two problems for South Afnca:

.The ilrst relates to the scope of the clause which allows the state to expropriate "rights in property" in the public interest. This phrase. 'mpro- priation of rights in property". bor- rows the conception of new property developed by American academic Charles Reich and it protects a wide range of proprietary interests. As a result. all these interests become constitutionally inviolate - and this can prevent siguiicant pro- grammes of social and economic reform. For example. this would allow one to challenge the validity of rent control. zoning regulations and environmental controls as well as labour rights.

All rights in property are covered by this clause. lienvironmental regula- tion infringes my right in property. I can bring a constitutional case against it.

.Then there is the issue of com- pensation. it a property clause requires the payment of market value as compensation, then land reform designed to address the legacy of apartheid becomes unieasible. The drafters have attempted to deal with this by guaranteeing 'just and equitable compensation". However. they also provide that the Bill of Righ ts should be interpreted in accordance with tntemational law - which would probably mean market rates as this has been the case in most international jurisdictions. In one important case. the word "equi- table" was taken to mean payment of the market value of the property and compensation for future loss of prot- its.

No division is made between the constitu tionai protection of property in general and a specific need to deal with programmes designed to redress the legacy of apartheid removals.

This is the least one could have expected to ensure that the Bill pro- moted the principles of an open and democratic society based on freedom

and equality. as claimed by the
drafters.

IProfessor Dennis Davis is director
of the Centre for Applied Legal Stud-
ies, Wits University

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t SI to I93

Just 5 powers for state.
 in new NP proposal
 Hoping to placate parties
 boycotting negotiations,
 government negotiators
 have proposed more —
 powers for regions, '—
 writes Chris Louw
 GOVERNMENT negotia-
 tors have drastically
 the list of 'pow-
 ers for the regions in
 their latest proposals
 aimed at drawing back parties bay-
 ootting the negotiations
 all accepted. they will leave the
 future central government with only
 five areas of exclusive power.
 The proposals exclude from the
 scope of the regions those powers
 which can only be exercised by the
 central government: defence, citizenship and judi-
 cial administration.
 Distributed constitutionally to both
 present negotiating parties and
 those in the newly formed Mm
 Alliance. they have been enthusiastically
 welcomed by the African National
 Congress. although local govern-
 ment spokesman Thozamile Botha
 said certain points still needed to be
 "renamed".
 However. government plans to
 entrench regional powers so as not
 to allow an elected constituent
 assembly to change them will be
 met with strong resistance from the
 ANC.
 The present conflict in the negoti-
 ations — and the reason for the
 breakaway of Inkatha. the Conserv-
 ative Party. and the Bophutha-
 tswana. Ciskei and Transkei govern-
 ments — relate directly to the pow-
 ers afforded to future states.
 provinces or regions (SPRs) in a
 democratic South Africa.
 According to the government's lat-
 est proposals. the SPRs will. with a.
 few months. hold all powers. Cen-
 tral government will only be allowed
 to legislate in the areas of SPR com-
 petence under previously specified
 conditions. and mostly only in order
 to set standards on a national basis.
 The proposals follow what state-
 ments by. among others. National
 Party negotiator Dawie de Villiers
 and government chief negotiator
 Rodi Meyer that they were not satis-
 fied that the concept of federalism
 was sufficiently entrenched in the
 technical commission's report.
 Government negotiators were
 confident that their latest sugges-
 tions would go a long way to meeting
 the demands set by Inkatha.
 Bophuthatswana and Ciskei. Much
 was made in bilateral talks
 — until the sudden announcement

last week by Bophuthatswana and Ciskei that they are withdrawing from the talks to join their Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) partners in the Freedom Alliance.

In spite of the setback, government negotiators are persisting with their course of action, hoping to exploit the faultline within the Freedom Alliance.

They maintain that the parties constituting the alliance have such diverse agendas and interests that they will find it impossible to put a single front for very long.

One of the main reasons for this is that the ANC did not reject the plans out of hand. In spite of ANC president Nelson Mandela's statement in Europe that his organisation had conceded enough on the regional issue.

Sources close to the negotiators argue that government's new proposals go a long way to addressing the fears of the Freedom Alliance parties.

In all cases, the regions will be able to challenge government actions in the constitutional court.

Botha said this week there were "broad areas of convergence" between the ANC and government regarding the powers of the regions. Nothing has been finalised yet.

What is transpiring in bilateral talks with government, he said, was that they agree that the list of exclusive powers for the regions should remain more or less as proposed by the technical committee, but that more powers should be afforded to the central government. It will have no say in the regional exclusive powers - including the appropriation of revenue, planning and development, language policy, road maintenance and drinking water laws.

"Concurrent powers" are powers which will reside with the regions, but where central government will be able to legislate in the national interest and to set the parameters within which the regions can then legislate.

The ANC's main concern is that legislative competence should not promote inequality among the regions. "We will have to take into consideration the implications (of taxation, for instance)."

The potential to redress existing inequalities should also be borne in mind. Botha said.

Sources close to the negotiations say the major problem is still the government's insistence that a future central

ent's pawns should he listed - and thus limited - while all other powers should reside in the 'misadventure of a faulty approach from Inkatha's American advisers. And it is reminiscent of that of the first. The negotiators have gained new, 14 states of the Unluti smuzoo years ago. 'onesommsaid. '7 government negotiators argued that a way to meet Inkatha would be to entrench the powers of in the same way as the constitutional principles are presently entrenched.

Inkatha negotiators have repeatedly expressed the fear that an elected constituent assembly may ride roughshod over decisions taken by the present negotiators and that they may relinquish powers now vested to the regions.

Botha made it very dear, however, that the ANC would not be willing to entrench regional powers.

'The constituent assembly has to have the right to draw up a new constitution guided by the constitutional principles that have been accepted.

"But basically the same parties will sit in the constituent assembly as are present at the multiparty negotiating process.

"Our aim is a government of national unity and we would certainly not want to create confrontation with anyone.

'I hope it is hardly conceivable that there will be any map in the new constitution of the ms."

309..."?

WEEKLY MAIL/ SOUTH AFRICA
THE WEEKLY MAIL. GUARDIAN
W 15021 1995

Bizarre solutions to volkstaat problems

If rightwingers are granted a volkstaat, how will they dominate the area if black people are in the majority? Jan Taliaard reports on some of their strange proposals. The white right is formulating elaborate and sometimes bizarre proposals to deal with their central dilemma: how to achieve Afrikaner dominance in a volkstaat inhabited by a majority of blacks.

These proposals include offering financial incentives to "volks vreemdes" (aliens, a euphemism for blacks) to move away; reserved white seats entrenched in the volkstaat constitution; and giving blacks votes in the homelands of their alliance partners, KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana.

The issue has been brought to a head by the formation of the Freedom Alliance. At the news conference where the Alliance was formally introduced this week, it was clear that this is the most crucial internal problem it has to contend with.

Fending off repeated questions on the issue at the news conference, Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg managed to stall a clear answer by saying that the problem was being discussed and resolved internally.

The right will not be able to stall forever. Its homeland partners have black skins, and the Alliance's founding manifesto loudly rejects racism, discrimination and sexism.

While favouring a regional or federal dispensation, Inkatha's Chici Mangochi Buthe was of the view that no special measures should apply to different ethnic groups within a KwaZulu-based region. "Living together in Natal a kind of communalism has developed," he said.

Buthe also indicated that an "asymmetrical" dispensation - in which some regions might have different or greater powers than others - may be acceptable to him.

His acceptance of this principle may leave the way open for the volkstaters to try to achieve their bottom line: Afrikaner rule in a country where Afrikaners are in the majority.

In volkstaat think-tanks a debate on how to achieve these ends in a morally acceptable way has been raging for the last few months.

Proposals range from vague economic incentives to "volksvreemdes" to move from a volkstaat, to more recent proposals of having a majority of Afrikaner parliamentary seats entrenched in a volkstaat constitution.

Acknowledging that the Afrikaner is still in the minority in the area earmarked for a volkstaat, strategists see a silver lining in their assessment that 78 percent of volksvreemdes in the area belong to the Alliance by virtue of being Tswana or Zulu.

Forgetting that these may not support the Alliance, the vocal proponents are willing to allow them full citizenship and voting rights in their respective 'countries' - such as

Bophuthatswana and kwaZulu. but not in the volkstaat.

in this way a barter deal can be effected with other regions in which Afrikaners living on the volkstaat will be able to vote in volkstaat elections.

Actually volkstaters refer to the so-called 'Blood Laws' in Germany where citizenship is only awarded to people able to prove that they have blood ties with the German nation stretching back to at least 1968.

Such a system will nevertheless only be instituted after the establishment of a volkstaat.

Also under serious consideration is a so-called "sunset clause". This entails a transitional period of about 10 years in which citizenship issues will be regulated by law.

At the beginning of this period all people living inside the volkstaat area and associating themselves with the Afrikaner would be accorded full voting rights.

Volksvreemdes would get a tenth of the voting power. with another tenth added during each consecutive year that they elected to stay in the volkstaat.

in order to achieve an outright majority it is also proposed that barter deals. where human beings will apparently be exchanged like so many cattle. will be entered into with other regions.

It is for instance envisaged that these other regions will accommodate unemployed

volksvreemdes in exchange for "expertise".

Afrikaners wanting to move to the volkstaat and joint employment-providing projects.

Rightwing strategists even see affirmative action in an ANC-dominated South Africa as positive. as it will give volkstaters the opportunity to do the same in a volkstaat - but in reverse. t

I See Page 14

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How the new SA Will see -
THE WEEKLY MAIL 8. GUARDIAN
October 15 m21 19%
and be seen by -- the world
At a meeting of interested
' parties from across the
political spectrum, the basis
of this counhYs future foreign
policy was laid out.
Chris Louw was the only
journalist present
NEW foreign policy for South
Africa to apply after the demo-
cratic elections next year is all
ut tlnalised - with the empha-
sis on the pursuit of human rights and
the promotion of demouacy worldwide;
The African National Congress depart-
ment of international ati'airs took the lead
in formulating the new policy. Work has
beengotngon foraywandahali'.

Last weekend. interested parties from
across the political spectrum met at the
Eskom Conference Centre near Olifants-
fontein to put the final touches to the
sixth draft of the policy document.
According to Professor Peter Vale. one of
the drafters. it was the tirst time in South
Africa's history that foreign policy was dis-
cussed in the open.

The oounuYs future international rela-
tionswtllbemarkedbyadramaticshm
away from the present govunment's pre-
occupation with the West.

The new policy has strong progressive
undatons. with the emphasis on disarm-
ament. environmental issues and close
identification with southern African
nations. There will also be open solidarity
with those countrim which assisted in the
struggle against apartheid. including
Cuba and India.

The policy document expresses a strong
commitment to worldwide arms control
and states that a democratic South Atria
will join the Geneva-based Conference on
Disarmament.

Policy on environmental issues will
include endorsement of the recommendae
tionsoithe 1987 Bnmtland Reportissued
by the United Nations World Commission
on Environment and Development. and
the prohibition of the dumping of First
World toxic waste in South Africa.

Closer identititmtion with African and
neighbouring countries includes a com-
mitment to regional 'peace-maktng and
pmoe-keeping'.

"(A democratic) South Africa will imme-
diately become a fully-tledged and vital
member of that section of the family of
nations who hold human rights issues
central to their foreign policy." the draft
document stats. Accordingly. the coun-
try will acwde to all international treaties
and conventions which protect human
rights. "and seek to meet all obligations
which derive from such accession".

Although there will be a clan shill to a
'philosophical policy of non-alignment'. a
new government will "strive to ensure that

increasing global interdependence does not further advantage the North to the expense of the South".

ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki, who heads the organisation's international affairs department, emphasised at the meeting that the document did not represent the ANC's partisan position. "This is in fact what the rest of the world will see as South Africa's new international policy," he said.

That was also the reason why people representing divergent political views were invited to give an input. The meeting was characterised by lively debate, especially on the issues of a possible peacekeeping force for southern Africa and future relations with the United States and "pariah" countries like Taiwan. Exactly where and how South Africa fits into the new world order was also discussed in depth. To criticism that the draft policy was written in "hope language", rather than as a positive statement of intent, Vale retorted that popular language was used because it was not an academic paper.

"We applied the 'bikini principle' - to cover while keeping the interest at the same time," he said.

On a more serious note, Professor Kadar Asmal, the ANC's constitutional expert, said inequality between nations had been accentuated in the past decade. The Critical Consumer column does not appear in this week's Pat Sidley's column.

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and that it is in South Africa's interest to ensure that the position of the southern countries is not prejudiced in the world economy.

The South African Communist Party's Essop Pahad took the argument a step

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broader struggle in Africa".

South Africa's identification with the rest of the continent will be continued by acceding to the 1981 African Charter on Human and People's Rights, known as the Banjul Charter, immediately after elections. South Africa will also seek membership of the Organisation of African Unity. The outcome of the debate on the country's possible involvement in a regional peace-keeping force was a decision to refer instead to "a common regional security system", a phrase which did not 'exclude the possibility of a force but also did not imply it. The reasoning was that such a force would not unilaterally be brought into being by South Africa, but would be the product of mutual agreements between neighbouring countries.

Sensitivity to the needs of other countries in the region clearly underlies the stated regional policy. "The construction of a new regional order should be a collective endeavour and should not be imposed either by extra-regional forces or any self-appointed 'regional power'." says the draft document.

Some delegates said the document was almost too apologetic. that it tended to state what South Africa would not do. instead of carrying a positive message. Vale pointed out. however. that in the aftermath of apartheid deetabilisatton. a new government would have to reassure the neighbouring countries that South Atria would not dominate them.

It was decided at the meeting that South Africa needs a mofmional foreigx service which will be independent of the narrow confines of party politics. t'As tar as possible. the activities of the foreign service should be open to public scrutiny and public accountability." states the draii document.

The ilnal version of the draft will be referred to the ANC's national executive committee for ratinmtion.

Customary law is faring Well,
Etienne
Mureiru'k

How will African customary law fit into the post-apartheid legal order? The supporters of customary law argue that the new constitution ought to accord it a more respectful treatment than it now enjoys.

Recently, however, feminists, including a group of leading African women lawyers, have been vigorously exposing and challenging practices in customary law which discriminate against women.

Many of them expect the guarantee of sex equality in the interim Bill of Rights emerging from the World Thule Centre to apply to customary law. They expect it to be a major weapon for purging customary law of sex discrimination.

Resisting this challenge, traditional leaders (whose own positions as chiefs are usually acquired through rules of succession which exclude women) have been fighting to insulate customary law from the guarantee of sex equality in the Bill of Rights, and generally to enhance its status under the new constitution.

The politics about this issue are now very fluid, but as I write the traditional leaders' direct assault on sex equality seems to be failing. The provision in the Bill which deals directly with the question is a political fudge. Its meaning is unclear, but it does not suppress challenges to customary law based on sex discrimination. And in an overriding provision, the Bill grants lawmakers powers to prohibit "unfair discrimination" which are wide enough to legislate against sexual inequality in customary law. In other ways, however, customary law seems to be faring well.

The draft Bill entrenches the right of any one who, in the exercise of his or her freedom of association, belongs to a community which observes a system of customary law to insist that the internal affairs of the community be governed by that system.

This right is unusual in two ways. First, it is clear that the application of customary law must, if it is not to intrude where it does not belong, depend on voluntary submission to customary law. Freedom of association is an attempt to capture the idea of voluntary submission.

But it is surely the voluntary submission of the person bound by customary law which is essential here; more essential, at any rate, than that of the person trying to enforce customary law. Without voluntary submission, it would generally be considered unfair to subject someone to %.

customary law.

Yet it is the free association of the person enforcing customary law which the Bill requires, not at the person against whom customary law is enforced. That leaves open the possibility of involuntary subjection to customary law.

Secondly, the effect of this right is to elevate customary law to the status of entrenched law, superior in important ways, even to an Act of Parliament. Indeed, it appears partially to insulate customary law from legislative reform.

Annulment risk

The Bill of Rights, it is true, does preserve the lawmakers' power to pass measures "to assist the development of customary law in accordance with the values embodied" in the Bill.

But outside that category, a law which tries to change or supplant customary law, even one passed by the newly democratic parliament itself, will run the risk of annulment (or interfering with the constitutional right to be governed by customary law). Customary law will therefore enjoy quite extraordinary protection. It would be unthinkable for the common law (the essentially judge-made rules which form the basis of our law of contract, of compensation for injury, of criminal law, and much more) to be granted equivalent constitutional entrenchment.

To protect the common law in that way from legislative change, unless the purpose was to entrench some fundamental right, would universally be considered to usurp the democratic prerogatives of the elected lawmakers. So why customary law?

Customary law has been even more successful in gaining protection elsewhere in the Bill of Rights. In their latest version, now in the process of being adopted, the drafters retreat from their earlier intention to make the Bill binding, where appropriate, on the courts, and, where just and equitable, on non-governmental bodies and private persons.

The Bill is now expressed to bind only the legislative and executive organs of the State.

The effect, it appears, is to make customary law reviewable under the Bill of Rights only when it has been translated into legislation or is being applied by government.

Where unwritten customary law is being applied by a court to a dispute between private individuals the Bill of Rights seems to put it beyond challenge.

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challenge for violation of a right guaran

teedged in the Bill.

To be sure, the Bill does instruct the courts. in the application and development of customary law. to "have due regard to the spirit, purport and objects" of the Bill; but that is obviously something much weaker than: annulling customary law which conflicts with the rights in the Bill. ; The net effect is that unless customary law has been translated into legislation or is being applied by government it is probably beyond the reach of effective challenge under the Bill of Rights, even for conflict with the guarantee of sex equality.

And even where customary law has been translated into legislation; there may be no point in striking it down for sex discrimination, because the only effect might be to revive the unwritten customary rules from which the legislation was drawn; - rules also discriminatory but immune from challenge.

Those who hope for an effective constitutional guarantee of sex equality had better start working on the final Bill of Rights. It does not look as though the interim Bill will deliver.

Elizabeth Murezi's 2's Professor Of Law at Wits University.

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French gth pledges support for new SA
PARIS - The French government
and business community assured
Nelson Mandela yesterday of more
support for the new SA.

._ Sapa-AFP reports Foreign Minister
Alain Juppe said: "I told (Mandela)
we were ready to help with elections
and then, along with our European
partners, contribute to the very
important economic work that will
be needed."

Mandela welcomed the pledge
from France's new conservative
government.

Juppe said France was ready to
send observers to the April 27 elections
and to help prepare voters.

VAiter meetings with business;
loaders and Finance Minister

Edmond Alphandery, Mandela said:
"We have the support of industry in
this country."

French employers' association
"leader Francois Perigot said he
'would take 40 French business
leaders to SA next month.

Later yesterday Mandela met
French President Francois Mitterrand
whom he termed "a long time friend
of the people of SA" and who had
"a very deep sympathy" for the SA's
economic problems.

"We come out here, as we did with
the prime minister, feeling that our
problems have been seriously considered,"
Mandela said, referring to his earlier
meeting with French Prime Minister
Edouard Balladur.

Mandela was due to return to SA _ ,
last night.

B Our political staff reports from
Cape Town that SA will know at noon
today whether frontrunners Mandela
and President F W de Klerk will become
the third and fourth South Africans
to win the Nobel Peace Prize.

But Reuter reports concern in Oslo
about violence in SA could swing the
award to the Salvation Army.

The decisions of the peace committee
are closely guarded secrets, but the
Norwegian media has in the past been
able to give some indication of the
committee's approach.

Television reporter Geir Helljesen,
who correctly tipped the prize in every
recent year, predicted that Mandela
and De Klerk would win.

But Norwegian Institute of International
Affairs researcher Tore Eriksen thought
it too early to award it to De Klerk
and Mandela and too late to give it
to Mandela alone.

While others shilly-shally,
I may just vote Azapo
Ff
South Africa's political parties say they
want equality for all. but it doesn't
look that way when it comes to
women's issues - especially
abortion, argues Lesley Cowling
ALTHOUGH my settler
bloodline does not. by any
stretch of the imagination.
qualify me for the
black consciousness movement
I am seriously considering voting for
the Azanian People's Organisation
in the elections (if they stand).
What's in it for me?
The same thing that's in it for
you. if you're a woman. a liberal
and a strong believer in individual
rights-
An Azapo government will guarantee
you the right to choose
whether you want to have a child
or not.
Azapo is the only political organisation
that has unequivocally and
unashamedly stated that abortion
should be legal. The other parties
have shilly-shallied around the
issue. making excuses like "we're
waiting for you. the people. to tell
us what we should do" (African
National Congress). "our members
are making up their minds on that
issue as we speak" (Democratic
Party) and yes. well. our constitution
allows abortion but we still
haven't made up our minds"
(Inkatha Freedom Party).
Of course. their discomfort is
understandable - no self-respecting
politician wants to stand up
and say: "We're trying to fudge the
issue because it may spoil our
election prospects. but when we're
in power. we'll do what we think
is right."
It may be true that the majority
of people (including women) in this
country do not support abortion on
demand.
It may be true that we have a
better chance of having abortion
legalised if we leave the matter dormant
until after elections.
But a right is a right is a right.
and if we're not going to get it. we
need to know. Whatever the outcome
of the debate. the abortion
issue needs to be addressed.
Political parties use the excuse
that this is a divisive issue. But
what issue isn't. in South Africa
today? Regionalism is not unifying.
nor is the question of what to do
with the armed forces. but these
are discussed at the World Trade
Centre every day.
Even cellular phones are divisive.
as we have seen from the

recent flurry of press reports.
Cellular phones keep Cyril
Ramaphosa awake at night in a
way that abortion doesn't.
Well, maybe communication fail-
ure is more important than contra-
ception breakdown. but that
rather depends on what end of the
breakdown you happen to be sit-
ting.
And it's a small consolation that.
if he wins the cellular fight. ANC
women will be able to call the back-
street abortionist on the latest tele-
phone technology.
No. the word t'divisive' has
become synonymous with the
taboo. like 'dissident' did in
Zimbabwe and tliberal' did in
Ronald Reagan's Amertm. What it
really means is "we won't touch it."
And. almost without exception.
these ltdlvisive" issues are actually
t'women's issues" - abortion. cus-
tomary law. aflllrmative action for
women. women's rights. women's
status in the community and so
on.
omen's issues only prove to
be divisive when they arlse
within the parties. but they have a
strong cohesive effect between the
parties. who all refuse - equally -
to deal with them. If political
groups operated in the corporate
sector. we would be able to go to
the Competition Board. asking it to
investigate this suspicious appear-
ance of collusion.
Unfortunately. we have no such
recourse.
The assumption that women do
not care about the issues that
aliet them and will not notice that
they are being ignored is a danger-
ous one.
In the United States. women
form an important voting bloc.
WIN&tb
choosing to support issues rather
than parties and to pick candl-
dates on the basis of gender.
George Bush learnt this. to his
cost.
The fact that South African
women won't get a chance this
time around to vote for the issues
or candidates does not mean we
won't remember. next time. It also
means that the party that chooses
now. to address itself to issues
important to women and not to 4
exclude us from the political pro-
cess. could pick up a little nllip at
the polls.
But the political wisdom of
addressing women's concerns
is not the most important aspect of
this debate. It's about a principle.
We are building a new society here.
trying to negotiate our way to a

solution. Every interest group across the spectrum is being represented.

I have had faith in this process. Despite the problems and the violence. I have been proud of this country. And I believed, when the parties said they wanted equality for everyone, that "everyone" meant women, too.

But lately, it hasn't looked that way when negotiators appear to be compromising with the traditional leaders on customary law, a system which will disempower millions of women.

It doesn't look that way when the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) produces a national election list that has no women, and a regional list that has only three.

And when the leaders' stock approach to women's rights is to relegate them.

It has been said that the character of a country can be judged by the status of its women. 50

Clarence Makwetu. Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Nelson Mandela. Zach de Beer. stand up (like men) and be counted.

Tell us what you're going to do about abortion and customary law.

bet us know how you feel about affirmative action for women. about rape and domestic violence. about teenage pregnancy and sexual harassment.

Then I'll know where to put my vote.

?HQ' "

Cosatu squabble over candidates

Paul Stober

THE African National Congress leadership is backtracking on a guarantee by president Nelson Mandela that the Congress of South African Trade Unions will have 20 nominees in the top half of the ANC's list of constitutional assembly candidates.

This is causing tensions within the tripartite alliance.

At Cosatu's special congress last month, the federation resolved that 'the names of the 20 trade unionists should be included in the top 51 percent of the ANC list for the National Assembly elections'. This was endorsed in a speech at the congress by Mandela. Despite his assurance, there is increasing dissatisfaction with his decision in the ANC National Executive Committee, which will have the final say on who goes where on the list.

This week the head of the ANC's elections commission, Popo Molefe, confirmed that the Cosatu nominees were not guaranteed prime positions. This matter is the subject of .II

discussion between the ANC and Cosatu. There is no finality on this matter," he said. "Because this is mainly an ANC list, it will be subject to certain democratic principles and also to the ANC will also be directed by this democratic process. A significant majority of the NEC would have to agree if names are to be shilled." Molefe pointed out that the commission had proposed a process through which the list would be drawn up.

The commission envisages local ANC branches forwarding nominations to regional conferences, which would take names to a national conference. The latter 'would draw up a consolidated list' for submission to the NEC, which would finalise it.

There have been persistent reports that senior Cosatu officials twisted Mandela's arm into supporting the federation's resolution or allowing Cosatu more than 20 nominees. Cosatu's support is vital to the success of the ANC's election campaign in terms of votes and material support.

Head of the South African Communist Party's publications department Jeremy Cronin did not believe the tensions around the list ran along organisational lines but rather between individuals. "There are tensions around the elections and obviously individuals will be competing to get on the list. When

individuals feel slighted they make allegations. We (the alliance) experienced wobbles around the nominations process, but it has basically sorted itself out. I don't see major problems for the alliance - we are more united now than we were this time last year." he said.

At least 14 of the 20 Cosatu nominees have been listed as SACP 1 members. Cosatu has made it clear that its candidates, who will be standing on an ANC ticket, are expected to adhere to the ANC line in the constitutional assembly, although they will be expected to represent the federation's interests in ANC caucuses. The SACP has also accepted that its nominees will be accountable to the ANC.

WIHMr

vrlmltn

Nelson Mandela's penny whistle-stop trip to the capitals of Western Europe (and some non-capitals. too) was undoubtedly a success. Despite a schedule that would have flattened a pop star let alone a 75-year-old, and some chaotic and at times totally contradictory publicity handouts from a variety of "organisers", he wowed his way from Lisbon to Paris via Brussels, Scotland. Birmingham, Elre and London.

He had audiences with kindly kings. drank tea with medallioned mayors, negotiated aid packages with politicians, talked finance with a host of plain-stripped businessmen. accepted a flurry of honorary doctorates with decorum and set a Glasgow gig alight by bumping buttocks on stage with ax; attractive expatriate South African singer.

But it was not adulation and unseemly forelock-tugging that followed him all the time. There was plenty of criticism about the vast cost to rate-payers of some of the festivities and the uninvited were not slow to vent their trampled feelings. .

; He was given an exclusive welcome by the Lord Provost (mayor) who greeted him with canny Scottish foresight as "Mr President" . . . and later. at the pop concert. he could have been Elvis Presley.reincarnated so rapturous was his reception.

But I would love to know what Mandela's emotions were when he read the satirical quiz game in The Scotsman on Sunday newspaper next morning. Was he (a) amused, (b) bored or (c) monstrously angered by the multiple-choice questions that included:

I yearning for your feisty. sexy young'wife keeps you going in jail. Upon your release on February 11 1990 you discover (A) She has remained true, and a beautiful sadness envelope you both as you Weep for the wasted years and resolve have to be parted again. (B) Time could have been kinder to her face. your sex drive and general tastes in fashion, but what the heck, it's good to be out. (C) She has become a sleep-around psychopath who numbers necklacing and torture among her hobbies and is possibly the most embarrassing person on the sordid scene of South African politics. I & very Tom. Dick and Harry count

ROBINSDN'S'I

WORLD 01

Alan3

; Robinson

call (in the Western world seems to have given the name Mandela to a street/square/road/toilet. After a while. you get to thinking: (A) What, an incredible coincidence How'

weird. (B) The world Is full 0! sin-
cere. politlclally active passionate;
peoplei who care deeply about op-'
presslon 4 000 miles away. How mov-l
lng. (C) The world is full of Sell-serv-
ing. holler than thou. ego-tripping.
toytown tinpots who would probably.
eat children for a vote. How tedious. .5
IYour ow-wows with President.
FW de erk went well. ?He'll reef
nounce'aparheld. You'll fenounce.
violence. Then: (A) South Africans.
will live happily ever alter in the first'
democratic prosperous. multiracial
society on the troubled continent. (B)-'
South Africa will go through a tricky
transltlon but after economic:
teething problems they will forge a'
peaceful new country. (C) South AI -:
cans will decide it ts high time they,
started murdering each other willy;
And slx more question; and sets of'
answers tn similar vein They appear:
under the headline: "Are you as un-l
lucky as Nelson Mandela?"
Make of that lot what you will. But'
I suppose It does show that not all:
Brits are fawning fans of the presi-'
dentoto-be. i

DUE

New entry in the Concise Oxford Dic-l
tionary of Quotations: Prime Minister'
John Major - "Society needs to con-l
demn a little more and understand a:
lltle less. " . I

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I Iv KAIZER unrsuulu
 b pounmtcoanssponoem
 amount of money as the
 others. awarded by the
 dela and President de'" \$840 000 (about R2,8 mil-
 Klerk will know today lion) this year.
 whether they will follow
 in the footsteps of for-
 amer ANC leader Chief
 Albert Luthull and Angli-
 ;can ,, Archbishop Des-
 mond Tutu by winning
 the Nobel Peace Prize.
 f: If the prize is awarded '2;
 vto thempDe Klerk will;
 ' Swedish poet, philoso-
 .begome the first white
 South African leader to
 .be thus honoured by the
 Nobel Prize committee.
 The winner(s) will be
 Iannounced at about
 noon SA time, sources at
 the Norwegian embassy
 Unlike the other Nobel
 prizes which are pre-
 sented in Stockholm, the
 peace award is present-
 ed in the Norwegian'cap-
 ital of Oslo.
 This was prescribed
 by the founder of the
 prize, Alfred Nobel, the
 pher and scientist who
 invented dynamite.
 Although nominations
 for the Nobel Peace
 Prize are made' by indi-
 viduals. organisations
 and institutions, the de-
 ln Pretoria said. clslon to confer this hon-
 Swedish legation our rests with the spe-
 counSellor Claes Ham- cial committee of the
 mar' said the peace Norwegian parliament.
 award carried the same according to Hammer.
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 ISM: fqa
 . :gz..Stockholm-based :Nobel l
 - ANG "leader:NelemrMama:e'cmnmmeea unwmghd id 1
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Mitterrandis deep
sympathy for SA
-;- Mandela"

PARIS. - Nelson
Mandela yesterday:
met French President
Francois Mitterrand
who he termed ua long
time friend of the
people of South Afri-
ca".

Following an hour of
talks with Mr Mitterrand.
Mr Mandela told report-
ers that the French presi-
dent uhas a very deep
sympathy" for the econ-
omic problems faced by
post-apartheid South
Africa.

"We come out here, as
we did with the Prime Mi-
nister, feeling that our
problems have been se-
riously considered," he
said. referring to his ear-
lier meeting with French
Prime Minister Edouard
Balladur.

Mr Mandela briefed Mr
Mittenand on the politi-
cal situation in South
Africa and said he was
optimistic regarding the
outcome of multi-racial
elections, due in April
next year, Elysee Palace
officials said.

The French Govern-
ment and business com-
munity had earlier as-
sured Mr Nelson Mandela
yesterday of more and
stronger support for the
new South Africa.

CJvcuu

Isloacql

Foreign Minister Alain
Juppe emerged from a
lengthy breakfast with the
African National Con-
gress president saying:

"He is a man I have long
admired.

"I told him we were
ready to help with (next
year's) elections and
then, along with our
European partners, con-
tribute to the very import-
ant economic work that
will be needed."

Mr Mandela welcomed
the pledge from France's
new conservative govern-
ment. traditionally more
cool to liberation move-
ments than the former
Socialist administration,
ousted in March.

"I have got the assur-

ance that the help we've received from France will continue," the ANC leader said.

WI'hey are very keen to facilitate the democratic process... We have an enormous problem of reconstruction and development and we have the full support of the French Government in this regard."

Mr Juppe said France was ready to send observers to South Africa's first all-race elections, set for April 27, and help prepare the millions of Blacks who will vote for the first time.

Mr Mandela. looking a bit strained after a tour that has taken him to the United States, Belgium, Portugal and Britain. said he was confident French companies would increase their investments in South 1 Africa.

"We have the support of industry in this country," he said after several meetings with industrial and business leaders as ' well as Finance Minister Edmond Alphandery.

The leader of the French employers' association, Finncois Perigot. said on Europe 1 radio that he would take a delegation of 40 French business leaders to South Africa in November for meetings with Mr Mandela and President De Klerk.

"Yes to investment in South Africa. we say. We are already present but we must boost our presence." Mr Perigot said.

-- Supa-Rcutter.

US still obliged
to Oppose SAIs
IMF application

WASHINGTON - The US government remains legally committed to opposing the \$850111 IMF drought loan requested by government, the ANC and other parties. ,

This was confirmed yesterday by House Africa subcommittee chairman Harry Johnston in a talk at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. A State Department official at the session concurred.

The reason for the delay, Johnston said, was that the House of Representatives had yet to pass the sanctions-lifting legislation approved by the Senate on September 24, and was unlikely to act until next month.

The Bill rescinds the Gram Amendment, which requires the US representative on the IMF board to vote the US's 20% shareholding in the fund against loans to SA.

Although the amendment contains a waiver clause permitting the Secretary of State to rule that SA no longer practises apartheid and thus is eligible to receive IMF and World Bank loans, the Clinton administration had decided against this option, the State Department official said.

Instead, the White House had opted to await congressional repeal to minimise political controversy. While the Senate took just 20 minutes to approve the sanctions-lifting measure, the Bill remained stuck in the House. Johnston said it would probably be another three weeks before a final version was presented to President Bill Clinton.

The House foreign affairs committee approved the Bill last week after the Congressional Black Caucus had resolved an internal dispute over whether ANC president Nelson Mandela had acted prematurely in calling for an end to sanctions and, if not, whether to push for continuation of the existing mandatory labour code

SIMON BARBER

for US companies beyond elections. Other panels are now demanding to see the legislation before it is sent to the House floor.

Even if the House passed it quickly, Johnston warned, there could be delays in ironing out differences between the House and Senate versions. If House members succeeded in adding amendments.

Republicans are expected to revive their bid, which narrowly failed in the foreign affairs committee, to add language explicitly barring the SACP from receiving any of the \$10m the administration is allocating to help SA parties prepare for elections.

Johnston acknowledged that in view of Mandelals request the behaviour of his colleagues in the lower chamber was "bizarre".

KELVIN BROWN reports that Finance Minister Derek Keys said SALS application for the \$850m was expected to be approved by the IMF board in early December.

In an interview with Insight, Keys said the IMF was making good progress in processing the application.

An important breakthrough had also been made with the World Bank. "We have been able to get an agreement whereby all parties will be able to work through the Development Bank of SA." -

Asked how it felt to be at the World Bank/IMF meeting in Washington, Keys said it was "like living in paradise". The response from US investors had been overwhelming. Keys said any institutional manager worth his salt had to start taking an interest in the SA market.

"If you've got a call rate of between 1% and 2% and here is a country legitimately swimming into your ken with a call rate 10% higher you just have to take an interest."

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More German funds
for voter education
ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA - The drive to educate voters ahead of next years election received a boost yesterday when German ambassador to SA Hans-Chrlstian Ueberschaer presented a R530000 cheque to the Matla Trust.

The grant, which follows a R2011: contribution from the EC earlier this year, would be used to set up a voter education office in the remote northwestern Cape as well as to train more women educators, Matla board chairman Ismail Ayah said yesterday.

'More than 28 000 people had already been trained in election and campaign techniques by Matla. About 140 000 people are expected to have completed the course by April next year.

"By next year there will be a vast number of people who will know how to run an election campaign," Ayob told a news conference at the German embassy.

He said six theatre groups would soon be dispatched across SA, particularly to the rural areas, to present electoral information through performance, song and discussions. _

The first print order of 100 000 electoral theme comic books would be distributed countrywide soon together with pamphlets. A 13-part TV series on voting would also be broadcast.

Ueberschaer said an effective electoral education campaign would not only improve the chances of free and fair elections but would also boost the turnout. A voter turnout of only 30%40% would be detrimental to the outcome of the election, he said.

The German government had also contributed 27%, or about R6m, of the EC donation, he said.

Matla executive director Billy Modise appealed to business to take advertisements in the education comic and to distribute them to employees.

He said mining companies had been asked to fund the establishment of an election education office in the northwmtern Cape but had so far failed to respond. The German contribution had enabled Matla to proceed with the opening of its 12th regional election office.

BUSINESS DAY, Friday, om 13 1993
COMMENT

—
new South Africa, and it is as well that it is being debated now, well ahead of the election of a new government.

Just how emotive the subject is was shown in the quick iresponse from ' the Transvaal Agricultural Union this week to the address by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa to the Land Redistribution Options conference. Though Ramaphosais speech was measured and dispassionate, the farmers warned against "irresponsible statements" that could create expectations leading to unmanageable conflict. i d There is no question of expectations being created - they are already there. The more radical groups demand "the return of our land", and nothing less. Their approach is reflected in the controversial slogans about settlers and farmers. While the official ANC line is more moderate, it accepts a special responsibility to resolve the land issue. In Ramaphosats words, "the claim to restore land rights is part of our history. If we turn our backs on the land question, we are no longer the ANC".

So if white farmers are prepared to die for their land - as indeed they are - and restoration of land rights is a key policy element for the ANC, is conflict inevitable? Not if emotions can be tempered, and everyone is involved in finding solutions.

The ANC, as the major political group representing black constitu- LAND is a critical issue for the Our lagnd ents. has an awesome task. It is the potential future government, so its responsibilities stretch beyond its supporters to the wellbeing of the country as a whole. Apart from avoiding racial conflict, it has to ensure that South Africa can feed itself, and that the vast potential of the agricultural sector is finally realised through the Optimum use of the land.

J udging from the number of questions posed by Ramaphosa in his speech - summarised on this page yesterday - the ANC has looked long and hard at the job ahead, and it is working on the answers. There will certainly be judicial procedures through which dispossessed people can be recompensed, and a wider land reform system aimed at creating employment and improving productivity. The ANC is nevertheless aware there will be cases where physical restoration of land

may be tinappropriate" and that
other forms of compensation will be
necessary.

No matter how sensible and fair
such procedures are, they will fal-
ter unless there is widespread and
open consultation in devising them.
It is essential that all affected
groups should be involved in the
land reform debate, and that the .
agricultural unions, especially,
should not turn their backs on those
they see as enemies. They must be " '
convinced there is no plan to drive:
them off their farms, and that it is
in their own best interests to listen,
talk and help find acceptable solu- j
tions, however difficult this maybe.

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i Shill hits back at housing plan critics
HOUSING Minister Louis Shill hit back yesterday at critics of the government's R2bn subsidy scheme on state-funded housing, saying the state's priority was to house as many disadvantaged people as possible. He told a meeting of the National Association of Home Builders that government would continue to take decisions on housing issues until a national housing board was in place.

"I am not criticising the national housing forum which is a vital organisation, but if the state had taken the subsidy scheme to the forum it would have been three or four months before a clear decision was taken. '

"The state does not take its instructions from the forum, which is not an implementing agency but provides the valuable functions of pulling the diverse players together and initiating discussion," said Shill.

Citing examples of the slow decision making process embodied within the forum, Shill said there had been a

_OBYN _HALMERS

four-week delay in nominations for representatives on the board.

"It is vital that the board is set up as soon as possible on a non-racial, non-geographical basis which has a single housing fund and regional divisions," Shill said.

The fact that "not a single penny" of the R500m allocated to the forum out of the national Budget had been spent bordered on the criminal when the huge housing backlog facing SA was taken into consideration.

The ANC came out strongly against the unilateral nature of the announcement, saying the National Housing Department was "straying into the extremely dangerous field of negotiating in bad faith".

The Urban Foundation said the use of state resources to assist individuals currently housed was an injudicious use of state resources. However, Shill said that effectively no funds would be

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paid out under the scheme and no new budgeting was required.

He agreed that the extension of the subsidy scheme would not benefit those people who had paid their bonds in the past, but said the aim was to increase home ownership among the disadvantaged.

No immediate comment on the subsidy scheme was forthcoming from the forum, whose co-ordinating committee has been discussing the project over the past two days.

DIRK VAN EEDEN reports SA

National Civic Organisation president Moses Mayekiso also criticised the scheme yesterday, saying it paid

only lip service to Sanco demands
that housing transfers to occupants
be made free of charge.

The lack of services had reduced
the book value of the present public
housing stock to "zero". In many
cases, he said, the occupants had al-
ready paid large ammounts of money
for their houses.

t By
PHILLIP VAN
NIEKERK

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The way to resist the right and its allies is to soldier on with the only legitimate process: multiparty talks
An alliance. of Dr Nos
lTE South Africans opening their newspapers on Tuesday were subjected to the full horror of a photograph of a dangerous Apia terrorist". one of the rich haul of trinkets captured by the South African Defence Force during their raid into Umtata last Friday. Even more honorably. the SADF seized an Apia poem. a truly barbaric assault on the English language. that ought to have won backing. at last from the literary minded. for further pre-emptive strikes of this nature. Alter the brilliant display of police intelligence work in Umtata. Law and Order Ministry representative Craig Kotze could afford to be nonchalant about the extreme rightwing's preparations somewhere in the Waterberg for armed insurrection against the government of national unity. 'The South African Police is aware of a series of planned military operations." he said. but could not disclose any more police intelligence as it will be counterproductive". Thanks. Craig. but no thanks. If the government is aware of a "series of planned military operations". does it not owe the public a little bit more than bland assurances? It could help us assess the threat of violence that is implicit in the bottom line of the Freedom Alliance. Either way. why is President W de Klerk handing the Freedom Alliance a veto on a plate by claiming that the multiparty negotiating process lacks legitimacy without them? The president has created a huge space for the Five Dr Nos -- the Inkatha Freedom Party's Mangosuthu Buthe. Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg. Afrikaner Volksfront leader Constant! Viljoen. Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope and Ciskei's Oupa quao. The threat of 3 referendums is absurd because we already know what the majority of South Africans think. Perhaps the spectre of a referendum is an attempt to scare the Freedom Alliance with the bogeyman of democracy. But it is clear that the rightwilled demands in the draft govt's questionnaire as Viljoen unplied -will want whites or Afrikaners to be counted separately. If blacks voted overwhelmingly "yes". and 1 whites in the present difficult circumstances. said "no". a referendum could end up being the most divisive and racially polarising thing that ever happened to this country. Even if they are denied a separate count. a referendum will enable the Freedom Alliance to delay matters by endlessly haggling over the question and the gaunt! rules. using the ultimate threat of refusing to participate if they don't get their own way. ' . They could then achieve the very thing that they all. as a group. manage to post-

poning the election. putting the 'h'ansitional
 Executive Council (TEC) on ice. and moth-
 the Kempton Park talks - without
 having to deal with those that divide them.
 By raising the notion of a referendum. De
 Klerk has either blundered tactically or is
 aiming at another target - the African.
 National Cpqgras.
 ' emment bilaterals are mching
 The World Trade Cenhe talks and ANC-gov-
 another cnti- !
 mlphaseandthereisalotoi'work tobecov-1
 cred during the nact 10 days. The government
 has used such moments in the past to attract
 last-minute advantage from the ANC. which is
 particularlyvulnerable now bemuse it is anx-
 ious to keep to the April 27 election date and
 set up the TEC in enough time before the elec-
 tion to trully level the playing nelds.
 That gives the National Party the opportu-
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 nity to negotiate where it is most comfortable ,
 - at the elliT-edge. 1
 De Klerk hinted on Monday at some of
 things he is seeking concessions on: securi-
 ty of tenure for civil servants a la Namibia. .
 and geater regional powers.
 ' Whilethereferendumlsnitsselfadelaymg1
 rlghtoil'ersDe:
 mechanism. the spectre of the
 Klerk the opportunity to go to the ANC and
 make demands - for instance. on federalism
 -wlthout appearlngas ifhe isaskingon his
 own behalf. .
 But that does not answer the question:
 how eil'ective is the Frwdom Alliance in its
 ownright. Iotospeak. andhowrealisallot'
 this talk of civil war?
 As the ANC has pointed out. the parties of
 the Freedom Alliance are all creations of
 eid. hostile to a new democratic order.
 quzo's delusions of grandeur lead him to
 seriouslybelievethathehasaroletoplaym '
 SouthAi'rleaaaituanelection-thataClskei
 state will emerge from the negotiations and
 that itwillelect him.
 spare him and Bophuthatswana.
 The CP. while more formidable in terms of
 kind of cloud cuckooland where the white
 manstillthinkshemnbethebaasinthis
 land.Thepartyhasaoaseaslohgaslttalks
 in generalities about self-determination. As
 soonasit getsrealandmarksoutgeograph-
 ic boundaries. all arguments for a constant
 disintegrate.
 ii the rightwing had the potential to crate
 a volkstnat without having to kick millions of
 ,blacks out. the multiparty talks would have
 t given it to them long ago. ifonly to get people
 ' 6 By raising the notion of a
 i referendum. De Klerk has
 l either blundered tactically
 ; or is aiming at another
 i target - the AN C 9
 the constituency they represent. are lost in a .
 like Hartzenberg and Tom Langley off their
 backs.
 Buthelezi has the one property that the
 right lacks: a relatively coherent geographi-
 mlam. Butwhile the rightcanclaimto rep-
 resent a sizeable chunk of 'lthe conservative

Afrikaner". opinion polls increasingly suggest that Buthe has no right to speak on behalf of either KwaZulu/ Natal or the Zulus. of which he is one minority voice. Though the NP and the ANC should continue to attempt to make the settlement as inclusive as possible. collectively there is no reason to believe that any of the Dr No: would sign their own death warrants by supporting democracy in South Africa. They should thus not be allowed to do what they are doing ties representing the other 85 percent of South Africans are doing. By forming the Freedom Alliance. they have opted for strength in numbers. a hash alliance that has no long-term cohesion. It has granted them a few more months it is a fool's paradise. When that bubble bursts. the right has guns and enough stupid people to use them: How many. only Kotze seems to know. But it is the current holders of state power that continue to pump to the right - for instance. through homeland subsidies. and through the SADF handing out guns to the white commandos. It is partly the NP's insurance policy against the ANC. partly the visceral bond between the rightwing of the NP and the Freedom Alliance. partly the painful knowledge that the old order is dying and that it is inexorably changing hands. They stand behind these last petty stands over the price and cross-border forays into Umtata. murder children. It is now to the moderates of the NP that we have to look to deliver the final constitutional settlement. and their counterparts in the top brass of the military that we will have to depend on to douse the potential for rebellion. In the meantime. the only way of counting on the soldier on with the only private case in the country that does have legitimacy: the multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre. and mist the rightwing's attempts delay the end of apartheid rule.

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.- THE CITIZEN

. COMMENT

NP alliance

DR Dawie de Villiers' disclosure that the National Party is engaged in discussions which could lead to possible alliances with other parties is an interesting one.

Dr De Villiers, who is the Cape leader of the National Party and the NP's chief negotiator at the Kempton Park talks, told the party's Cape Congress that the NP did not want to walk alone, but rather link up with parties which shared its aims.

"The NP is not a go-it-alone party," he said.

. State President De Klerk, from the outset, favoured an alliance of moderates, which, of course, would include Black moderates.

However, it is clear that Blacks are not allowed to be moderates, since they risk having their houses burnt down, or are subjected to other forms of intimidation, if they are.

And both the NP and the Democratic Party have found that the townships - or at least some of them - are no-go areas for their canvassers and it is impossible to hold meetings there without them being broken up.

The idea of an alliance of moderates seems to have faded in recent months, with the party divided between those who favour a link-up, with the Inkatha Freedom Party and those who think the NP should go it alone.

Events must have given some urgency to the attempts to get an alliance going.

The Inkatha Freedom Party is a founder-member of the Freedom Alliance, consisting of the IFP, the Conservative Party, the Afrikaner Volksfront, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana.

This development has affected the Kempton Park negotiations, which have become virtually a twahander between the National Party/government and the ANC.

The government has had to adopt the idea of parallel agreements with parties and organisations outside the Kempton Park talks.

But it is unlikely to be able to sell any agreement to the Freedom Alliance as a body, and will have to seek parallel agreements with individual parties and organisations.

The reason is the FA consists of a variety of parties, from Black organisations to the ultra-Right-wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

I The CPA would not be seen dead with the National Party - and the same applies to the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

Ciskei and Bophuthatswana might be agreeable to an alliance if the constitutional dispensation was to their liking, Bophuthatswana, like KwaZulu, wanting autonomy.

The Democratic Party has declared more than once that it will not agree to an alliance with the National Party or any other party.

The key to an alliance, then, seems to be the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The government appears keen to meet Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's desire for regional autonomy, since it has always insisted on a strong devolution of power to the regions.

The ANC, however, wants a strong central government with lesser powers for the regions - and Mr Nelson Mandela, ANC

president, has made it clear that the ANC will not make any more concessions on this Issue.

To get the IFP into an alliance with the NP, it would be necessary to encourage it to break : with the Freedom Alliance. - - i

' . Having just been involved in setting it up, : Chief Buthelezi may be unwillin to lout.

On the other hand, if the govenmgtentpgln find a way to satisfy Chief Buthelezi's demands, there is no reason why Chief Buthelezi should reject an alliance with the NP. I Chief Buthelezi may have a problem in associating with the Far Right-wing extremists ' who are part of the Freedom Alliance.

Association with the Far Right may also deny the IFP much-needed funds for fighting the election.

Thus, although it would at this point seem unlikely for the NP to form an alliance with the IFP, there are factors which suggest that this is not an impossible aim.

If the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana also joined the alliance, the chances of winning a substantial number of Black votes would be greatly enhanced.

Conversely, fighting the election alone would ' affect the chances of the NP playing a strong role as chief opposition party in a government of national unity.

Ig/MIQ)

STRAND. -- The newly-
formed Freedom Alliance
could not advance any
' convincing argument as to
a why the original Kempton
. Park negotiating council
Alliance has no
Kempton Park
case: Dawie
" South Africa is divided --
was not representative,
Cape National Party lead-
er Dr Dawie de Villiers
said yesterday.
Addressing party's an-
nual Cape congress -
probably its last before
into regions - he said
there was no path for
South Africa other than
multi-party negotiations.
. It was difficult to deter-
mine what the Alliance
members really had 'in
common.
The Afrikaner Volks-
front (AVF), with the
Conservative Party in the
forefront,. stood for a
White nation state (volk-
staat) in which citizenship
would eventually have to
be determined by race
and ethnicity.
Dr De Villiers said the
question was whether
Inkatha Freedom Party
leader Mangosuthu Bu-
thelezi'i and President Lu-
cas Mangope, of Bophu-
thatswana, approved this
standpoint.
The strangest factor
was that the Afrikaner
Weerstandsbeweging was
also part of the alliance.
This meant that Chief
Buthelezi and Ciskei
leader Brigadier Quthus
had now become Eugene
Tene'Blanche's leaders.
-Sapa
a CovettN
' ' cinema

Freedom Alliance: under pressure

Chds Louw

PRESIDENT W de I(IeI'k's threat of a referendum is probably aimed at putting pressure on the Freedom Alliance. With less than seven months to go before the tint democratic elections.itseansunlikelyythatacmntty-wide referendum will be squashed in. The refuenoe to a possible referendum to test the popular support for the pmcess of negotiations was made on Monday at the Cape National Party magmas in Stellenbosch. _

Observes believe it is part of a strategy to pressure the membem of the heedom Alliance. Few of these parties enjoy strong popula- aupport. They will be vulnerable if a tefetendum aposes their lack of support.

It is believed that the 301311th-swanagovemmentofh'esidentuwas.

Mangopeismpportedbyleasthanhalf

the population at his homeland, with the African National Congress probably the stmngest party in the area.

Polls indicate that Chief Mango-suthu Buthelezi will also not win an election in Natal/kwaZulu. Ciskel's Brigadier Oupa guzo. who has unam-cially stepped down as he is up on a murder charge. is a military dictator who rules his country by decree.

Recent opinion polls. howevet, indicate that the National Party and De Klerk enjoys considerath more support than Geuetal Constand Viljoen's Q A&lkanerVoiksl'mnt.

Threats that the citizens of homelands will be allowed to vote despite their governments's stance, are also meanttowtpresaneontheheedan Alliance's homeland partners.

. The government's strategy includes exploiting the ideological difference among than - from Buthelezi's non-tacialism to the AVF's desire for a tace-based confedeml state.

It believes that with all the contradictions. theallllancewillsoonstartto show cracks.

WINAM-

US! to 043

Gaye acquitted of Hani murder

Waluz and

Derby-LeWi/s

found guilty

THE crowd packed into the Rand

Supreme Courtts public gallery ap-

plauded yesterday as CP politician

Clive Derby-Lewis and Polish immi-

grant Januz Waluz were found guilty

of murdering Chris Hani.

There were hissos of disapproval sec-

onds earlier as the judge found that there

was insufficient evidence to convict Gaye

Derby-Lewis of murder. or of any of the

other charges against her.

Waluz and Clive Derby-Lewis were ac-

quitted of conspiring to murder eight other

people whose names were found on a list

with Hani's in the Polish right-winger's flat

after his arrest. Both were convicted of

unlawful possession of the stolen pistol

used to murder Hanl.

The court found that Waluz and Derby-

Lewis conspired to murder the former

SACP chief and that the assassination had

been planned well in advance.

Waluz shot Hani four times outside his

Boksburg home on April 10 with the un-

licensed 288 9mm pistol given to him for

this purpose by Derby-Lewis.

Derby-Lewis obtained the pistol. origi-

nally stolen from an SADF depot, from a

friend and had it fitted with a silencer in

Cape Town before handing it to Waluz.

The pair sat impassively as Judge C F__

Eloff said the State had not proved that

- there had been a conspiracy between the

pair to murder eight other people.

Acquitting Gaye Derby-Lewis, the judge

said there was no evidence to show that she

had been aware that her husband had ac- _

quired the pistol. had it fitted with.a silenc-

er and given it to Waluz.

r Waluz

was unlikely that Waluz. described by

Gaye Derby-Lewis as a family friend,

would have taken it on his own. The most

probable alternative was that Clive Derby-

Lewis had handed it to him.

The judge praised the actions of witness

Margaretha Harmse, who had memorised

the registration number of the assassin's

car. enabling police to pick Waluz up liter-

ally minutes after the shooting.

"But for the courage and public spirited-

ness of this young woman the killer possi-

bly would not have been apprehended."

He also praised the police investigating

SUSAN RUSSELL

Describing her explanation for drawing

up the list as "completely unacceptable",

the judge said she might have lied to pro-

tect someone, possibly her husband. At the

end of the day, the evidence proved nothing

more than that she had procured the con-

tents of the list, and she ought to be given

the benefit of the doubt.

The court found that the evidence

proved beyond reasonable doubt that the

unlicensed pistol Waluz used to kill Hani

was the same one that Clive Derby-Lewis

. had obtained from a friend.

The ANC last night called for Gaye Derby-Lewis's deportation back to Australia and said it would launch its own probe into "the international conspiracy to kill our lenders". P... z

The judge said only Derby-Lewis would have been able to say when he handed the weapon over to Waluz and why. Instead both he and Waluz had declined to testify. "His omission to do so is highly significant and has the effect of converting prima facie proof into conclusive proof "

In the absence of an explanation from Derby-Lewis the inference had to be drawn that he handed over the pistol knowing what Waluz was going to use it for.

"The facts point inevitably to the one and only conclusion that he (Derby-Lewis) actively promoted the objective of the assassination of the deceased."

Referring to the list, the judge said it
C1 To Page 2

D From Page 1 , -

team. describing their work as impressive.
ttThe investigation was of a very high -
order," Eloff said. "It was done thoroughly i
and left no stone unturned."

Shortly after the judge and his two assess- ' sors entered the court room there was a ' tense encounter between Hani's widow and t her husband's assassins.

Accompanied by ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale. Limpho Hani walked down into the well of the court where, from less than a metre away, she gazed directly into . the faces of her husband's murderers.
Evidence in mitigation continues today.

ANC wants to see Gaye

Derby-Lewis deported

THE ANC last night called for the deportation of Gaye Derby-Lewis, acquitted on a charge of murdering Chris Rani, and demanded an investigation into what the organisation believed was a conspiracy to kill ANC leaders.

Welcoming the conviction of Janusz Walusz and Clive Derby-Lewis on charges of murdering the former SA Communist Party secretary-general, the ANC said it was "deeply disturbed" by the acquittal of Gaye Derby-Lewis.

Sapa reports that the ANC reiterated its stance that an internationally linked conspiracy to kill senior members of the ANC still existed. "The ANC . . . demands that a mu investigation he launched into (the) conspiracy and that all of those involved and who made common purpose with the conspirators should be brought to book as a matter of urgency."

The ANC would Continue to pursue investigations into "this conspiracy to kill our leaders".

The three accused's acquittal on charge of conspiring to murder elicited a sharp response from the ANC. "In this regard, the courts restricted interpretation of ' common purpose is a matter for serious concern, especially when the previous broad approach to common purpose is remembered, which led to the imprisonment ,would initiate an international campaign :faith in the SA judicial system". of many liberation fighters."

The SA Communist Party expressed its shock at Gaye Derby-Lewis's acquittal and at the finding that there Was no conspiracy.

JOHANNES NGCOBO reports that in speeches outside the court after the judgment, the SACP and Azapo echoed the ANC call for Gaye Derby-Lewis's deportation.

ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale, Azapo national executive member Lybon Mabaso and ANC Women's League publicity secretary Nomvula Mokoenyana said she would be tried again by a "people's government".

Mokoenyana said the women's league to force the Australian government to "take Gaye Derby-Lewis back", and demand from the Transitional Executive Council that her SA citizenship be immediately withdrawn.

The N P applauded the conviction of Walusz and Clive-Derby Lewis.

NP media director Marthinus van Schalkwyk said the party "reaffirms its The case had finally exposed the fanaticism in certain right-wing circles. He criticised the ANC response to the findings. "(This) is a dangerous reaction and indicates an inability to understand that the judicial system functions on the basis of proven facts and not sentiment "

Citlun Reporter

MR VITOLD Waluz,
brother of convicted
. assassin, Janusz Wa-
luz, told the Rand Su-
preme Court yesterday
that he and his brother
were both strongly
anti-Communist be-
cause of the hardships
they had suffered in
Poland at the hands of
a Communist govern-
ment.

What made Com-
munism so unbearable
and cruel was the con-
stant fear. The system is
self-destructing - it kills
your dignity and pride;
"You have to listen to
some little party man with
no education tell you that
Communism is the only
way to build the future.
and you cannot argue,"
Mr Waluz said. . a - -

l.
t
h
emigrated to South Africa
because "it was just about
the most un-Communist
country".
Both had thus felt that
South African Communi-
st Party (SACP) in 1990
had been
shocking occasion".

Mr Waluz said he also
knew Conservative Party
politician. Clive Derby-
Lewis, who has also been
found guilty of murdering
Mr Chris Hani.
All three of them had
believed that South Afri-
ca was slowly sinking into
a classic Communist rev-
olutionary takeover situa-
tion". a -

Mr Waluz said he and
his brother had both be-
lieved that Mr Hani was
one of the most danger-
ous men" as he was the
leader of Umkhonto we
sizwe. It was a sad and
Waluz's brother I- _
slams Communism

He and his brother had wings, and also the head of .
,J'
I
s" .
the SACP.

Neither of them be-
' hand that Mr Hani had '1
, become "a man of pea- '
Ice". a
the unbanning of the 1

IWVben he changed mir-
aculously to a man of -;. .
peace, we didn't trust it'
_ we had seen it before. ,
A hardened Communist . '
never becomes I peace- ; _
, loving person.' Mr Waluz '
said.
Murmurs were heard .
from the gallery when Mr
Waluz agreed with a sub- 4
mission by Mr chnie de .
Vos, SC, appearing to .;
Derby -Lewis. that hiscli. 4. --
cut and Janus'z Waluz had 3
believed themselves to be
in a war situation, and A
that the assassination of
Mr Hani had simply been
their attempt to prevent .
the take-over of what
they believed to be rising ,
a

Blacks outraged .
 as Gaye goes free
 Bonpnl Mavuso
 BLACK political organisations.
 yesterday expressed anger and
 outrage at the acquittal of Mrs
 Gaye Derby-Lewis by the Rand
 Supreme Court in connection with
 the assassination of South
 Africanist Communist Party
 i leadeerChris Hani.
 Mrs Derby-Lewis was acquit;
 ted of murder, conspiracy to mur-
 der and possession of firearms and
 ammunition. Her husband Clive
 and co-aecused Ianusz Waluz 5
 were found guilty of murder and
 ' . possessionoflirearms andammu-
 mtion.
 . The Africah National Congress
 called for the deportation of Mrs
 Derby-Lewis and demanded an in-
 vestigation into what it believed
 was aconspuacytohlhtsleaders
 The organisation said South
 Africa could not afford "the risk
 of her staying one day longer in
 our Country' '.
 Pan Afn'canist Congress na-
 tional executive member Mr
 Carter Seleke said: uWe cannot
 understand why Mrs Derby-
 Lewis was acquitted. She was pan
 and parcel of the crime and is
 supposed to go to jail."
 Seleke said the coun should
 have applied the principle of
 "common purpose" used in the
 case of the Sharpeville Six.
 Azanian People 8 Organisa-:
 ' tion 5 Dr Aubrey Mokoape said:
 illl our view, the assassination of
 our leaders, including that of
 Chris Hani, will be reopened
 i
 E
 f
 i
 I-
 I
 l
 -
 when we have attained a demo-
 . crane society in our country.
 uWe have no confidence to the?
 system of justice in this country.
 Whether it was Waluz or Derby-
 Lewis who tired the fatal bulletsr
 the ultimate blame for the murder
 lies squarely at the feet of (State
 President FW) dc Klerk and his '
 white racist regime."
 Inkatha Freedom Party's Mr
 Themba Khoza said the outcome
 " proved that the '"life' of a black
 man was cheap".
 Sapa reports that the National
 Party applauded the conviction of ,_I
 3 Waluz and Clive-Detby Lewis. ?
 NP media director Mr
 Marthinus van Schalkwyk said

evidence led in the court clearly
indicated the court could not ar-
rive at any other verdict.

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Mrs Hani eyes killer
in courtroom drama

ByMusaZondi

CHRIS Hani's widow Limpho and
ANC executive members Mr Tokyo
Sexwale, and Mr Mathew Phosa passed
the Press bench in Court 4E in the Rand
Supreme Court and walked to where the
three accused were standing.
They paused in front of Janusz Waluz
and the Derby-Lewis couple - Clive
and his wife Gaye - and Sexwale
pointed at Polish immigrant Waluz.
Mrs Hani moved a few steps towards
the, trio positioned herself directly oppo-
site Waluz.

Her expression was not accusing but
appeared to be asking the question:
Why? She shook her head.

For the first time she had come face to
face with her husband's killer. And for
the first time she looked in his eyes. She
then walked slowly away and smiled as
she cast her eyes towards the packed
public gallery.

This was the climax to the saga that
shook the country on that fateful day of
April 10. A climax which saw Hani's
killers being found guilty of murder.
As Mrs Hani stood there in front of
her husband's killer, one could sense
that most in the gallery were on her side.
While this drama was unfolding in-
side, outside in the street the crowds
were growing bigger and as the sun
became hotter, the voices of those who
were singing and toyi-toying became
stronger.

The mood of the crowd was that of
anger. When the verdict was finally
passed, many people expressed dissatis-
faction that Mrs Derby-Lewis was set
free.

Mrs Hani, flanked by Sexwale and
Phosa, gave an impromptu Press confer-
ence at the end of the proceedings. She
said the three people were just messen-
gers, the real culprits are abroad.
"Today is six months since we lost
our leader, a father and a husband. Gaye
is the mastermind with all her connec-
tions in the World Apartheid Move-
ment. Our leaders are not safe," Mrs
Hani said. i

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I IV SUSAN SMUTS

The Rand Supreme Court public gallery erupted in applause yesterday when the Conservative Party's Clive Derby-Lewis and assassin Janusz Waluz were convicted of murdering SACP general-secretary Chris Hani. Gaye Derby-Lewis was acquitted of charges of murder, conspiracy to murder and illegal possession of a firearm and ammunition. Although her version had been "unacceptable, far-fetched and inconsistent", the evidence against her was not strong enough to justify a conviction, the court found.

Judge President of the Transvaal Mr Justice CF El011 and two assessors were unanimous in their verdict. The judge said the State's case against Gaye Derby-Lewis rested on an alleged hit list which former Citizen reporter Arthur Kemp had drawn up at her request. While the court found she had not told the truth about her reasons for acquiring the list, she had to be given the benefit of the doubt.

The court had no reason to reject her version that she had known nothing about the hit list. The hearing continues today with evidence in mitigation of sentence.

The ANC yesterday welcomed the conviction of the two killers but criticised the acquittal of Clive Derby-Lewis. V " "

ANC PWV leader Tokyo Sexwale said at a press conference that a conspiracy to murder Hani and others included "those who gave the orders and those who stole the weapons".

The court's finding was a foregone conclusion which any magistrate, bystander and even the murderers themselves would have made, he said.

The SAC? expressed its shock at Gaye Derby-Lewis's acquittal and the "incomprehensible finding" that no conspiracy had been involved. Shortly before judgment began, Hani's widow walked slowly in front of the three accused and stared unflinchingly at each of them in turn. Spectators in the public gallery expressed their anger

at the killers by passing loud
comments.

Derby-Lewis and Waluz
were acquitted of conspiracy
to murder eight other people
JUDGE doubts her

" aversion of events, but
evidence not strong
enough for

a conviction
mentioned on a list found in
Waluz's flat after his arrest.
They were convicted of ille-
gal possession of a firearm
and Derby-Lewis was also
found guilty of illegal possess-
. ion of ammunition.

The judge praised eyewit-
ness Retha Hamse (or her
courage and public-spirited-
ness. which led quickly to
Waluz's arrest.

The evidence against Wa-
luz included: he was toxmd
wants; ninrder' weapon in
his car 15 minutes after
Ham's murder on April 10. he
had bought ammunition for
the Z88 pistol on the morning
of the killing and he had gun-
powder on his hands.

nesses. he did not testify
and his counsel did not
urge his acquittal. The
judge said Waluz had
acted with the direct in-
tention to kill.

The court found
Derby-Lewis had acted
in common purpose with
Wainz by acquiring the
weapon from a haul sto-
len from a Pretoria air
force base in 1990.

The judge accepted
"with confidence" evi-
dence by silencer manu-
facturer Gavin Smith,

" who identified the Z88
pistol used in the mur-
der as the one he had
' fitted with a silencer in
March. Derby-Lewis had
asked a friend to take
the gun to Smith. The
court found Derby-Lewis
. had later given the pistol
to Waluz.

Guilty . . . Clive Derby-Lewis

Guilty . . . Janus: Waluz
He had clearly been holding
Hani under surveillance at,
least three week's before the
murder. which indicated it
had been planned.

Waluz had not contradicted:
the version given by State wit-
51".

IT! 091,,
free

Only Derby-Lewis

could have refuted the strong prima facie case presented by the State, yet he had not testified. He had not explained why he had had a silencer fitted to the gun, why he had commented to Kemp that Waluz would not speak (after he had been arrested) or why he said he had last seen Waluz in December when he had in fact seen him four days before the murder.

Giving evidence in mitigation. the assassin's brother. Witold Waluz. yesterday described a childhood of bitterness towards the communist regime in Poland and his brothers fear of a communist takeover in SA.

Cross-examined by Clive Derby-Lewis's counsel. Hennie de Vos. SC. he said that in killing Hani. Waluz and Derby-Lewis had joined an armed struggle to stop whites being forced from "their own country".

Hani's assassination was an attempt to prevent the forcible takeover of what "they perceived to be rightfully theirs", Witold Waluz said.

Cross-examined by Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres. he conceded that Hani's death could have plunged the country into civil war if the police had not apprehended his brother so soon.

The assassin had followed his brother to South Africa in 1981. The trial continues.

MK trammg

. Farouk Chothla

a UMKHON'PO weSizwe is training its cadres inside the country in preparation for a national peace-keeping force - and the South African Police does not intend clamping down on them.

in a statement late last week. MK southern Natal commander Mandla Sithole said the training was being conducted in "broad daylight" in Durban's black townships - but that no cadms were being trained in the use of weapons. He said the training was confined to "drill training, marching, basic physical fitness (and) military education".

SAP representative Major Hamilton Ngidi said that if the training was not in the "use of weapons of war", then MK was acting within the law. Before Sithole's admission, Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose told 3 Durban press conference that the organisation had "witnessed on videotape a massive MK march operation" in

The video footage shows a group of is legal

about 300 people marching and drilling along the main street in KwaMashu (which falls under KwaZulu). said Mdlalose. The KwaZulu Police are not known to have arrested anyone in connection with the training. According to local press reports, Mdlalose criticised the South African government for not stopping the training, saying that it was its responsibility to satisfy the security needs of all its citizens. KwaZulu was not an independent country and it needed to be provided with adequate security.

In an interview, Sithole said: "Raining is taking place in almost every township, it started about three months ago. Comrades are flooding in." He added that since the issue became public the South African Police (SAP) has been "harassing cadres waking them up at night and questioning them about their activities."

Sithole said that once the transitional executive council is formed, they will be given access to SADF bases. They will be used as assembly points," said Sithole.

WIMRIL"

TSNO'Q)

Arrested police to be charged with mutiny

Beverley Garson

Some 80 police arrested in Port Elizabeth on Wednesday will be charged with mutiny, the acting regional police commissioner in the Eastern Cape Brigadier Nico Slabbert said this week.

He said the case against 88 members of the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru) would be investigated and submitted to the Attorney General for a decision. The statement said the district commissioner, Colonel Jan Dowd, had received calls demanding his presence at the Motherwell police station to discuss issues raised by dissatisfied police.

"Meanwhile the dissatisfied abandoned their posts and congregated in an office at the police station.

"it is also alleged that several firearms
were issued against standing instructions.
"an view of this situation. the Internal Sta-
bility Unit was sent in to secure the situa- ,
tion." -- Beth i J U

Pamela Dubs

AFRICAN National Congress Youth League leader Peter Mokaba and his security aides are still being denied firearm licences - despite the recent disclosure of an assassination plot against him.

The same applies to the entire Pan Africanist Congress leadership. In recent weeks shots have been fired at the house of PAC president Clarence Makwetu and at the I at of his bodyguards. —

The ANC says it complained about Mokaba's ease to President FW 'de Klerk. but has received no answer.

Mokaba and the PAC say that when the issue is raised with the police, they are offered police protection instead. Neither . wantsthis.

Says Mokaba: "I don't see how I can be protected by my own enemies - the police, What I want is to be able to protect myself from them and have my bodyguards armed." A PAC security representative says that . since early this year his department has been in constant contact with John Vorster Square police station over 11mm: permits. "Every time we contact them. we are told 'Pretoria is still looking into the matter'. Evm . I —

' i-iWW '21 i9

president Clarence Makwetu himself does not have a licence. How do they expect us to protect ourselves from the enemy when we are manned?"

He saysbecause of the refusal to grant permits. some of the PAC leadership had registered their guns with the Transkei police. and had been given 30 day import/export licences by the South African authorities. "Most have expired. and our guns have been .- seized by the SAP. Currently some of our leaders - Jaki Seroke. Enoch Zulu and Maxwell Nmadzihlanani -- are on trial . because of that."

Mokaba has recently been targeted by rightwing elements and the PAC say their president's life "is under threat from both the .. enemy and the Watchdogs (a militant PAC - ' youth faction). There have been attempts on I his Iiieand someofourlwdeismmelastfew, '. firearm and that just grounds for the pos-j ' weeks".

The ANC's Ronnie Mamoepa says his. organisation has been struggling for three. . .1 canthasprevious convictionswhichindicate . years to secure gun licences for the body guards ofANC leaders. "They always find a ? mason not to. This is dangerous for our Imd- ' 4 us."

According to Mamoepa. that it has taken a year for Tokyo Sexwale. the leader of the)-a;')('iV')I-'. WI INM'

KIM! 93

,_odyguards Can't get gun licences tANC's PWV region. to obtain a licence. "We are currently iighting to get permits for his ' bodyguards."

South African Police media liaison officer Captain Nina Barkhuizen says the original

application from Sexwale W mislaid. and .
.when inquiries regarding his licence were
made. he was requested to furnish a dupli-
- (ate application.

"Within a week of receipt of the second
application. a nrmm license was issued to
Mr Sexwale."

According to Barkhuizen. it is not the pol-
icy of the SAP to furnish reasons for the
refusal of a firearm unless the applicant
submits a written request".

Applications for m licences are con- t
sidered on merit.

"It implies that the applicant must be fit in -'
all respects and competent to possess a.
session of the specific firearm exists.

"Further factors"

that he has a tendency towards violence."

Mokaba feels the ANC is also to blame - t

. "The ANC is not doing enough to pressure ' _
the police on the matter. They should battle
to give it's people protection."

.are whether the appli- -

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- 700 policemen retire early because of stress
MORE than 700 policemen were declared
medically unfit for service last year be-
cause of stress-related psychological dis-
orders, and the SAP expects the figure to
be far higher this year. '

Most of the policemen who were put on
early retirement were officers, including
five generals and 23 brigadlers.

SAP psychological support services sec-
tion head Maj Pieter Koortzen said the
overwhelming pressures facing policemen
also meant that suicide had become a
major problem in the force.

About 110 policemen committed suicide
last year # a rate 22 times higher than the
national average. Of these, 43% were

. KATHRYN STRACHAN

- blacks, .whose job pressures were com-
pounded by their social isolation and their
victimisation by the community.

Policemen declared medically unfit due
to stress-related disorders received full
pensions and medical benefits for life,
which cost government "millions".

Koortzen said most of the policemen
assessed suffered from post-traumatic
stress, including depression and anxiety,
that had become so intense they could no
longer fulfil their functions.

"Once the anxiety reaches such a level
they become too nervous to shoot, or they
become trigger-happy. and it is better to
let them go," he said.

A large percentage of the people coun-
selled had been traumatised by their in-
volvement in violent incidents such as
shoot-outs, bomb explosions and accidents,
and many had seen colleagues killed.

Most of the problems were in the PWV
region, Natal and the western Cape. .

Koortzen said policemen felt isolated
after being stationed far from home, often
in unrest areas. Black policemen particu-
- larly encountered social rejection.
Fears of political changes and uncer-
tainty about their future in the police force

(II To Plot 2

Police

exacerbated stress. They also felt confused
and disorientated after being constantly
criticised from one political quarter, and
praised by another for the same deed.

In an attempt to ensure that policemen
could cope with the rigours of their jobs,
the SAP recently initiated a far more strin-
gent selection process for applicants.

Koortzen said the police force was pre-
viously the obvious place for people who
could not find jobs elsewhere, but the bar-
rage of tests for IQ and aptitude, as well as
for suicide and aggressive tendencies,
would change the fabric of the force.

As the SAP psychological support ser-
vices had been set up only in the past two
years, counsellors faced the difficult task
of treating trauma that had accumulated
over many years. It was vital that people
were treated within two to three days of a
traumatic event. he said.

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C1 Frame Page 1

With only 24 psychologists for a force of ;
policemen were being f

112 000, many

trained in the basic skills of counselling .
and "debriefing" their colleagues after a j
traumatic event. Debriefing involved us- .
ing all the senses to relive the experience,
as well as talking about it together.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman 3

Craig Kotze said: "These horrifying figures
are indicative of how hard the police work
and the difficult conditions in which they
operate." There was no police force in the
world that faced such "superhuman chal-
lenges" as the SAP. The combination of the
changes in the police force and the wider
changes in society, coupled with the vio-
lence, left the SAP in a unique situation.

"Very few people realise the sacrifices
our police are making on a daily basis for
peace," he said, adding that the community
needed to be more supportive of the police.

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Stations deserted?

PORT ELIZABETH - Police Commissioner Gen J ohan van der Merwe last night threatened to crack down on 'black policemen who stayed away from their posts in Port Elizabeth's townships yesterday, leaving many police stations unstaffed. The Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Papcru) claimed that up to 2000 ' had not reported for duty in solidarity with 88 colleagues from Motherwell who had been suspended. Union president Godfrey Rockman said they were afraid of victimisation by the internal stability unit, which had "taken over their stations". A police spokesman said the figure was close to the hundreds. Arrangements had been made "to ensure normal policing", gMitinyi

Van der Merwe said the mass absenteeism was "an absolutely intolerable situation" which would be exploited by criminals, and would not be allowed to continue. "I will not hesitate to take the strictest possible steps to restore discipline. The firmest possible measures will be taken as speedily as possible to act against members involved in acts of gross neglect or deliberate abandonment of duty," he said. Van der Merwe said it appeared that the as police tmutiny?

and stations were being manned by permanent force members. The internal stability unit was conducting only general patrols. Rockman said a dispute between the Motherwell station commander and staff had sparked Wednesday's clash and 9-day's stayaway. He called for the station commander's removal. 3 .

The 88 policemen, who were suspended after being arrested at the Motherwell station, are to appear in court on October 32 on charges including mutiny. They were released on bail of 350 each yesterday:

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C1 From Page 1

action had been taken for political reasons. Sapa reports that DP defence Spokesman Gen Bob Rogers said internal strife in the police force could not be allowed to threaten the SAP's ability to meet its responsibilities in the run-up to elections. The DP condemned Wednesday's mutiny, and said the incident highlighted the urgent need to get the Transitional Executive Council in place.

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"u...

By Fred de Lange
THE Chief of Defence
Force Staff, Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn, yesterday said the main reason for his early retirement was that there was no further opportunity for him to grow in the South African Defence Force.

The Minister of Defence, Mr Kobie Coetsee, announced on Monday that Gen Steyn, 50, would be retiring at the end of November.

Gen Steyn became a controversial figure in the SADF in November last year when he was requested by State President De Klerk to head an investigation into the intelligence services of the SADF.

As a result of his investigation, a number of senior SADF officers

to No chance for me!

to grow in. SADF,

' says 1 Steyn

were asked to take early retirement at the end of last year.

When the post of Chief of the SADF fell vacant earlier this year with the announcement of the impending retirement of Gen Kat Liebenberg, Gen Steyn was named as a strong contender for the post.

But the job went to the Chief of the Army. Gen Georg Meiring. and some senior SADF officers claimed the reason was that Gen Steyn had lost the support of some senior people in the SADF because of his role in the investigation.

In an interview with The Citizen yesterday. (icn Steyn said it one looked at his age -- he 40' "an

08".: :q;

will be 51 in November- and the fact that the only post more senior to his - the post of Chief of the SADF - had been filled, it was clear that there was no more room for him to grow in his military career.

ttlt is possible to pro-

mote me sideways but in the process I would be blocking the opportunity for younger officers to grow," he said.

Gen Steyn has a Bachelor of Military Science degree from Stellenbosch University and a Master of Business Leadership from UNISA.

ul am young enough to start a second career which will allow me to do my own thing.

ul am one of those who are very excited about the developments in South Africa and as a civil servant and a soldier I will have very little opportunity to join in these developments. I want the freedom to take part in it and in the private sector I will have those opportunitiesf he said.

At this stage Gen Steyn has not yet decided what he will do but he will cast around soon after his retirement for a post in the private sector.

"I made the decision to retire in June this year if the timing of the announcement caused embarrassment. It is a fact, however, that the wheels and it is very unfortunate : of the civil service move very slowly and a lot had to be done between my decision and the final announcement. .

Gen Steyn did not believe that his involvement in the investigation of the SADF's intelligence services harmed his career in any way.

uSomebody had to undertake the investigation. and if that person had reported afterwards that nothing was wrong. everybody would have accused him of hiding something.

uAs it was, all I did was to ring the bell that something could be wrong.

The final decision rested with the politicians and it is unfair to present me with the bill for the actions of the politicians."

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SA drive to sell
arms to Gulf
ABU DHABI. - South
Africa has launched a
drive to export arms to
the oil-rich Gulf region.
one of the biggest
weapons markets in the
world. following its emer-
gence from international
isolation. y

Altogether 31 SA com-
panies to display their la-
test aircraft at an internat-
ional airshow in Dubai, in
the United Arab Emi-
rates (UAE), next month
in its biggest participation
in a military exhibition in
the Middle East.

SA's deputy Defence
Minister. Wynand Brey-
tenbach, will come to the
November 7-11 show to
give weight to South,
Africa's export drive,"
said a spokesman. for
ARMSCOR. i

"The drive includes the
Middle East debut of the
ACE composite military
training aircraft and the
first. overseas appearance
of the CSH-Z Rooivalk at-
'tack ' helicopter." the
spokesman was quoted as
saying in a statement is--.
sued by- the London-
I based Fairs and Exhibit-
ions, which is organising
the show.

liMany of the compan-
ies exhibiting at the show
also manufacture civilian a
products but at this par-
ticular show we will be
promoting our military
capabilities as we see this
sector as having excellent
potential here," he said.
Wealthy Gulf states
'have launched a massive
campaign to bolster their
armies and guard against
a fresh attack by- Iraq,
which invaded Kuwait in
1990.

The campaign focuses
on advanced aircraft and
long range missiles and
military experts estimated
the six Gulf Co-operation
Council (GCC) states -
Saudi Arabia. Kuwait,
Bahrain, Qatar, the Unit-
ed Arab Emirates and
Oman -. would spend
more than \$40 billion on
arms imports until the
year 2000.

South Africa exhibited its sophisticated artillery and armoured vehicles at an international land arms show in Abu Dhabi early this year and its officials said they were hopeful about deals in future.

't'nie Middle East arms market has long been dominated by the United States and other western nations and it is time for South Africa to enter the market after the end of the boycott," the ARM-SCOR official said.

An international embargo on selling arms to Pretoria has prompted South Africa to build up a formidable homegrown armaments industry over the past decade with the covert help, according to numerous reports. of Israel.

South Africa struck some arms deals with GCC states during the boycott but they remained a limited part of its weapons exports valued at more than one billion dollars a year. according to Gulf military sources. More than 450 companies from major arms producing countries such as the United States. Russia. France, Britain. and China as well as 30 other countries. are participating in the Dubai show, the third largest in the world. '

Organisers said Defence Ministers 'and senior military officers from Gulf and other countries would be among more than 20 (XX) people expected to visit the show, staged every two years by the United Arab Emirates armed forces.

The South African Rooivalk is seen by experts as a serious contender to the McDonnell Douglas Apache helicopter." the organisers said.

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Control of matches and
attack on rights ANC
MINISTER of Law pointed out the broader interests organisation
Outh-Herhusi Kriel needs to be re-stone Commission
, threat to pass tougher legislation to control churches and structures
legislation to control churches and structures
. matches 0', - protests in a climate for a V of the National Peace
the ninip to the 'elec'ef 3 free political activity re-I. Accord had developed
' tions is an attack on '3', 7 mains the domain of the broad guidelines that
basic democratic light, M Transitional Executive: governed the conduct of
the ANC charged yam. 4, . Council and not his polv mass protest.
terday. 'i .33 itical party." hNeither Kn'el nor his
. In a statement in 10. I The Ministers state- ' government has the
hannesburg, the ANCil I'ment further revealed _ 'legitimacy nor the cred-
said Mr Kriel has again the sum regard the. itbility to unilaterally
demonstrated his inability; "government had for '. bring changes to these
ity- to subject namwigi basic democratic prin-I guidelines," the ANC-
mm politim! intercsjgg ciples. the ANC added said.-A--SapaW
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v35 SAA U congress expected to debate land redistribution

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Farmers want rope batik

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CHANDLER

South Africa's. farmers

want the Government to

lift the moratorium on

the death penalty in

order to curb crime, par-

ticularly on the platte-

land.

This is one of the most

important issues to be .

debated at the annual

congress of the SA Agri- property rights and land erty rights to land be en-

cultural Union (SAAU) in issues, security in rural trenced in legislation,

Bloemfontein next week. areas, labour legislation that redistribution of land

, , J7me

FARMERS put

the return of the

death penalty

high on the

agenda for their

annual congress

The conference, known

as the "farmers' parlia-

ment", will also debate

I

and marketing policies,

among other topics.

To be officially open-

ed on Tuesday by Minis-

ter of Water Affairs and

, Forestry Japie van Wyk,

the co ess is expected

to dwel on ANC and

World Bank calls for land

redistribution.

Discussion is expected

- to centre on calls by the

SAAU that private prop-

through nationalisation

and confiscation mea-

sures was unacceptable,

and that land claims arie-

ing from forced removal

policies should be settled

through the courts.

The Free State and

eastern Cape unions

have expressed "grave

concern and displeasure"

over attacks on farmers,

"in particular, the ap-

parent unwillingness and

inability of political lead-

ers to discipline their fol-

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lowers in this regard".

These unions are spon-

soring a motion calling

for the moratorium on

the death penalty to be

lifted immediately, that

sentences handed down

by magistrates and
judges be in accordance
with the severity of the
crime, and that the De-
partment of Correctional
Services revise its parole
policies as a result of
"the premature release
of criminals".
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S .

OSLO. -- ANC president Nelson Mandela and State President De Klerk are among favourites to win the Nobel Peace Prize today, but worries over violence in South Africa could swing the award to the Salvation Army. Norwegian media - usually right in their forecasts - say guardians of the peace could play safe instead with the Salvation Army. V '

The answer will not be known until Francis Seferin, violence may sway Nobel Prize Vaclav Havel and the Red Cross. The 1993 prize is worth 6.7 million Swedish crowns (R187 million).

"In my view it's far too early to award the Nobel Peace Prize to De Klerk and Mandela. And it's too late to give the prize to Mandela alone." said 'Mr Tore Eriksen, a researcher at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, the prize risk controversy by honouring South Africa's spluttering transition from Whites-only rule. "

He noted joint awards had been among the most controversial - such as in 1978 to late Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, and in 1973 to former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. He said, head of the five-member committee, and toe, walks into a room in the Nobel Institute and announces: "The prize for 1993 is awarded to, 1993

' Altogether 120 candidates including Vietnamese Communist leader Le Duc Tho.

I.

peace I, The Salvation Army. _founded in the slums of London in 1865 and now I doing social and Christian - Mandela and Mr ' anti-apartheid

dates at vying for the work of 95 nations was a award - 95 individuals. I don't know for the 1992 and 25 organisations in 1 prize. which went to Guatemalan including Czech President Vaclav Havel and Rigoberta Men-

Camus"

I8 I IO II"

chu, an Indian human rights campaigner.

An organisation has not won the award, named after Sweden's Alfred Nobel, since the UN Peacekeeping Force in 1988.

Geir Helljesen, a Norwegian television reporter who has correctly tipped the prize in every recent year, forecast Mr De Klerk would win despite worries about violence in South Africa.

More than 1.6m people have died in political violence since early June.

When democracy negotiations set next April 27 as the date for the country's first all-race elections, Helljesen said the committee preferred individuals and had a strong tradition.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu won in 1984 and Chief Albert Lutuli, former ANC president, in 1960. Mr Mandela has been a perennial favourite for the award. He thinks there is a tendency to personify things and this may also have been the case with the Peace Prize, Geir Lundestad, director of the Nobel Committee, told Reuters.

"But there have been many worthy institutions which have received the prize and this will undoubtedly continue."

Kaare Klistiansen, one of five members of the committee, touched off speculation in Home that the Salvation Army would win by telling Reuters this month that he did not believe the 1993 award would be controversial.

But one informant source said Mr Knutsen, nominated to the committee by a Right wing party, had argued against giving a prize to Mr Mandela alone. As such, he might not vote for a joint prize to De Klerk and Mandela as "controversial". -- Sapa- Reuters

Apartheid to blame
for Amy 8 death
CAPE TOWN. - The
boyfn'end of the White
American woman
killed in a racist attack
blames apartheid for
the murder and says
her killers should be
given an education
Irather than the death
penalty.
uThey killed Amy. the
single most important
thing in my life, and I am
very angry for that."
Scott Meinert of Salem.
Oregon, told the Asso-
ciated Press yesterday
while on a visit to Cape
Town.
He said an, education
for the mob who hit Amy
Biehl in the face with a
brick and stabbed her to
death on August 25 would
help them understand and
atone for what they did.
Mr Meinert, 28. ad-
mitted he was. angry with
the Black youths but Vin-
-- boyfriend
furiated with apartheid
and its perpetrators.
whom he ultimately
blamed for the death of
the woman he planned to
marry.
"They are the people
that really, ultimately fuel
that kind of anger and
hatred," he said. "I'm in-
furiated and will always
probably be until it
(apartheid) is completely
stamped out.'
Seven Black males,
ranging in age from 15 to
23, are to stand trial on
November 8 for Ms
Biehlis murder. At least
four have admitted being
members of the student
wing of the Pan Africanist
Congress.
. Witnesses say Ms
Biehl's killers called her a
CTluh-i
1800; q;
settler," the PACs term
for Whites. At court ap-
pearances, supportets of
the defendants have chan-
ted "One settler, one bul-
let," and have threatened
White journalists.
Despite such tensions,
Mr Meinert and Ms
Biehlis parents and sisters
and brother this week
visited the Guguletu

Black township where the murder occurred. About 300 Black students welcomed the family at the University of the Western Cape, where Ms Beihl had worked.

Mr Meinert, a law student at Willamette University in Salem, does not believe the killers will get a fair trial under South Africa's legal system.

"I would like to see them go through a different judicial system, where I honestly believe fair trials take place. I'm not sure they do down here," he said, adding that he and Ms Biehl opposed the death penalty.

Murder convictions can bring the death sentence in South Africa, although no executions have been carried out for years.

Ms Biehl, 26, a Fulbright scholar from Newport Beach, California, was to return to the United States on August 27. She was to study at Rutgers University in New Jersey, where Mr Meinert planned to meet her on September 3 and propose marriage. Instead, Mr Meinert delivered a eulogy that day for Ms Biehl.

The couple met while studying at Stanford University in 1987. Mr Meinert, a varsity athlete, played basketball for the university and Ms Biehl was captain of the swimming and diving team.

Today, Mr Meinert wears Ms Biehl's diving team ring on a chain around his neck.

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Three killings: Age
Saves man from death :
PIETERMARITZ-
BURG. - A man was
sentenced to life
prisonment and a further
three people and the at-
tempted murder of two
others near Mtunzini in .
February.

v ' Mr Justice Hugo noted
that Vusumuzi Bheki Zj-
hani was a few days short
of 18 when the offences
were committed, and said
he could for that reason .
not impose the death pen-
alty
But for his youth, "the
death sentence would
have been a very real
possibility", the judge
said.

' The sentences will run
currently.
Zibani, an active and
avid member of the
'ANC", was found guilty
of killing three people -
Vusumuzi Mdletshe, Ar-
thur Booysen. and Jaco-
bus Swart - and attempt-
ing to kill Mr Nkosinathi
Msweli, and his aunt Ca-
bayeni Zibani.

.'He was also convicted
On "counts of" unlawful-
possession of a revolver
and ammunition.
Booyesen and Swart
. were gunned down while
52 years for the killing of '
they were picnicking with
their wives next to the N2
highway.

Zibani's accomplice to
the picnic killings, one
Xolani, was reportedly
arrested about four weeks
ago, and could also be
charged.

Zibani got life for kill-
ing Mdletshe; 20 years for
helping to kill Booysen
and Swart, 15 years each 'i
for the attempted mur-
ders, and two years and '
six months for the arms
contraventions.

Judge Hugo said Zibani ,
was an arrogant, self-
opinionated young man
who had shown no re-
spect or respect for the
sanctity of human life.
He had left behind him v
a trail of blood and de-
struction, and to society

urgently needs continuous protection from his actions."

Noting that there may have been Political under-IIV'? ?Siltl(v'

tones in some of the attacks, Mr Justice Hugo commented: "There may have been a time when black political aspirations could not be adequately expressed in ways other than through violence. .that time has passed, and all political parties are attempting to find solutions to the country's problems."

The judge said political leaders have made empty promises to their supporters to desist from violence, adding the only future we have in this country is through political tolerance.

People who resort to violence are not only deserting their victims. but also the future of their countrymen, he added.

- Sapa.

..-..

Teachers

_in Cape

chant

CAPE TOWN.

Chants .of t "Kill.j the

boer.' kill the farmefll

were heard from the

steps of the Cape Town

Supreme _Court yester-

' day when more than 100

- members of the South

African l Democratic

. Te'achers';Union (SAD-

TU) protested against

the court appearance of

four colleagues. a

Internal Stability Unit

policemen kept watch as

the crowd grew to more

than 300 teachers and

parents.

A Colonel Snyman

warned them the gath-

ering was illegal because

they had permission for

only 30 people to stage a

protest, and singing and

banners were not per-

mitted. -

The four teachers, all

Boland, have been

charged with contempt

of court in an action

btought by the Educa-

; tion _and Culture Minis-

ter in the House of Rep-

. resentatives, Pieter

Saaiman.

The charges are re-

lated to the national

teachers' strike in ' Au-

gust. At the time the

. Cape Town Supreme

Court'granted an order

declaring the strike un-

lawful. -Sapa.' -

lkill bo'er' W

fwm De Doorns in the -

G-t'nI-M

mum;

to leave Zambia
Lusaka - Detained
South African Katiza Cebekhulu has threatened to go on hunger strike if the Zambian government does not repatriate him.

"I would rather be sent home than suffer eating rotten food each day," he complained to Munyama Commission members visiting Lusaka Central Prison on Wednesday.

The commission is gathering evidence about human rights abuses in Zambia

Cebekhulu, who was accused with Winnie Mandela and others of kidnapping and assault, fled South Africa on the eve of his court appearance and has been in detention in Zambia for three years.

Repatriation

"Contrary to the official version, I am not refusing to go back to South Africa nor to be repatriated to another country," he told the commissioners.

"I would rather die in my home country than suffer in Zambia,"

Comment was not available from Zambian Home Affairs Minister Newstead Zimba. -

Sapa.

574".

IS": IQ?

.4 more slain
on East Rand
Four more people died in
unrest-related attacks on
the East Rand yesterday.
Police said a man died -
of multiple injuries after .
being thrown off a train ,
in DaVeyton. The body of
another man was found
.. next to the railway line
.. , after he was thrown off
. the train near Boksburg t
East station
In Katlehong a 36-
year-old man was shot
dead in Mavimbela Sec- '
tion and a man aged 25
xwas killed with an AK-47
in Monaheng Section.
A ticket inspector is in
a serious condition in
hospital after being at-
tacked by three men at
, Lemila station in Tembi-
8a.. - East Rand Bureau. I
t
574:.
lS'I/o/q,

. ' Yet another massacre in a society
that has lost its sense of shock
Two women may have
helped three men kill
homeward bound train
commuters in
Johannesburg. Casually
the woman walked to the
police van; casually, the
policeman followed, while -
the onlookers clapped and
cheered - and returned to
their television screens.
Ferial Haffaiee arrived
on the scene moments
after the shooting ended
Two armed women taken by
police from the scene of
Wednesday's night's gory
train massacre in Johan-
nesburg may provide a key to the
murders.
I saw one woman. passive and
calm. being escorted away by a
policeman within minutes of the
6pm shooting. She was wearing a
turban. takkies and a traditional
dress - under which she hid the
gun - and carrying a plastic bag.
They had been searched by other
women commuters at the request of
the police because there were no
female officers available. Two fire-
arms and two 'zip-guns' (homemade
firearms) were found under their
dresses. the police said yesterday.
The woman being led away offered
no resistance. with one policeman.
holding a handgun wrapped in a
handkerchief. merely following her to
the police van.
Her casual demeanour was
matched by that of the 100 onlook-
ers who quickly gathered outside the
Mayfair and Grosvenor stations as it
watching a sporting contest.
Bystanders. shopkeepers and rev-
ellers at a 10m! pop and vleis shop
clapped and cheered. certain that
the cops had bagged a killer.
Many expressed surprise that she
was a woman. 'Yooo a cherriel
en sy het gesldeitl' said members of
the crowd.
The other woman was already
inside a van. Bystanders said
she had also been found with a
weapon. Both women were pointed
out by commuters. according to the
police.
From the platform down to the
street ran trails of blood. marking
where the injured had been hurried
to the ambulances.
inside the station. I found a scene
of horror.
The bodies of two men in blood-
soaked T-shirts and takkies lay
sprawled in the yellow Metro third.
class coach. They had been caught
in mid-stride as they tried to get out

of the train. One had a plastic pack-
et with him and its contents had
spilled out on the train floor two
tubs of bargain aqueous cream and
a folded newspaper.

Near him, a bearded man lay amid
the shattered remains of the coach
door's windows. his T-shirt pulled up
around his chest. his takkies loose.
his trouser pockets turned inside
out.

Litter and old newspapers. and the
footprints of those who had managed
to get out were their only compan-
ions in the deserted coach.

And further down the train-line.
another man lay on the tracks. his
face covered crudely with blue plas-
tic sheeting. his arm still shielding
his face from his last fall.

The curious residents who live
across the road from the station
peered at him as they pressed
against the barbed wire fence specu-
lating on how he had died: "What
happened?" "He was standing on
the station" "They must have
pushed him from the train."

in the charged aftermath. accusa-
'tions i'lew. Men and women in a
coach at the far end of the Naledi
bound train claimed that "the
Inkatha" in the coaches at the other
end had not been searched. "They
had us in here." she said. adding
"they're going to come back when the
train moves. They'll get us in the
lotion. We need security. because
they want us: they know we're ANC."
They were pointing to an obvious-
ly separate group of men gathered at
armed themselves with steel rods
broken ON the station railing. They
were as confused. as nervous as the
other group.

"They found two bodies that side."
said one. gesturing.

The stench of the sweat and the
fear of the living filled the air at
Grosvenor station as passengers sat
. numbed in their third-class coaches
; or crowded on the station platform
:2 where the train had made its emer-
gency stop. Men and women who
had been on their way home sat sur-
5 rounded by their packets. The hands
?and clothes of some were smwed
ngith the unmistakable red of blood.
fitheir eyes still glassy with shock.
?'Others begged the police to let them
use the phones to let their families
know where they were.

later. the police photographer and
forensic specialists with briefcase:
were ushered into the coach. The
photographer stood on the plastic
seats taking photos from every angle.
Internal stability unit members
and police officers combed the
coaches. speaking nervously into
their waiide.taikiw tCharlie Tango

Alpha and the three bodies were
arrested and four weapons
were found. " (We have found three bodies
arrested five and found four
weapons.)
The police found a gun here. a
knife there and arrested a total of M
people. Another assumption is that the
police will accompany the train all
the way to Naledi'.
All of this is in the heart of suburban
Mayfair. just to the west of the city
centre. where people are hurrying
home from a long day's work or are
already settled in front of the televi-
sion for the evening.
Minutes later. the television news
sums it up: Four bodies have been
found at Grosvenor station and M
suspects have been pointed out by
passengers and arrested."
winav-
tfn-IQS '

'2 swans DAY,FI-idly (SIIO I97

Lebowa public

servants protest

ADRIAN HADLAND

P.

PBETORIA - SA officials proceed- .

ed with the task of sorting out

Lebowa's accounts yesterday as hundreds of angry public servants gathered outside the government buildings in Lebowakgomo.

- ' The 30-member financial team

was being protected by the SAP's internal stability unit while protests went on outside the complex.

1'. An SA government spokesman said

the task team had made progress

working through the files and accounts of some Lebowa government

departments. "In some departments

the work is almost complete."

' -. The critical factor was the willingness of Lebowa officials to participate in the operation.

; . Fifteen Lebowa officials were dismissed by Regional Affairs Minister Andre Fourie earlier this week for interfering in the clean-up and inhibiting the work of the task team.

This had led to a strike by most of

Lebowa's 74 000 public servants.

.Sapa reports the Lebowa inter-departmental co-ordination forum and

the SA task team reached a provisional agreement yesterday, allowing

the 15 dismissed officials to return unconditionally.

Spokesman Moseamo Sebola said

the public servants would resume

their duties as soon as a confirmation

letter for the return of the dismissed

officials was received from the task

team.

_____.

-Homelands crisis deepens
Gazankulu,
Venda also
in financial
difficulties
M

I IV NORMAN CHANDLER
PRETORIA BUREAU

The financial crisis in the
homelands is deepening.
After revelations of Lebowa's
financial chaos. The Star learnt
yesterday that Gazankulu is
also experiencing financial dif-
ficulties. And in Venda the gov-
ernment is trying to recover
115,5 million in pensions paid in
error to five civil servants.
Gazankulu sources said "des-
perate cost-cutting measures"
were being introduced to save
the homeland from bankruptcy
in the months before the
1994/95 budget allocation is
made:

The Education Department
alone is down R72 million, and
has instructed school principals
to "privatise their schools" and,
if necessary, retrench staff to
reduce the salary
exercises are being followed by
other departments.

At least 2 500 unqualified
teachers stand to lose their jobs
at 'the end of the year, but will
be able to apply for posts in
April.

In Lebowa, meanwhile,
claims of about R60 million
have been received from suppli-
ers to the homeland's govern-
ment. These are being pro-
cessed. '

Plans are also being made for
Regional Affairs Minister Andre
Fourie to meet the Lebowa In-
terdepartmental Action Co.or-
dinating Forum next week to
bill. Similar

DESPERATE cost-
cutting measures are
needed to rescue
homelands - With
shortfalls of millions
- from bankruptcy
discuss grievances.

Yesterday about 60 000 strik-
ing civil servants warned of a
boycott of white businesses in
and around Lebowa ii the crisis
with South African officials was
not speedily resolved. .

They also demanded that 14
dismissed Works Department
employees be reinstated and
. that no white-owned company
which was owed money by the
Lebowa government be paid
until casual workers received
their overdue wages.

A spokesman for the Regional Affairs Department told The Star that hundreds of casual workers would probably be paid soon.

The Venda civil servants I have been ordered to repay the R5.5 million within 21 days or face legal action. They got the money last year as a result of incorrect calculations made when the Venda government _ pension fund was privatised. Letters of demand from the country's Pension Implementation Committee had been sent to them, Venda Public Servants' Coalition Committee chairman Alidzulwi Muvhango said.

.571".

n no I93

WEEKLY MAIL SOUTH AFRICA

Gazankulu teachers face
axing to save R4 1 -million

Only huge cutbacks on
salary bills. literacy
programmes. book

supplies and security y
services can rescue A

Gazankulu's collapsing
education system.

reports Gaye Davis

AZANKULU Intends llrtng

2 500 temporary teachers

at the end of November in a

desperate btd to meet a

budget shortfall of at last R41-mtl-

llon. Thls ls one of a number of dras-

tic cut-backs proposed by the home-

land government's education depart-

ment to see tt through to end of the

nnanetal year.

Prtnclpals summoned to a meeting

at the thanl College of Education on

Monday were told by government om-

clals the actual shortfall was R72-

mllllon. scum said.

Proposed cut-backs spelled out to

the prtnctpals - tneludng the sus-

penslon of ltteracy programmes.

book and secunty servtoes - would

yield R43-mlllton. of whtch R41-mtl-

llon would be used for salaries.

By tlrtnng temporary teachers -

those without dlplornas. who are on

24-hours' nottce - the department

hopw to make a huge saving on Its

salary but for December and January.

Gazankulu's dlrector-general ot'

edumtlon. Strnon Vukela. said those

temporary teachers whose posts

were not filled by newly qualttled

teachers tn the new year would be

able to reapply. The department also

Intends making further savings by

employing new teachers only from

February. although the school yw

starts mld-January. .

Vukela said this week: lR72-mtlllon

takes tnto account the sltuatlon we

would like to be tn. Even tfwe found

R4 1 -mtlllon. It wouldn't be ideal." -

Denying that the crtsts was the

raultofmlsuseoffunds. Vukelasatd

tthadartsmasaraulthoftheSoum

Afrtcan government not paytnng

Gazankulu'a education budget -

pegged at R538-mlllllon; whtch

Include a Gazankulu treasury allo-

mtlon - tn full. He tnslsted there was

no danger of the homeland's edum-

tlon system eotlapstng but satd that if

the shortfall was not met It might not

beabletopaytts 11 000 tmeheers.

me prtndpals' meetlng was one tn

a serteo of "lnt'ormatton smstons' the

department was holding: prtnctpals

had been urged to respond to the

proposals and come up wthh their

own savings Ideas by today.

vmw-

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Other cost-cutting proposals include the immediate suspension of literacy programmes a halt in book deliveries and security services. staggered stationery orders in 1994 and a freeze on the purchase of vehicles for school inspectors.

Gazankulu. meanwhile. on the five colleges of education a total '01 R3.5-million in budget allocations. than College's acting rectorm'. Susan Cohen. said there were enough funds for food and basic maintenance to the end of the year - but 'we don't get money for the next financial year I don't know what we'll do'. Bursaria for first-year students had been withdrawn without prior notice earlier this year and it was unclear what would be done about students who could not pay their fees. she said. As part of the cuts. Gaunkuto's colleges will receive only enough funds to cover the cost of food. It is proposed the staff to pupil ratio to increase from 1:12 to 1:14.

Vukela said that was "some indication of central government would and 'some. but not all' of the money. Perhaps with these measures. there is not much opposition. we may and ourselves coming out square."

But the move is set to pitch the homeland government into a head-on clash with the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadt), which this week gave notice it would oppose any teacher cut-backs.

Sadt general secretary Randall van den Heever said: "The National Education and Training Forum has identified self-governing territories as those where rationalisation must be contemplated. especially largely rural areas such as Gazankulu.

Representative Wendy Maymela criticised the Gazankulu government for not first consulting the union.

"Principals are part of management - they do not represent teachers;

"They say the bantustan is bankrupt. but they recently bought new BMW Seven Series for mobile phones and are now talking about buying Toyota Camrys for other MP3. so to us. they have money."

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 SHE WEEKLY MAIL a GUARDIAN
 number 15 n2: 1993
 WEEKLY MAIL/ SOUTH AFRICA 7
 quzo suspends himself pending trial
 Ciskei 3 military ruler has
 handed over power to a deputy
 and is taking a 'long holiday.
 reports Andrew Trench
 1st military ruler Brigadier Cops
 qu0 has effectively abdicated power
 in his homeland. Sources close to the
 Ciskei government say quzo has
 informally "suspended" himself and now
 spends most of his time on his farm. Black-
 lands. near the homeland capital. Bisho. This
 has been six weeks.
 The only time quzo emerges is on a
 1st platform. For example. he attended
 this week's Freedom Alliance meeting with
 State President W de Klerk in Cape Town and
 the Freedom Alliance premises in Pretoria.
 ' quzo's absence is confirmed by a senior
 Smith African government source who said the
 1st ruler had taken a long holiday'.
 The source said
 'make a formal announcement last week that
 1 his deputy. Colonel Silence Pita. would be run-
 ning the homeland in his absence. The state-
 ment did not materialise.
 The formation of the Freedom Alliance in
 which quzo participates appears to have
 stopped the announcement: it is important for
 the brigadier to be seen as the current head of
 state for him to hold any sway within the
 alliance.
 quzo's "rat" appears to be motivated by his
 pending murder trial. set to start on November
 9. He has been charged with the murder of
 homeland rebel General Charles Sebe.
 It is understood he is anxious for the trial to
 be completed while Ciskei still exists and the
 state is bankrolling his defence.
 However. there has also been pressure from
 within the government for the controver-
 sial and highly inept brigadier to stand aside in
 the months leading up to April's elections.
 it is likely the military pressure on quzo
 has also played its role in the development.
 Recent months have seen simmering tensions
 in military ranks break into the open more
 than 1 month earlier than expected.
 -, to step aside.
 Homeland authority is now vested in Pita.
 the only remaining member of the brigadier's
 original military council which came to power
 in March 1990.
 Pita. the sources say. is more moderate and
 pragmatic than the brigadier and is seen to be
 interested in keeping the homeland on an even
 keel until next year's elections and Ciskei's
 reincorporation.
 Under Pita's guidance, Ciskei's Council of
 Ministers is said to be operating effectively for
 the first time in months.
 Furthermore. Pita is well regarded by home-
 land soldiers who have indicated increasing
 dissent over quzo's reluctance to the Transi-

tional Executive Council (TEC) - a stand which imperiis their future as part of a new national defence force. quzo reportedly no longer attends security council meetings. allowing the security forms to do their jobs without fair of poiitiml pressure.

Pita is this week attending a military conference in Europe. The Minister of Education. Petros Jacobs. has stepped into his place while he is away. the sources say.

Ciskei's constitution allows for ano to designateadeputychairmanoitheommdioi's state WIMA'Ne

ugh should he be unable to fulnll the task. lfhis seat is permanently vacated. members of the council of state can appoint a chairman from within the council.

it appears quzo has followed the former path rather than the latter. quo is contident oi Pita's loyalty. Appointing Pita also leaves the door open for quzo to return to running the homeland if possible.

oweever. despite quzo's tsuspension'. he still taken controversial decisions like withdrawing Ciskei from the multiparty talks and joining the heedom Alliance. Top oilicials were shocked by the decision and say they were not consulted on the move.

The South African government source says there are indimtions the TEC iinance sub-corn-nittee could be used in the next few months to apply pressure. should quzo remain political-ly obdurate.

The source points out that 84 percent of Ciskei' 3 budget is provided by South Africa in quarterly portiOns and could easily be held back ifopposition to the TEC continues.

The Ciskei government did not reggond to inquiries this week.- Ecna

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Economist expects tax
hikes in next Budget

CAPE TOWN - More tax hikes were likely to be announced in next years Budget because of the-need to increase government revenue and contain the deficit, Syfrets economist Elmien de Rock said in its Economic Review. The economy was only just emerging a from a long recession lasting Itsuccessive - quarters and was still a long way from 1 producing the kind of growth necessary to . generate sustained tax revenues. . De Kock said fixed investment and con- . sumer spending were showing no signs of an upswing yet, but there were tentative signs of a bottoming out. However, economic growth remained sluggish and only a mild turnaround could be expected next year.

"The recovery is expected to be weak until there is more certainty on the political front," he said. "Downward pressure on real disposable income will constrain private consumption spending until well into 1994. Considering the exceptionally weak state of the labour market, it is appropriate to forecast only a small increase in consumer spending next year."

De Kock believed that while fixed investment spending should show positive growth next year, improvements in private sector manufacturing capacity would be isolated rather than across the board. Projects such as Alusaf, Columbus and the LINDA ENSOII

Genref refining plant, in conjunction with higher public capital spending, would contribute to growth in fixed investment. The level of foreign exchange reserves was limiting the scope for a Bank rate cut. - Short-term capital outflows of R5,2bn were recorded in the first half of the year, compared with the total outflow of R4,7bn last year.

However, an improvement was forecast on the balance of payments and this might allow another percentage point cut in Bank rate by year-end. De Kock expected further mild downward pressure on short-term rates next year.

He believed the fundamentals for the capital market remained positive, with medium-dated paper still offering the best risk-adjusted returns. An inflation rate of 7%-11% was forecast for next year.

The stock market remained relatively expensive and vulnerable to political or economic disappointments and unexpected gold price weakness.

The pullback in mining shares was an . opportunity to selectively raise exposure in this area without speculating on a rebound in the gold price. Commodity prices were expected to show some improvement up until December next year.

Industrial and financial shares still showed little or no signs of an upturn. Interest rates rise forecast next year THE balance of payments position could .continue to be a major constraint on eco-

economic development in 1994, with a rise in interest rates likely next year, the Bank of 4 Lisbon International said in its latest issue of Economic Focus.

"The SA economy could be ill equipped to cope with any recovery in the economy in 1994, which could accordingly prove to be short-lived."

. It said if Rlbn a month in gross capital flowed out of the country, and the surplus on the capital account began to dwindle on the back of a pickup in the domestic economy, the BoP situation would weaken fQuickly.

KELVIN BROWN

The scenario for next year was not promising. By the end of 1994 the rand could be under further pressure with domestic interest rates rising.

The level of imports was already higher than expected after such a long recession. Even a moderate economic recovery at this stage could lead to a surge in imports. A 7% increase of the annual import bill of mom would wipe out the Rsb current account surplus for 1993 in one year, if it was not accompanied by a similar increase in exports. SA could not be complacent about even the short-term prospects for the current account. BOP:

Economic growth
strategy tessentiall
MARIAN"! MEET!"

LAND transfei's were only the beginning of rural devel-
opment and should be made part of a clearly articulated
economic growth strategy, a World Bank report said.

The Options for Land Reform and Rural Restructuring
in SA report - published last week - will be discussed
today at the Land Redistribution Options conference in
Johannesburg by academics, economists and representa-
tives of all major political parties.

The goal of any redistribution programme should be
the political, social and economic enfranchlsement of
disadvantaged people, the report said.

Further liberalisation of agricultural pricing and mar-
keting policies was necessary to achieve greater agricul-
tural efficiency. This would support low food prices and
employment-intensive economic development.

In the past, distorted agricultural incentives had re-
sulted in resource mlsallocation, large public sector
expenditure and environmental degradation.

Novice farmers should receive the necessary re-
sources to gain access to land and agricultural training,
the report said. A wider range of farm sizes than the
current predominant division between white commer-
cial and black subsistence farmers would also encourage
"greater efficiency and equity in the rural economy".
A pilot study found that after land had been redistrib-
uted to part-time farmers and small rural enterprises,
employment and income in those rural areas had in-
creased substantially. This had malted in a ripple effect,
creating non-fanning related jobs.

Sapa reports from Durban that more than mom of
land is to be returned to black landowners at Ruigtefon-
tein near Wasbank in the Natal Midlands.

In a deal between government and the local commnn- a
ity, the farm will be divided among 100 families to
compensate them for land expropriated about 20 years
ago. The Regional and Land Affairs Mlnistry has con-
firmed the community will be helped to buy the land.
Government funding will mount to 80% of the purchase
pnce. -

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