

## Apartheid laws under scrutiny

# FW accepts a common voters roll

STAR 20 APRIL 1990

Cape Town

President de Klerk told Parliament yesterday that he accepted the idea of a common voters roll for all races as part of a new constitution subject to protective measures for minorities being built into the system.

In a major speech, he also promised to replace the Group Areas Act with a "generally acceptable" non-discriminatory measure — possibly next year.

Speaking during the debate on his vote, Mr de Klerk spelt out Government plans to scrap or change other apartheid laws: Land Act, Population Registration Act, and Separate Amenities Act.

He said there would never be complete peace as long as there was statutory discrimination.

Further protest against "these discriminatory acts" was unnecessary.

The laws as they stood were "part of the old South Africa. All of us have to build the new South Africa".

In one of the most significant constitutional developments, Mr de Klerk said that uni-

versal franchise on a common voters roll was acceptable to the Government — as long as protective measures for minorities were also built in, possibly through other separate voters rolls.

In other announcements:

- He committed the National Party to forming alliances with other parties, and said those which had opposed one another would have to join forces on matters they agreed on.

- He made it clear that any new constitution emerging from negotiations would be put to the test of the white electorate specifically, either in a referendum or an election.

- The National Party would soon produce a comprehensive statement of "principles, aims and fundamental points of departure", which could serve as a basis for negotiating constitutional models through consensus. On the crucial franchise question, the Government envisaged more than one voters roll — but this did not exclude a common voters roll as well.

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

Political observers said Mr de Klerk was apparently referring to a bicameral legislature with voting on a common roll for one House, and voting on separate rolls for a second House where minorities were represented.

Mr de Klerk said a common voters roll in a constitutional system based on the winner-takes-all approach was not acceptable to the National Party.

It did not provide adequate protection for minorities, nor for the cultural, religious and language differences of South Africans.

However, universal franchise on a common voters roll with built-in protection for minorities, possibly through other differentiated voters rolls, was "a possibility".

These protective measures to prevent domination included decentralisation of power, devolution of authority, constitutional checks and balances, decision-making by consensus, and an independent judiciary.

### To be replaced

Responding to calls during the debate for a statement of intent on remaining apartheid laws, Mr de Klerk said that the Group Areas Act would be replaced with "generally acceptable" non-discriminatory measures.

The Government was already working hard on these measures and he trusted that it would produce "firm proposals" soon.

The possibility could not be ruled out that legislation would be submitted to Parliament next year. The Free Settlement Areas Act would continue to be applied.

The new measures would have to be generally accepted, and this meant all three Houses would have to approve them. This could happen only if the new measures did not introduce any new discrimination.

The new measures would "ensure a general pattern of residential areas in a non-discriminatory manner which will be generally acceptable".

They would have to:

- Give communities peace of mind with regard to their wishes and ideals, on a fair and just basis.
- Protect communities against financial exploitation.
- Ensure civilised norms and standards.

Mr de Klerk said the problem of the Land Act was similar to that of the Group Areas Act, as both dealt with land ownership.

However there were also constitutional implications.

Any land reforms would have to take into account the principle of free enterprise, security of tenure, and vested property rights.

Any negotiations about these laws would therefore have to be part of the constitutional negotiating process. But progress could be made before there was a new constitution.

Mr de Klerk said that the Population Registration Act was an inseparable part of the present constitution and the Electoral Act.

It would therefore have to be amended during negotiations for a new constitution.



# What are Whites Citizen 20 April 1990 supposed to do?

I refer to your editorial "Don't Arm" (9/4/90) wherein you state that "predictably" there is a growing White backlash to the National Party's policies.

Would any nation on earth be expected to sit back and watch their country disintegrate into almost anarchy before their eyes? For that is what is happening in South Africa.

For years now CP supporters have watched the devious NP "turn a blind eye" to the infringements of the Group Areas Act. For years legal residents have tried to get action taken against offenders, only to be told that police hands "were tied".

Christmas after Christmas Durbanites have watched their beaches and surrounds turned into one wanton Third World party, with the police doing nothing.

The CP has listened to hundreds of complaints about squatting and how the police "can do nothing about it". We have seen copies of telegrams from top police officers telling their subordinates not to arrest infringers of various laws; we have

seen the results of the abolition of the pass laws as crime has increased to staggering proportions.

We have watched the debilitation of our police force as hundreds leave every month for more remunerative climes; we know that the comrades control the townships, no matter what Mr Vlok says.

We are surrounded by violence and a sense that law and order as South Africa knew it is collapsing. Highwaymen stop cars and kill their owners; banks are robbed everyday; necklacing has recommenced.

Ordinary Blacks are being terrorised into supporting the ANC, which is now sitting at the negotiating table with the man and the party in whom so many Whites put their trust before 6 September.

There are stories that the commandos are being disarmed (remember the hapless Whites of Angola who were forced to turn in their guns?); that a plan exists to hand the country over at the end of 1991. Capital is fleeing the country, and so are many of our people.

What are Whites supposed to do? Go like lambs to the slaughter? For your information, the CP's policy is not to "control the country forever" as you put it. The CP demands self-determination for the Whites; other groups must simply look after themselves, educate themselves, feed themselves. It is disinformation to talk of the CP's policy as "White rule".

While the ANC and its military wing set up offices all over the country, ordinary Whites have decided to defend themselves. If the ANC is allowed a military wing, what about a military wing for everyone else?

**MRS G DERBY-LEWIS**  
Krugersdorp

## Fatalistic folk

THIS is an amazing country. Ghastly violence takes place, especially in Natal; the young Comrades are a law unto themselves; the ANC acts as if it is already the government-in-waiting; the government makes concessions to the ANC without getting anything in return; the Right fulminates and threatens counter violence; and businessmen either sit on the fence or try to smoothe their marble with the ANC.

Yet with all the doom and gloom and dire forebodings the ordinary folk act as if this dire tomorrow will never come.

Life goes on as usual, most people adopting a fatalistic approach on the lines of that old song, What will be will be.

But what will be is so grim — ANC government, nationalisation, White resistance — that they should be doing everything they can to force the government to end its mad rush to disaster.

Where are the White marches, petitions, stayaways, fury to match those of the Blacks? Where indeed?

**WAKE UP**

Germiston



# Mozambique heads for big political changes

By Iain Christie

MAPUTO. — Mozambique is tiptoeing gently into the world of party politics.

The process began with a well-publicised speech in January when President Joaquim Chissano invited his people to express their views on the government's proposal for a revised constitution containing fundamental democratic reforms.

Public debate began in residential areas and workplaces in late March. Views expressed at these meetings are to be channelled through local and national commissions to members of parliament who are scheduled to vote on the revised constitution in July.

The proposed constitution could change the face of Mozambican politics.

It removes all references to the leading role of the Frelimo party, which has ruled the country since independence from Portugal in 1975.

## Other changes

Frelimo, a nationalist guerrilla movement before independence, re-styled itself a Marxist-Leninist party in 1977, but dropped the description at a party congress last July.

The proposed constitution contains other radical changes.

The president of Frelimo would no longer automatically become the head of state. Candidates

for parliament or the presidency of the republic would not have to be Frelimo members and would be elected by universal suffrage in a secret ballot.

The president would serve a maximum of three five-year terms and freedom of expression and the right to strike would be guaranteed.

The question of whether or not Mozambique should become a multi-party state is not directly addressed in the proposed new constitution.

But President Chissano has made it clear in interviews that he expects this to be a topic in the public debate now under way.

The draft constitution itself says that "all citizens shall enjoy freedom of expression, of assembly and of association."

Other sections note that "social organisations" will play an important role in the promotion of democracy and "will have the right to pursue their aims, to create institutions designed to achieve their specific objectives, and to hold property for carrying out their activities".

The first voices raised in support of a multi-party system have come from curious quarters.

At a meeting of security service officers in the town of Quelimane, a participant asked: "Why social organisations? Why not political parties?"

## Existing order

Some, however, have



PRESIDENT JOAQUIM CHISSANO... invites his people to express their views

spoken in favour of the existing order.

One speaker defended the idea of "just one party for one nation" at a public meeting in Maputo last week and another argued that this was not the time to abolish Frelimo's leading role.

Still, the debate is heady stuff for a generation brought up on the slogan "Frelimo is the only guide of the Mozambican people".

Mr Chissano has spoken of the pros and cons of both single and multi-party systems. He has even mentioned the

possibility that Frelimo might split into different parties.

"There are some (party members) who want to go more to the left, there are some who want to go more to the right, and some who want to go more to the centre. So this may happen in the future," he said last month.

Does Pres Chissano himself support a multi-party system? He explains: "Many of us think that it might be good but it is not yet time... Just to apply it, especially if we apply it as a copy of what

is happening elsewhere, that would be very bad."

Pres Chissano insists his government's political reforms owe nothing to events in Eastern Europe.

"We started before they did," he said in a recent interview, referring to policy changes in Mozambique that began with the fourth congress of the ruling Frelimo party in 1983.

Government officials here have expressed concern that party divisions might appear along tribal or regional lines, wrecking efforts over many years by Frelimo to build national unity.

But there are already some indications that the battle lines might be drawn elsewhere.

## Land ownership

Last Friday state-run Radio Mozambique reported what could be the first shot in the real battle over constitutional change, with land ownership becoming the focus of attention in the debate.

At a meeting in Chokwe, a farming town in the Limpopo valley, the rice-bowl of the nation, someone had spotted article 12 of the draft constitution.

The article would allow the state to hand over land to "individual persons or collective entities", who would then have full rights of ownership.

This stands in stark contrast to the present constitution under which all land belongs to the state, with the proviso that titles for the use of land may be granted for up to 50 years.

SEE PG 2



# MOZAMBIQUE HEADS FOR BIG POLITICAL CHANGES

FROM PG 1

The meeting voted unanimously for a motion demanding that all land should remain in the hands of the state and that none of it should pass into private ownership.

The only organised opposition to Frelimo at present is the Mozambican National Resistance (also known as Renamo), group which has been fighting the Maputo government since independence, much of the time with support from the white governments in what was then Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe, and South Africa.

Pres Chissano said last year that the State President, Mr F.W. de Klerk had assured him that Pretoria was not backing the MNR. Mr De Klerk called on the rebels to end violence.

Pres Chissano has grasped the opportunity by offering the MNR negotiations to end the conflict although haggling over a venue continues.

At present, the MNR is playing no part in the constitutional debate, despite Pres Chissano's repeated invitations. "We are giving them this offer . . . if they came now they would influence the debate," he said recently. — Sapa-Reuter.



16/1/11

W. Mail 20/1/90

# A quick admission defuses ANC torture claims

THE prompt admission by the African National Congress that some of its members had been tortured after a mutiny six years ago has helped defuse a potentially explosive situation for the movement.

Less than a week after seven former members broke their story of detention and torture to the *Sunday Correspondent*, ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela confirmed the truth of their account at a press conference.

"Unfortunately it is true that some of these people who were complaining were in fact tortured." He added that the ANC was against torture and that the movement had dismissed those responsible for these acts after an investigation.

Since then, international reaction

and local press response has been muted. Some have congratulated the movement for the frankness of its admission.

Referring to attempts by "National Party mouthpieces" to compromise Nelson Mandela with the torture story, *Business Day* hit back strongly in Tuesday's editorial: "The best retort is that Mandela was in prison when the atrocities occurred, and in admitting the truth he has acted more forthrightly and more honestly than the South African government in dealing with the atrocious activities of the murder squads which operated while the National Party leaders were certainly not in jail."

The previous day *The Citizen* ran an editorial which began gleefully:

**The claims of torture made by Umkhonto weSizwe mutineers could have been a major embarrassment for the ANC. But it moved quickly to defuse the situation. By GAVIN EVANS**

"What an embarrassment for the African National Congress!"

But the issue has been less devastating for the movement than some might have expected, and its effect does not appear to be comparable to that of the "Swapo atrocities" story which broke last year.

First, unlike Swapo, the ANC moved quickly to admit the allegations.

Second, the events took place sev-

eral years ago and according to all reports on a far smaller scale than the Swapo incidents.

Third, the ANC says that since the incidents the Mbokodo, the Umkhonto weSizwe unit responsible, has been disbanded, the officers responsible have been disciplined and a code of conduct banning torture and physical coercion under all circumstances has been introduced.

Shortly after Mandela's press conference, ANC National Executive Committee member Steve Tshwete said it was not ANC policy to torture its prisoners, that there had been "excesses" during the interrogation of the mutineers, and that those responsible for the torture had been "properly dealt with".

He added that the ANC code of conduct now laid down rules about how people detained should be treated.

Surprisingly, *The Star* ran the story with the headline "ANC man justifies the torture of mutineers" while the Sowetan announced: "Torture is justified says ANC".

But what Tshwete had been justifying was the suppression of the mutiny. "No army can play with mutineers," he said.

According to reports from Nairobi, Kenya, the seven former detainees have sent a letter appealing to Nelson Mandela to assist them in their application to be repatriated to South Africa. The ANC has made no attempt to oppose their plea.



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# Sayco will merge with ANC for new Youth League

PHIL MOLEFE reports on the first above-ground Sayco congress

THE defunct Youth League of the African National Congress, founded in 1944, is to be reconstituted. The South African Youth Congress, at its first open national congress, voted to begin the process of amalgamation with the African National Congress youth section, presently based in Lusaka.

The congress was held at Kanyamazane, near Nelspruit, last weekend. It was resolved to merge Sayco with the ANC youth section to re-establish the movement's Youth League by April 1991.

Peter Mokaba, who was re-elected president at the three-day congress, said the Central Executive Committee has been mandated by congress to consult with the ANC youth section with a view to "relaunch the defunct Youth League" inside the country on April 6 next year. "The unbanning of the ANC has made it important that we consider merging with the movement's youth section in order to have one strong Youth League," said Mokaba.

He said there would be feasibility studies, workshops and discussions in various regions and this information would be conveyed to the youth section.

One major issue which is likely to come up between Sayco and the ANC Youth Section is the age limit for membership. While the ANC has ruled that membership for the Youth League should be from 12 to 30 years of age, Sayco has recommended that it should be from 14 to 35.

Most of the Sayco leadership is above the ANC's age limit and it is expected that a compromise would have to be reached to accommodate older activists.

Mokaba said practical conditions on the ground had shown that some people just above 30 years were still suitably placed in youth congresses.

The congress, which was attended by 1 762 delegates representing youth congresses from 11 regions, also adopted the ANC Harare Declaration as "the guiding principle towards the creation of a non-racial and democratic South Africa".

The congress called upon the government to clear away obstacles to negotiations. The delegates said Sayco was concerned about the continuing police violence against peaceful demonstrators, as in Sebokeng three weeks ago.

ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela, who addressed the Sayco congress, told delegates that the ANC will "not allow a situation where the



Nelson Mandela greets a well-wisher on his arrival, with his wife Winnie, at the South African Youth Congress conference held near Nelspruit last weekend

Picture: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afrapix

government talks about negotiations and peace and at the same time conduct war against our people".

"If President FW De Klerk continues with arming the police, when the police are shooting the people, when rightwingers defiantly march around armed and shooting the people, then negotiations in this country have no future whatsoever," he said.

Mandela said negotiations are a "continuation of the struggle". Mokaba said the congress had no reservation about negotiations and saw them as one process that could lead to freedom.

"The implementation of one method should not exclude other methods. When the ANC adopted armed struggle we did not say it should abandon mass struggle. Our position is clear that we will always opt for the shortest route possible to freedom."

On the Natal violence, the congress resolved to endorse Mandela's call for a peace conference of all organisations opposed to "apartheid violence".

Mokaba said it was urgent to address the violence in Natal and other parts of the country. Such a conference, he said, would "focus on violence in Natal and inter-organisational violence in order to promote political tolerance."

He launched a bitter attack on KwaZulu chief minister and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, saying Buthelezi would not be invited to participate at the conference. He said the conference, to be called "Peace among the People" will "firstly define Buthelezi as the problem" in the trouble-torn

area. He said isolating Buthelezi does not mean "we have declared Inkatha or its members as the enemy".

"We recognise the fact that Inkatha members are part of the oppressed and we need to separate them from Gatsha and the warlords."

The congress called on the youth to play a central role in the building of

ANC structures inside the country.

Sayco reaffirmed its support for the back-to-school campaign and called upon the government to address the demands of the people on education.

A call was also made for the international community to intensify sanctions against the government.





We want more ... Mandela's been released but the crowd at Wembley wants South Africa freed too

Viva ... comedian Lenny Henry (left) and actor Denzil Washington

Pictures: ANDY CLARK, Reuter

# Politics ... and pop singing in the rain

IF it hadn't been for the rain and freezing cold, this might have felt a bit more like the remarkable event that it was, even before Mandela's own rousing, emotional appearance. Pop music didn't free Mandela, but it certainly played an honourable part in the process. It's impossible to judge the effect of the last mass-scale Mandela show in the same stadium two years ago, just as it's impossible to judge the effect of all those Mandela songs.

But here, at last, was Mandela free and in person, and the fact that he should choose to address a British pop crowd before he addressed British politicians showed that he, at least, thought the musical campaigns had been important. That made up for the bitching, disputes and finally the miserable weather that somewhat marred Monday's historic show until the elderly man in grey slacks managed to outshine all the other superstar performers.

Subjected to both the traditional pains of a British bank holiday and a show that never quite had the musical spark of the 1988 concert, Mandela treated the event as if it were only natural for a man who has spent years in prison to act as headliner in a wildly varied display of pop politics, showbiz and commercial-

**The Mandela concert at London's Wembley stadium, held in the rain and freezing cold, was a mixture of politics, pop music and commercialism. ROBIN DENSLOW looks at the music that helped release Mandela, while, below, DAVID BERESFORD checks out the merchandise industry Mandela helped release**

ism.

He came on, after a burst of rap, a traditional big stadium welcome of thousands of matches and cigarette lighters glowing in the darkness, and an introduction by the purple-clad Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, and quietly turned what had been a solid but often unremarkable pop show into a pop-political event where the words were far more powerful than the music.

He played Wembley perfectly. His powerfully low-key performance at an event like this may have seemed remarkable by British political standards, but this extraordinary political

rally did have some links with the musical protests in South Africa back in the 1950s, in the days before the African National Congress was banned. Nathan Mdllele was part of the Manhattan Brothers, the South African answer to the O'Jays, in the 1940s and 1950s and two of the original lineup were featured in one of the two South African sections of the show that Mandela, if not the Wembley crowd, would have found familiar.

Mdllele and Joseph Mogogsi stayed on in Britain after arriving here with the South African musical *King Kong* in the late 1950s, and their reunion with other exiles was one unexpected high point. The set ended with a suitably emotional Jerry Dammers leading the exiles through a spirited version of the song he wrote, *Free Nelson Mandela*, which he described as "now a part of history" but still valid "because he is not fully free yet because he can't vote in his own country".

The exiles' section was put together by Cai-phus Semanya, who was also responsible for a second set that brought in trombonist Jonas Gwangwa and was a reminder of the sophisticated jazz scene that existed in South Africa before Mandela was jailed. It was smooth, pleas-

antly low-key stuff, but this section badly needed the fire of Hugh Masekela's trumpet work. Masekela, after all the controversy and rumour, didn't turn up.

There was an unexpected and welcome appearance by Johnny Clegg and several members of Savuka, who appeared with Jackson Browne. Backed by just a couple of acoustic guitars, they switched between traditional Zulu songs, Clegg's political songs, like *One Man One Vote*, and Browne's more laid-back Californian pop in a section that was both low-key and gently powerful.

Clegg and Browne were among those who appeared at the front of the stage while the big bands were still setting up behind, and in many ways these low-key spots were the best parts of the show. Neil Young gave a brief but powerful solo set, prowling the stage as he bashed out *Rockin' in the Free World*, while the ever-cool Lou Reed mysteriously introduced ecology into the proceedings with *The Great American Whale*.

Then there were the setpiece sections where one man provided the backing for a whole series of artists. George Duke provided the setting for Bonnie Raitt, Anita Baker and Natalie Cole, who were solid but predictable, especially when joining on *Blowing in the Wind*.

Rather better, at the very start, was the set from Daniel Lanois band, largely because the laid-back Lanois was joined by those glorious exponents of New Orleans rhythm and blues, the Neville Brothers, whose version of Sam Cooke's *A Change is Gonna Come* summed up the mood of the show. Even Tracy Chapman, the star of the last Mandela concert, sounded dull when she followed them, though she had her moment of real triumph later on, appearing solo, directly after Mandela, to sing *Talkin' 'Bout a Revolution*. But by now, thanks to the man himself, the whole mood of the show had changed for the final selection by those anti-apartheid veterans Simple Minds and Peter Gabriel, who was joined once again by Youssou N'Dour. Gabriel ended with a chilling version of *Biko*, with the rest of the cast joining in the chanting finale. Powerful stuff, but by now the crowd were drifting away.

The real star had been and gone. — The Guardian, London

## And the crowd snapped up all of Mandela

"BLOW a whistle for freedom," shouted the black cockney, brandishing a handful of silver whistles with lanyards in the green-black-and-gold colours of the African National Congress. "Buy an ANC flag," called out another, waving one on the end of a popsicle stick.

At the bottom of the Wembley stadium causeway, two brothers in dark spectacles — one holding a pair of bongo drums, the other protectively clutching a shopping bag full of T-shirts — were involved in a heated argument with a skinhead in a leather bomber jacket, filling in a "seizure order".

"We're breaking copyright?" one brother demanded.

"Yeah."

"By using Mandela's name?"

"Yeah. It's part of British law."

"You're saying Mandela's name is copyrighted?"

"Well, yeah. Look, obviously they've come to some sort of agreement. I mean, I'm not a lawyer."

"Listen, man, I'm only doing a job" ... "we work for the official merchandisers" ... "ignorance is no excuse."

The babble of indignant voices in the debate between free enterprise and vested interest was lost in the swirling crowd hurrying to see The Man, to hear the living legend.

Hours later and all the squabbles over merchandising, commercial exploitation, and the politics of rock were lost in the blast of the mega-speakers towering over that hallowed turf.

Mandela spoke with his usual delicacy and power. "Thank you that you chose to care, because you could have decided otherwise. Thank you that you elected not to forget, because our fate could have been a passing con-

cern ... even through the thickness of the prison walls at Robben Island, Pollsmoor, Pretoria, Kroonstad, Diepkloof and elsewhere, we heard your voices demanding our freedom."

In the little more than two months that Mandela has been a free man, the point has been repeatedly demonstrated to Pretoria of the foolishness of South African politicians who forged such a powerful weapon for their perceived enemies to use by the incarceration of Mandela.

With last night's Wembley concert, the lesson was hammered home once again with devastating effect. It was an extraordinary reversal for a man who for more than a quarter of a century could be heard only by his jailers and the occasional VIP of the "right" political hue.

Apart from some 72 000 who braved the rain and cold to see him, his image was beamed to



**P**RESIDENT F W de Klerk's famous speech on February 2 delighted me. My sense of humanitarian indignation was at last assuaged. Now, but a few weeks later, I'm beset by a nagging anxiety about our country.

Maintaining one's principled indignation is a simple task when the world changes little. Now that the next era stands stark before us, there's no alternative but to face the ugly realities of the new politics.

The most distinct possibility is that within a few years we'll exchange one monolithic central government for another. Supplant one nationalism with another, one which will doubtlessly perpetrate a further series of arbitrary actions made kosher by the appellation "democratic".

As the Afrikaner protected his own, so will the black African. The public service will become an even larger sponge mopping up the poorly educated unemployed. Once ensconced, bureaucrats will have to find something to do; using their limited capacities, they'll create new systems, new rules, new regulations. It will take three years to obtain a driver's licence.

**G**iven the urgent need to develop the black sector, so criminally neglected, funds hitherto flowing to maintain white privilege will be severely limited. The ANC may well honour its principles of non-racism but the inevitable shift in power and resource allocation will cause many of us to feel even more like bywoners.

While the rest of the world shakes off the excesses of totalitarian socialism, our new government, unduly influenced by a powerful labour movement, will continue to be seduced by its unrealised possibilities. I believe we'll hear a great deal of, "Yes, well, they didn't do it right in Hungary. We shall be more effective." It will be a variation on the ugly sisters trying to force their feet into the glass slipper. Hope in all its forms is an unquenchable human condition.

I believe that the stated goal of

# Now fears for the **BUSINESS DAY** future begin to 20 APRIL 1990 disperse the hopes

MIKE ALFRED

nationalisation is seriously offered. Its proponents, the leaders of the black trade union movement, have amassed considerable clout these 10 years past. I fear they mistakenly equate power with business acumen.

The populace at large will suffer the creation of a political economy of state control. The reasoning is seductive: whence comes the money for reconstruction if the state may not play businessman and banker?

The ideologues haven't twigged that business really isn't about making money; rather it's the single most significant opportunity arena in which ordinary people can create meaning from life's mystery. Excise that chance and state-initiated dehumanisation wins another victory.

They also haven't acknowledged that business is willing to pay for reconstruction voluntarily. The private sector disbursed R600m on social investment spending in 1989 and intends spending R800m this year.

Business, while conservative, is not stupid. While not democratic, while having been grossly exploitative of labour in the past, it is highly pragmatic, non-ideological and can move and adapt far faster than any state institution.

But of course, this will all have to be learned by our new masters. My words won't help. Maybe several

generations will develop and fade before a state-run economy will cyclically succumb to normal human cussedness. By then its well-meaning proponents will be interred in heroes' mausoleums and our well-educated children will be seeking their own idealistic solutions to right the mistakes of the past, instead of letting well alone.

And what of our present masters, those sly devils smelling so strongly of roses? Soon they'll be able to ascribe the problems they spent so much talent, time and our money creating on a bumbling black government. (The ANC would be smart to insist on a lengthy interregnum of joint responsibility.) Moreover, a black government of their making and choice. Talk about nepotism!

**S**eldom has a political figure been as completely created by his opponents as ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela. Seldom has so much total onslaught been directed at creating a hothouse in which the opposition has so thrived.

Once again, the Nats, showing their incomparable political acumen, have made a unilateral choice, this time designating a favoured child. An infant with no tangible poli-

tical organisation, with no measurable constituency. As a political party the ANC has much to accomplish.

The other children, who by implication have been rejected, are beginning to resent the game being played without them. So down we go into anarchy and confusion, using the cannon-fodder created by the iniquities of apartheid and the remnants of tribalism. The horrible, headline-grabbing Natal violence will afford both the Nats and the ANC the chance to punt the necessity for strong central government, law and order and other rhubarb.

While the heroics of politics occupy the front pages, AIDS picks its stealthy way among us. Domestic crime, also fuelled by apartheid's injustices, is a greater problem for ordinary citizens than political unrest. Facing mobs sharpens the brutalities and blunts the effectiveness of our police force, opening doors for white vigilantes playing a dangerous game of their own. We'll see the virtuous and oh-so-reasonable-sounding right venturing ever further, seeking people to bully and kill in self-defence.

For me potential tragedy lies in politicians perceiving themselves as saviours, such self-assessment carrying with it the aura of arrogant omnipotence. Strong on power needs,

low on intellect, conceptualisation and sensitivity, the universe of politics hasn't been assailed by a new thought for 150 years.

Alas, politicians are the gods who'll engineer our socio-economic reconstruction — the perfect beings who believe they hold the monopoly on correct methods. Methods grounded in outmoded, ineffective ideologies, the defence of which becomes the main task rather than the seeking of optimum solutions.

Socio-economic development should be apolitical. All should share in it, thus creating a cornerstone of true democracy. The priorities in socio-economic development should be based *ab initio* on problem definition, and then managed by goal-setting and strategy formulation rather than being predetermined by some restrictive "ism".

Yes, I espouse managerial rather than political methods.

**S**ocial reconstruction should be managed by teams chosen from society at large: multiracial, multidisciplinary, multi-party. Their plans should be made public. Only after wide debate and approval should projects begin.

Teams should be disbanded once they have completed their task, lest they begin to relish the perks of power.

My hopes are mixed. On balance I suppose that as a relatively privileged member of society I shall suffer relatively less in the equalisation process unless my livelihood and assets are wrested from me. After the initial white-heat of political and social adjustment, I foresee a more relaxed, less aggressive, less racist society in which we'll have to find our satisfactions in less materialistic ways.

My greatest hope is but an unrealistic dream: That for 10 years there'll be a moratorium on party or race politics; that a council of wise leaders committed to the common good will be chosen from all sections of our society, to set SA well on the path of pragmatic adaptation and development.

□ Mike Alfred is publisher of The Manpower Brief.



# The Star

## Eyes averted from Natal

WHILE President de Klerk is to be commended for appointing a commission of inquiry into the shootings at Sebokeng, it is regrettable that he should continue to hold out against a similar investigation into the violence in Natal.

To be sure, the Sebokeng incident can be circumscribed — as Mr de Klerk suggests — whereas the Natal conflict is wide-ranging and continuing. Yet one reason why the violence has reached its present pitch is because the State, over several years, has persistently misread, misunderstood or turned a blind eye to the underlying causes of the conflict.

Under the uncomprehending gaze of the ministries of Law and Order and of Justice, social structures in the townships and rural areas have fallen to pieces, the courts have been ignored by vengeance-seekers and the writ of warlords and petty chieftains permitted to prevail over the forces of law.

When the police have intervened, they have done so in a manner perceived to favour one party to the conflict, thereby helping to bring about the collapse of confidence in civil authority that is manifesting itself throughout Natal.

A commission of inquiry, ap-

pointed when first called for in the early stages of the conflict, would have identified many of the administrative shortcomings which cry out for remedy today.

In his thoughtful series in The Star this week, political researcher Matthew Kentridge has identified three steps which would help to reduce the level of violence in Natal considerably: vigorous and independent policing; a strengthening of the authority of local organisations embroiled in the conflict; and an imaginative socio-economic development plan.

To these we would add a fourth: a wholehearted effort — by means of special courts, streamlined legal procedures and measures to protect witnesses of violent crime — to re-establish the rule of law in Natal. A failure to employ these methods up to now has contributed to the current climate of disorder.

If the Government is disinclined to submit itself to judicial scrutiny, it should move decisively to restore the authority of the law in Natal. Without order under the law, negotiations or peace talks between the warring parties are unlikely to bear fruit.



# Anglo's contribution to political debate in SA

Early this year, a secret document was flown to Lusaka for presentation to the ANC and delivered to the desks of various government Ministers — creating the impression that the mining giant Anglo American was seeking endorsement for its own ready-made constitution for the new South Africa.

Now, the document has been uncovered and has been presented to the people it was actually meant for: South Africa's citizens.

The document aims at equipping ordinary people with the knowledge to actively and effectively participate in shaping their society's future.

The book was commissioned by now-retired Anglo boss Mr Gavin Relly. It was researched and written by Mr Bobby Godsell, a director of the corporation responsi-

ble for public affairs and industrial relations, Mr Michael Spicer, Anglo's public affairs consultant, Mr Mike O'Dowd, a director and chairman of the Anglo American Chairman's Fund, and public affairs special assistant Ms Margie Keeton. A panel of international experts screened the report.

South Africans are bombarded daily by political jargon, echoing through jam-packed sports stadiums and city halls, and spread across newspaper columns. Anglo's report assists the layman by clarifying some key terms of the political debate.

Concepts such as democracy, group rights and socialism — used regularly but often incorrectly — are discussed in the context in which they are applied in various countries.

"Shaping a Future South Africa" also analyses various constitutional options — a divided or a united country, a federal or a unitary state, one or two chambers of Parliament.

Drawing from international experience, it discusses the advantages and disadvantages of various constitutional models used in countries ranging from the US to Japan and Brazil to Botswana.

"People often say South Africa's prob-

lems are unique. This is simply an excuse for confronting the issues. There is a whole body of experience available, suggesting various ways in which to tackle our problems," says co-author Mr Spicer.

Although he stressed that the authors, all members of Anglo American's Scenario Planning Team, had spelt out options rather than offered solutions, suggestions are made on the type of government needed in South Africa.

They seem to favour a multi-party democracy in a united South Africa — possibly divided into federal states in order to accommodate group diversity, an option "not available" in a centralised state.

Dealing with the choice between a united or divided country, they say secession — an option preferred by right-wing groups in South Africa — could be costly both in terms of human relations and the duplication of government.

The alternative is a united country, functioning either as a federation or a central state.

Dealing with the centralised state in only one paragraph, the authors merely cited examples of unitary states (such as Britain and France) and explain that all powers and functions are concentrated in national institutions.

Far more space is devoted to federalism.

Political power is shared between a central administration and federal units such as in the US, the Federal Republic of Germany and Switzerland.

Although a federation does not necessarily resolve group conflict, it offers opportunities to accommodate group diversity — first because different groups may exercise power in different federal units, second because devolved decision-making allows for "different patterns of govern-

ment as well as the competitive pursuit of rival policies".

Because federalism allows people to "vote with their feet", it promotes popular participation in government and provides greater scope for local decision-making.

The authors' preference for the devolution of power is demonstrated by the suggestion that "the more dispersed and numerous the forms of state power there are, the easier it will be to accommodate divergent and rival groups within the institutions of government".

Using education — a central political concern — as an example, the authors suggest that decisions about schooling should be taken at community level.

"When national or even regional education authorities determine education they choose sides between both parents and between competing concepts of education. Where these decisions are devolved to the neighbourhood or community, these divisive, emotion-charged choices are avoided.

"Various mechanisms for the state funding of schools, without state control, exist, of which one prominent method is the voucher system, where funding is provided to the parent rather than the school system."

Dealing with electoral systems, the book examines the pros and cons of the "winner-takes-it-all" system and, alternatively, proportional representation.

The authors say a suitable electoral system, combined with a diversity of representative bodies and a power-sharing pattern in the country's executive, can provide powerful incentives for both inter-party and inter-group accommodation.



Equipping ordinary people ... Mr Mike O'Dowd, a director and chairman of the Anglo American Chairman's Fund.

SEE Pg 2



Anglo American's long-awaited contribution to the political debate in South Africa, "Shaping a Future South Africa: A Citizens' Guide to Constitution-making" (Human & Rousseau and Tafelberg), was published yesterday. Political Reporter **ESMARE VAN DER MERWE** wrote the following report

They conclude that power-sharing, in any form, is "the will and ability of different parties and groups to co-operate in the exercise of executive government authority. The motive has often been a sober one: to end or prevent civil war.

"Conflict itself, rather than deals struck in smoke-filled rooms, or complex constitutional formulas, may drive the sharing of power."

## ANGLO'S CONTRIBUTION TO POLITICAL DEBATE IN SA

From Pg 1

# Success of a new SA constitution hinges on 'broad political participation'

A new South African constitution can only be successful if it is the product of broad political participation.

In "Shaping a Future South Africa", Anglo American's team of writers suggests how broad-based participation can be achieved in the process of drafting a new constitution.

They identify three stages in the constitution-making process.

First, proposals should be drafted by various authors reflecting all the key parties to political conflict.

Apart from rich international experience, SA groups such as the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba, the ANC and the National Party have already tabled proposals for constitutional change.

These documents suggest some important areas of agreement: a united (though not necessarily unitary) country, equal political participation for all, a multi-party democracy, the independence of the judiciary and a bill of rights.

The authors say an expert individual or group could chart areas of agreement as well as a set of alternatives. Foreign expertise could be enlisted to examine what SA could learn from other societies.

"We must look for countries of comparable levels of economic development, in industrialisation and urbanisation. Brazil, Mexico, Portugal, Greece and India may all have something to offer in this regard."

Second, alternative proposals should be debated by all groups with significant political power — on the condition that they are willing to compromise. The process of debate should allow for leaders to discuss concession or deadlock issues with their supporters.

"Constitutions agreed to by leaders without the step-by-step knowledge and support of their followers are unlikely to be effective."

A third stage is the ratification and adoption of agreed compromises by the broadest and most inclusive process of popular participation possible. In divided societies like South Africa, constitutions not only need the support of numerical majorities but also those politically organ-

"Shaping a Future South Africa: A Citizens' Guide to Constitution-making" suggests how ordinary South Africans can participate in drawing up a new constitution. **ESMARE VAN DER MERWE** reports.

ised minorities on whose co-operation the constitution depends.

This suggested process raises many problems. Which individual or group enjoys sufficient confidence across groups to be entrusted with the drafting of proposals, how can the type of debate needed be initiated, and what form of popular but inclusive endorsement would indicate broad-based support?

The authors suggest that the starting point should be the drafting of a bill of rights, a principle which has been accepted by most major players.

"The purpose of a bill of rights is to ensure the necessary degrees of freedom for all citizens to join or form political parties, articulate and debate political aspirations, and engage in peaceful political activity.

"At the same time this concept is designed to protect public order against political violence.

"Surely this instrument — if supported by a political culture which makes it more than a piece of paper — holds the promise of reconciling freedom and order in a way that will make a debate about future constitutions both possible and constructive. Perhaps the first debate should be about the bill of rights."

Urging all citizens to take command of their destiny by participating in the drafting of a new constitution, the authors conclude: "Democracy is not South Africa's inevitable or automatic destiny. In history government by consent has been the exception rather than the rule. Yet there are grounds to believe that democratic politics are possible in South Africa.

"Popular cultures, indigenous and imported, which cherish liberty; key democratic institutions such as the courts, the press and universities, economic interdependence; and — perhaps crucially — a set of alternatives, all of which seem much less attractive; all suggest the possibilities for a meaningful, inclusive democracy here.

"Much will depend on the expectations SA's citizens express and the accountability they demand of their political leaders."



Spelling out options . . . Anglo director Mr Bobby Godsell, responsible for public affairs and industrial relations.



THE NATAL

# MERCURY

20 APRIL 1990  
**END THE DECEIT**

ON AND ON goes the killing and burning in Natal, as do the vigorous assertions of innocence by leaders of all factions. And so it has for close to four years. Lately, among the grave allegations made, are those of two South African Police officers that certain KwaZulu policemen have been guilty of the 'wild and reckless' shooting of innocents.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, has flitted about the Natal-KwaZulu skies and had talks with Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who accuses Cosatu of trying to run the country. His anger can be judged from his warning that while he had never given the word for Inkatha to 'go out on pre-emptive attacks ... God knows if I had to say yes, let us go and clean up that mess, there would be an awesome spectacle of absolute brute power sweeping all the muck out of the greater Pietermaritzburg area'.

Fearful words that should add even greater urgency to the Government taking steps to have an independent judicial commissioner report expeditiously on the major causes of what is virtually open warfare, while getting on in the meantime with correcting the many sociological deficiencies it has known to have been festering for decades.

The years of delay, neglect and downright callous indifference are even more unacceptable now, not that they were ever to be condoned at any stage.

The belated strengthening of security forces to curb the violence and the extens-

ion of army call-ups to 60 days are only as welcome as a fire engine at a blaze.

But if there are political firebugs running loose, as there are, whose leaders publicly profess non-violence while supporters behave otherwise, as well as an African National Congress that encourages bloodshed from almost every platform through its adherence to the 'armed struggle', then what hope of an end to the mayhem until the instigators are clearly identified by an independent, objective inquiry so that action can be taken against them?

Which is why we urge President de Klerk, among his other measures, not to continue pondering a judicial commission into Natal's troubles, but in Heaven's name to appoint one immediately with orders for an interim report to speed up the process.

The sight of security forces running about damping down blazes and mopping up blood is a poor substitute for remedies, which we freely concede are not simply arrived at. But until offenders at leadership level can be identified and held responsible with no room for denial, the charade of denials will continue.

In the meantime we for once find ourselves agreeing with Dr Allan Boesak, who has called on the ANC to cease all violence and suspend the 'armed struggle'. For as long as the call to arms echoes about the country there will be no peace. And, as President de Klerk has indicated, that means little hope of real negotiations.



## THE FORUM

Letters  
to the  
Editor

### Some questions for Cosatu

SIR — I would take your leader of April 14 'Stay-aways and the work ethic' a stage further in a more direct vein.

The stay-away on April 9 called by Cosatu allegedly in protest at the KwaZulu police presence in the townships, appeared to be a show of 'one upmanship' against the stay-away enforced in Umlazi a week previously when a deputation of 'parents' marched to the police station to hand in a petition for the same purpose.

On both occasions mayhem, arson and looting took place with consequent loss of lives, property, income and respect for the rights of the individual.

Perhaps the leaders of Cosatu should ask themselves whether:

- They themselves forfeited a day's wages as did the tens of thousand they purport to represent?

- Their lives and property were put at risk?
- Their children once again lost a day of much-needed education?

- Their jobs are in jeopardy as are the approximately 800 whose overs as parent companies are seriously considering closing?

- As a result of a power break on Sunday April 8 their homes were without electricity until Tuesday April 10 because the electricity department could not enter the township to effect repairs?

- The food in their fridges went bad causing further loss and hardship?

- Any of their children are asthmatic and were deprived of much-needed power for electric breathing apparatus?

I might add that as a result of the last mentioned, I know of at least two children who suffered seizures.

NOT FOOLED

□□□□□□

SIR — When are the black workers of this country going to wake up to the fact that their unions have got too political. Instead of doing their job of negotiating for better conditions, benefits and more wages for their members, they order protest stay-aways thereby causing their members to lose wages they can ill-afford.

Union officials sit back and draw their not inconsiderable salaries no matter how many stay-aways they order.

So who are the mugs?  
Durban

JOHN WALKER



# Midlands violence: communities outraged?

Natal witness

20 April 1990

THE recent massive onslaught against the "United Democratic Front communities" in the Natal midlands and Mpumalanga was the result of outrage in the "Inkatha communities" over the behaviour of many of the comrades.

This explanation of the recent upsurge in violence has been given by researchers at the Inkatha Institute.

They were commenting on a serious new trend in the conflict which has seen large groups of people from areas associated with Inkatha attacking areas labelled UDF. Unlike previous fighting, which has tended to involve attacks on selected houses, these incidents have been attacks on a whole community.

The Joint Working Committee of the UDF and Cosatu has said the attacks were by large, armed "Inkatha impsis".

At one stage during the height of fighting in the midlands late last month, monitors recorded seeing about 12 000 armed men in the field, most of whom, according to the JWC, were members of these "Inkatha impsis".

However, after interviewing large samples of people involved in the fighting or closely associated with it, Inkatha Institute researchers said that they had come to a different conclusion.

They did not dispute large numbers were involved, but said it was incorrect to claim the attacks were orchestrated or planned by Inkatha leadership.

Institute director Mr Gavin Woods said they discovered enormous anger over the

"tyranny" exercised by comrades living in "UDF areas". This growing anger and the potential for an explosion had been detected three or four weeks before the midlands erupted.

"There was escalating harassment by comrades of commuters going through the valley from outlying areas to town. People reported these incidents to the police. When nothing happened, people complained the police were supporting the comrades by allowing them to get away with these 'terror tactics'.

"It caused enormous anger in the Sweetwaters, Taylor's Halt, Mpumaza and Caluza areas. People were harassed going to work, to school, to town to buy food."

He said that on March 24 a woman and her child were badly stoned on the Edendale Road. The next day buses going to an Inkatha rally were stoned. A minibus was burnt with a number of passengers inside.

The following day barricades were set up on the roads and a vehicle belonging to Chief Shayabantu Zondi — who claims a constituency of 100 000 people in the Mpumaza area — was stoned and his child slightly injured.

"This appears to have been the catalyst. There was a lot of discussion and a decision manifested itself that these people in the communities being terrorised by the comrades would go and deal with them."

Mr Woods said the researchers asked interviewees why they attacked and whether it was an "Inkatha attack".

"People told us it was the whole community who became involved. Yes, there was an input from Inkatha structures in the area but it was not an 'Inkatha card-carrying decision'. It was more a question of the community being taken beyond its tolerance.

"There seems to have been a fair bit of planning. It's interesting to us that many involved in the attack were people from an age group not usually involved in the fighting. Up to now it's been the youth doing the fighting. But these were adults — many were 50 years old or so."

He said a large sample of people with "good first-hand knowledge" had been interviewed.

"It came up quite clearly that it was the anger of the whole community — not just

Researchers at the Inkatha Institute have blamed the recent upsurge of violence in the Natal midlands on outrage in Inkatha communities at the behaviour of UDF "comrades". CARMEL RICKARD asked institute director Gavin Woods to elaborate.

the Inkatha elements in it. It wasn't just Inkatha people who were being harassed and intimidated.

"People from the areas affected by the constant harassment of the comrades felt

the only solution was to attack those communities seen to be giving shelter to the comrades."

Asked to explain why attacks were made on communities far removed from the scenes of the comrades' stoning of buses, Mr Woods said that once the violence started in one area "it spread very quickly".

Of Mpophomeni in particular, he said it was alleged people from the area fired at people travelling on the main road past the township.

"So once again it is a question of communities being angered because their lifeline to the towns is threatened."

Mr Woods and other researchers said there was a similar situation in the Table Mountain area and in Mpumalanga, where comrades controlled the road forming "a lifeline" for the outlying communities.

"These communities also complained to researchers about the breakdown in society, especially in respect for age, and

expressed their anger at killings by the youth.

"We have discovered a new-found resolve spreading through the communities and people living in these so-called Inkatha areas are now on a major offensive.

"They are not saying they want people to join Inkatha, but 'the young people are causing these problems and we want to deal with them'.

"We are seeing a Zulu-instigated solution. It appears a feeling is spreading that the communities have taken things for too long. Now they realise they can actually come together and do something about it."

He said researchers from many areas were hearing complaints about youth running amuck and terrorising communities.

"It seems there is a Zulu-ness about the new developments. The communities want to restore their dignity. They have gone beyond the limits of their tolerance and want to go back to basic values — like a formally structured community and a belief in order.

"They feel they have achieved some success through the recent attacks.

"The communities have certainly shown the comrades that they mean business."

• Members the Joint Working Committee, consisting of representatives of Cosatu and the UDF trying to find ways to end the violence said they were taking the Inkatha Institute allegations seriously and were investigating them.



## The Natal Witness

20 April 1990

# Sebokeng and Natal

**T**he State President is to be commended for his decision to appoint a judicial commission of inquiry to investigate the shootings at Sebokeng on March 26. But his detailed explanation — he was at great pains to assure MPs that he had not bowed to pressure from ANC leadership — was unnecessarily laboured and smacked too much of trying to forestall right-wing accusations.

Mr de Klerk's rationale for not appointing a judicial commission to investigate the violence in Natal is unconvincing and tends to reinforce the impression — rightly or wrongly — that the authorities may be in collusion with one or other of the parties. It is nonsense that a commission cannot be appointed because the conflict is ongoing and widespread: these are precisely the reasons why a commission is necessary. And the longer the appointment is delayed, the greater will be the suspicion that the authorities do not want the whole truth revealed.

The sending of army battalions into the townships can only be a short-term solution. A judicial commission could investigate the whole matter fully and point the way to the restoration of a semblance of normality.



Natal Witness

April 20, 1990



More than 1 000 teachers under KwaZulu's Department of Education and Culture took to Mpumalanga streets yesterday to protest against the lack of security in schools. A memorandum was handed to the circuit inspector Mr D.M. Ngidi.



## THE CITIZEN COMMENT

20 April 1990

### White violence

IN the highly charged atmosphere that is developing as the government moves towards negotiation with the ANC (and other organisations) of a new dispensation in which a Black government is possible, the build-up of Right-wing anger is becoming more pronounced — and dangerous.

It is not only the extreme Right that is up in arms (literally); feelings are running high in other sections of the White community, particularly among Afrikaners totally opposed to Black rule — particularly ANC rule.

On the extreme Right, there are organisations talking of civil war and counter-revolution.

One might easily be tempted to dismiss them as louts and braggarts who talk big but do nothing.

However, the arms snatch from the South African Air Force headquarters in Pretoria, allegedly with the connivance of national servicemen, is worrying, not because of the amount of arms seized — certainly not enough to arm any significant force — but because it was allegedly an “inside job”.

It has been said often that the police force is riddled with Right-wingers — and that the Defence Force has more than a fair share of them too.

If extremists were to gain direct support from within the security forces, this would be a very serious development.

Fortunately, the SAP and the SADF are loyal to the government of the day — and have been in the past when the authority of the State has been challenged, though in different circumstances.

Nevertheless, the arms snatch is a warning that the threat by extremists cannot be taken lightly.

Furthermore, there are enough guns around, there are enough people trained to use them, there are enough battle-hardened veterans of the Border War who might be tempted to join these extremist organisations to make the threat of armed resistance a disturbing one.

The Conservative Party, which talks of using constitutional means to oppose the government's new South Africa plans, nevertheless backs the right of individuals to defend themselves, assists in the setting up of at least one self-protection organisation, and whips up feelings against the government in unbridled language.

It is perhaps unwittingly, rather than deliberately, encouraging the “fight it out mentality” that is growing among sections of the White population.

In this emotional atmosphere, nobody is telling the men who believe they can determine the future through the barrel of the gun that there is no hope whatsoever of keeping the Blacks from achieving equality with the Whites, no hope of keeping the country “White,” no hope of keeping the country

under White control.

It is as if the possibility of White violence has to be kept hidden, in case people take fright. But it is something that should be discussed openly, because of the potential for creating another Lebanon if people do not come to their senses.

It is another reason why the African National Congress should abandon its “armed struggle” and put an end to the violence racking the townships.

For the more destabilisation there is, the more violence, the greater the chance of White extremist groups getting support from people who are angered by what is happening and who adopt the attitude that if the ANC uses violence, they can use counter-violence; if the ANC can achieve its objectives with guns and bombs, why shouldn't they?

Only if all violence ends can the situation be defused and the danger of a race conflict averted.

It is also true that there can be no peace if there is a new dispensation that is unacceptable to the majority of Whites, as well as Blacks.

South Africa needs peace and stability, now when a new dispensation is about to be negotiated, and afterwards when it is in force.

The alternative could be too ghastly to contemplate.



# Israelis deny they trained Inkatha men

**Antoinette Hoffman**  
ISRAELI had not rendered any military assistance or military training to the Inkatha movement, or any of its members, a spokesman for the Israeli Embassy in Pretoria said yesterday.

He was reacting to allegations made on Wednesday by the president of the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO), Mr Peter Mokaba, that Inkatha youths were undergoing training in Israel where they were taught to oppose apartheid and the African National Congress (ANC).

"The Embassy of Israel wishes to emphatically and unequivocally deny these allegations," he said.

A decision was taken

on September 16, 1987 by the Israeli Cabinet to establish a wide ranging scheme of training programmes in the field of community development, education, agriculture, cooperatives and labour relations, he said.

The spokesman confirmed that about 250 South Africans from underprivileged communities had undergone such training in Israel since 1987.

The three main training institutions attended by SA candidates were the Mount Carmel Institute in Haifa, specialising in community development, the Afro-Asian Institute, affiliated to the Federation of Trade Unions, known as Hispadrut, which specialised in labour relations and co-operatives, and the Rupin

Institute, which specialised in agriculture.

"There are also various other training institutions which offered a wide range of courses,"

Participants who made use of these programmes were from various accepted community based organisations, such as Operation Hunger and World Vision, and most of the major trade unions, whether affiliated or independent.

It was intended to assist the oppressed communities of South Africa in preparation for the post-apartheid era, he said.

The president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, had also earlier denied the allegations made by SAYCO, describing them as "untrue and patently ridiculous".

## Sayco chief alleges that Israel trains Inkatha

Citizen Reporter

INKATHA youths were being trained in Israel, where they were instructed to be against apartheid and the African National Congress, the re-elected president of the South African Youth Congress, Mr Peter Mokaba, said at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

The allegation was based on information supplied by a dissident Inkatha member (whose name was not disclosed for safety reasons) involved with the training and processing of Inkatha youth.

The vice president of Sayco, Mr Nyami Boo, claimed that they had videotaped evidence from Inkatha defectors.

The President of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, rejected the allegations describing it as "untrue and patently ridiculous". "So-called defectors can say what they like in videotaped evidence — what evidence," he said.

Sayco endorsed the call for a peace conference of all organisations opposed to apartheid violence by Mr Nelson Mandela.

They fiercely expressed their opposition to the attendance of such a conference by Chief Buthelezi.

He (Chief Buthelezi) was accused of being part of the apartheid regime responsible for the violence together with the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

They had not declared Inkatha as their enemy, only Chief Minister Buthelezi, said Mr Mokaba.

Ordinary members of Inkatha were, however, invited to join the talks.

Sayco reaffirmed its support for the back to school campaign but whether students and teachers would stay in the classroom depended on the attitude of the government, said Mr Mokaba.

"It was not a reconciliation with Bantu Education," he said.

A call was made upon the government to clear obstacles, such as the police violence in Sebokeng, in the way of nego-

tiations and for the international community to intensify sanctions.

Sayco also announced their integration into the ANC Youth Section in the near future and asked the youth to help build ANC structures inside the country.

These resolutions were adopted at the first open national Sayco congress held in Kangwane township in the Eastern Transvaal, attended by 1 762 delegates from eleven regions.

Formed in 1987, the organisation claims a membership of over half a million youths.

The newly elected and enlarged national executive committee comprises amongst others of Mr Peter Mokaba (president); Mr Nyami Boo (vice-president); Mr Rapu Molekane (general secretary); Mr Jerry Ndou (administration secretary); Mr Kgaogelo Lekgoro (organising secretary) and Mr Ignatius Jacobs (treasurer).



20 April 1990

The  
Natal Witness  
2 May 1990

# Refugee camps

The Midlands Crisis Relief Committee is asking the Province for R500 000, which, at an estimated expenditure of R20 000 weekly, will be the cost of feeding the 6 000 township refugees currently in camps in and around Pietermaritzburg for six months. From one point of view the request is modest: it represents a daily expenditure on each individual of about 48 cents. By contrast the millions poured by Government into township security operations are staggering.

Obviously, homeless refugees must be sheltered and fed. However, refugee camps are nothing but camps — that is, they are by definition temporary, and the idea that they may continue for many months, or even become semi-permanent, as has happened in, for example, Beirut, is both distressing and repugnant. Not only might their maintenance become an intolerable strain on the resources of the province and the local community, but, prolonged, camp life will be desperately bad for the refugees themselves. To live in a makeshift community, often in enforced idleness and dependent on handouts, is to become subject to a pathological state of boredom and rootlessness — already manifesting itself — which may lead on one hand to anger and violence, and on the other to depression, inertia and despair.

Hand-to-mouth planning — by all, from central Government down — is not enough. There must be reconstruction and organised rehabilitation, so that refugees can cease to be statistics and become, once again, people with a sense of belonging and a stake in the future.

## Natal witness

### Boldness needed to restore peace

ONLY actions "far beyond anything anything yet attempted" would have any chance of restoring peace in the townships, according to director of the Inkatha Institute Mr Gavin Woods.

He said actions for peace would have to be imaginatively planned and would need to "impact on all the affected townships simultaneously".

The Government's strategy of deploying extra troops at the same time as implementing socio-economic upliftment could be a good model, but if it were to work it would need far more troops and far more money, he said.

Mr Woods suggested ideas of helping create a new "culture of peace", saying a sustained "hearts and minds campaign" could be launched which would try to cultivate "an extreme disgust for violence".

The campaign would include the use of the media, pamphlets, marches and mass community functions.

He also backed the strategy, supported by a number of other groups, for Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela to address a series of joint Inkatha-African National Congress rallies and together call for peace.



# SA's future: <sup>Star</sup> leaders must <sup>20 April 1990</sup> be elected

By DR HENNIE LOTTER,  
Senior Lecturer in the Dept of  
Philosophy, at Rand Afrikaans  
University

There seems to be general confusion in South Africa today about the composition of the group of people who will be deciding the constitutional future of our country when "real negotiations" eventually get started.

Some times, it seems as if all "real" leaders will be present, at other times it seems as if the Government and the ANC will be the only two partners.

This issue is important as the drawing up of a constitution is a matter that will seriously affect all aspects of our future life in this country.

Hopefully South Africans have learnt by now — through the 1910 and 1983 constitutions — that the writing of a constitution by a non-representative group of people only leads to resentment and resistance and creates the urgent need to rewrite.

The constitution of a society can be defined as the way in which its political institutions are structured.

A constitution defines the political institutions, specifies how their members are to be elected and determines who has the right to elect and be elected.

It also indicates which political offices will be part of the political institutions, what their legitimate functions are, and how office-bearers are to be elected and appointed.

A constitution also has to state the relationships between the various political institutions, such as the parliament, a presidency (if any) or a second chamber, and also the relationships between the legislative, executive and judicial branches of government.

A constitution has to fulfil these functions in such a way that it simultaneously embodies the political values of the various communities in South Africa and ensures the presence of political procedures that will lead to just political outcomes.

## Qualifications

The question now is: who has the right to participate in drawing up a new constitution?

Obviously, there will have to be certain qualifications for prospective participants.

If we sincerely wish to learn from our mistakes, then it should be clear that a new constitution should be drawn up by a body of people who are representative of the South African population.

If, for example, any leader — whether a homeland leader or an exiled one — claims to be representing a specific constituency, then he would have to prove it by gaining support in democratic elections.

There seems to be little doubt that South Africa is in a process of democratisation. What better way to give this process the legitimacy it needs than by having elections for representatives to a constitutional convention?

This has the implication that the Government itself would have to fight an election for the right to participate in the constitutional convention — and rightly so, too.

Only those people who are supported by the citizens of the South African state should have the right to represent them at such a major event in the history of our country.

It will indeed be a major event, involving the remaking of society.

Granting effective and equal political rights to all South Africans would also be part of the remaking of South African society — not least because it would involve a full recognition of the equality of all citizens and protect the basic human rights of everyone.

If our society is to be remade, then every one of us should be represented equally.

What better way to ensure this than by having elections in which each party is represented according to the proportion of the votes that it gets?