

The Argus

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Kombi fire probe

POLICE forensic and motor vehicle experts are still examining the site where a minibus plunged down a ravine in extremely suspicious circumstances and exploded in flames near Middelburg, Transvaal, on January 19. Five men died in the crash, three survived.

The question which begs an answer is why has it taken the police so long to institute this top-level investigation?

The incident occurred 12 days ago and allegations of the most horrific nature have been made.

The survivors claim that the kombi crash was planned and that the men were deliberately sent to their deaths by two Witbank insurance agents, who stood to collect more than R1 million from insurance policies on their lives.

For the past 10 days, the case has been entrusted to a police sergeant at Middelburg, who has been investigating a possible charge of culpable homicide.

It was only after the ANC convened a press conference, where the men's allegations were repeated, that police saw fit to launch a high-level investigation.

During the intervening 11 days, apparently, the area has not been cordoned off. Journalists and curious sightseers have trampled all over the site and the wreckage.

The police should launch another inquiry into why it took so long to react to the very serious claims made by the survivors. The concerned public deserves an answer.

A remarkable partnership

THE launch of the R500 million Joint Education Trust represents a landmark in attempts to change the crisis-ridden education system in this country.

The trust brings together a remarkable partnership of big business, political organisations, trade unions and community bodies. The catalyst is the Urban Foundation which has drawn in groups diverse in character but united in their belief that education — particularly in the case of disadvantaged blacks — must undergo a speedy metamorphosis.

It's another healthy exercise in working together for a new South Africa.

How refreshing to see organisations with a penchant for blaming everything on the government adopt a more pragmatic approach, realising that the government alone cannot solve all the problems. Help has to come from other quarters; others have to shoulder some responsibility.

Political organisations like the ANC, PAC and Inkatha have all come forward in support; and the list of 14 companies putting up the money — R100 million a year for five years — reads like a who's who of big business.

A major problem — the widening gap between education and the workplace — has been identified and the trust will focus on improving the quality of education in relation to the job market.

Much needs to be done to bring about an equitable education system but an encouraging start is being made.

AP1992-1-1-31

FW's defensive political housekeeping

ARCUS 31 JAN. 1992

PRESIDENT De Klerk has for the present chosen to try to allay fears and uncertainties rather than to make further bold moves.

As Mr Colin Eglin put it this week in the debate on Mr De Klerk's speech at the opening of parliament, he had some defensive political housekeeping to do.

In these uncertain times he felt it necessary to repudiate what he described as erroneous deductions and to allay suspicion, to deny that the government was yielding to pressure or that it was abandoning important principles or committing a breach of confidence.

This was understandable. Mr De Klerk could not expect to pull a big one out of his political hat every year. As it is, with parliament working in tandem with Codesa, he can hardly at this stage make big unilateral moves. He indicated as much in his speech.

All the same he made three important statements which clarified some of what he said when Codesa

was launched last month.

The government is prepared, subject to agreement at Codesa and approval in a referendum, to amend the constitution to provide for a transitional government and parliament that is representative of the whole population.

It believes the constitution-making process should be taken further through the elected representatives of all the people.

Mr De Klerk said that the sooner South Africa got a comprehensive all-embrac-

ing constitution the better.

With other senior Nationalist leaders Mr De Klerk clearly feels that the present uncertainty could be alleviated if a concrete start could be made on a new system through a transitional administration. If the whites saw that the heavens were not falling under such a transitional system the rightwing's efforts to exploit the present uncertain situation could be countered.

While the country flounders in the discredited tri-cameral system the rightw-

ing can continue with scare stories. There are no firm outline or practical results of a new system with which to counter this propaganda.

Mr De Klerk has now gone much further than some of the options the government was considering at one stage. One of these was that elected black representatives could be added to the present white, coloured and Indian MPs and that this could be turned into one new parliament with the scrapping of the "own affairs" concept.

Now Mr De Klerk's proposals entail the complete replacement of the present parliament and cabinet with the proposed interim system. Black representation will no longer be sown on to the existing system. This would at best have been a political patchwork which could never have satisfied the other parties at Codesa.

The government is taking such an urgent view of these proposed changes that the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit

Viljoen, expressed the hope that a referendum on constitutional changes entailing an interim constitution and a transitional government could be held before the end of the year.

The government attitude is that the changes must take place as soon as possible so that people can get used to them.

Mr De Klerk hopes that a first interim constitution will allay these fears while other important issues such as a Bill of Rights and provisions for devolution of power to regional governments are thrashed out.

While the changes will first have to be negotiated at Codesa, there are hopeful signs of a convergence of opinions between the government and the ANC on issues such as regional government, nationalisation and the protection of minority rights.

The ANC is opposed to the idea of a referendum which will make it possible to ascertain how the different race groups voted, thus in a way giving the whites a

veto. ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa has, however, indicated that the movement might eventually be willing to let Mr De Klerk have his referen-

dum if this will help him out of the spot he is in. The prerequisite is that this should be negotiated at Codesa. Mr Ramaphosa has also indicated that the ANC will not under any circumstances leave Codesa.

Even senior Nationalists feel now that Mr De Klerk's commitment to a referendum which he made two years ago was not a very clever political move but that it was thought to be the right one when given under different circumstances before the major reform moves started.

If the changes are passed in a referendum the present parliament will have to give effect to them and there will then have to be an election to choose a new transitional government.

Mr De Klerk has firmly rejected the suspicion that the government's proposals are designed to ensure continued domination by whites or at least a drawn-out withholding of full participation by black South Africans. He said the government was not playing games on this important issue.

In all this Mr De Klerk still sticks to one of the cornerstones of his party's ap-



Commentary by TOS WENTZEL

proach as embodied in its constitutional proposals: There should be power-sharing without domination.

This will be one of the big issues to be addressed by Codesa. Although the ANC started out by being opposed to special measures to protect minority rights, Mr Nelson Mandela has since indicated that he accepts that white fears must be addressed.

One of the ideas the Nationalists are toying with is to have one House of parliament chosen on a one man, one vote basis and another "House of minorities" in which the various groups would have more equal treatment, with this latter chamber being able to put a brake on the first one.

Mr De Klerk and his followers are also in favour of a national government concept at least in the transitional period in which the National Party and the ANC would be the main role players.

Mr De Klerk is not prepared to bind himself to a rigid timetable as he is in favour of a phased development towards the new South Africa. Dr Viljoen has, however, indicated that the planned transitional government could decide to change itself into a permanent government. The present government would accept this but would not prescribe it.

Meanwhile Mr De Klerk's attempt to get the rightwing to take part in Codesa failed, at least judging from the Conservative Party's in-

transigent attitude in the four-day parliamentary debate on his opening speech.

The CP MPs stubbornly presented a united front in their rejection of his proposal although there are indications of divisions in the rightwing on the question of negotiating a pure-white state.

Some rightwingers are prepared to talk about a much smaller, white South Africa, while Dr A P Treurnicht and company talk about the "remainder" of South Africa, after the areas traditionally occupied by blacks, coloureds and Indians have been taken away.

Nationalist politicians have not given up hope of increasing the divisions in the rightwing and of at least getting some of these groups away from Dr Treurnicht. They feel that the coming by-election in Potchefstroom had something to do with the way in which the CP MPs closed ranks.

Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Tertius Delpot, tried the subtle approach when he said that "honest thinkers" in the rightwing ranks must not allow themselves to be silenced by the CP.

He called on them to join the government to create a forum for honest dialogue.

It seems therefore that Mr De Klerk may try to get rightwingers at least to come and talk to the government, perhaps as a first step to putting their self-determination proposals to Codesa.

16/1/11

Mandela hails WM exposé

Weekly Mail Reporter

NELSON MANDELA this week indicated that the African National Congress was arranging a meeting with the Inkatha Freedom Party to discuss *The Weekly Mail's* revelations of South African Defence Force support for the IFP.

Speaking at a press conference this week, Mandela praised *The Weekly Mail* for its exposé.

Asked if the ANC was going to take up the matter, he replied: "These revelations are very useful and one must compliment your publication for the courage which you have shown in

digging out a matter of major national importance.

"We must naturally address the issue, but you will appreciate that I am not keen to go into any detail about the matter here. It is a matter of very serious importance. In fact, we are arranging a meeting with Inkatha and these are all matters which are to be addressed.

"But for the time being I would to emphasise how grateful all South Africans should be for the investigative journalism which is associated with your publication."

WM. 3/1/92

ANC's intemperate outburst

SIF — The renewed warning by the ANC that it will renege on "apartheid" loans made to South Africa, if it were to form the new government, is ill-considered.

At a time when South Africa is desperately seeking a path to peaceful change via Codesa, this type of intemperate outburst by the ANC undermines confidence, both inside and outside South Africa, and creates a climate which is not conducive for peaceful change to occur. It further creates doubt in

the minds of potential foreign investors on the security of their investment in South Africa. South Africa has been a net exporter of capital for the past decade which as a developing nation we simply cannot afford.

Many Western leaders have written off Africa as being an unsalvageable "basket case" and they have directed their attention to Eastern Europe which they regard as having far greater economic potential. The ANC's warnings give credence to these leaders' opin-

ions.

South Africa has paid a terrible economic and social price for ANC-instigated sanctions. Much of the rising crime rate and violence in South Africa stem from the unemployment created by sanctions.

As participants in Codesa, the ANC should honour the spirit of Codesa. It is time that they start behaving in a more responsible manner.

EF BENARD (Dr)
Chairman, Sandton Branch,
Inkatha Freedom Party

Finger wagging outbreak

THE spectacle of the day was probably Allan Hendrickse and F W de Klerk shaking their fingers at each other.

The State President is not particularly given to finger-shaking, a form of political attack he prefers to leave attached to the memory of his predecessor. But yesterday the leader of the Labour Party succeeded in provoking him to the point where he could no longer keep his forefinger to himself.

First Mr Hendrickse quoted rumours that Mr de Klerk had been influenced by a mini-revolt within his caucus.

"Those rumours aren't true," protested a Nationalist.

Then he suggested that Mr de Klerk had a split personality.

"The Nationalists have apartheid in their hearts and in their blood, but the Labour Party, the Democratic Party and Inkatha put democratic sense into their heads," claimed Mr Hendrickse.

The final straw came when he alleged the NP had started buying off MPs of colour to achieve hidden objectives.

"That's not true," protested Mr de Klerk.

Mr Hendrickse insisted it was. He and the President began trying to talk each other down simultaneously, with much mutual wagging of fingers. You couldn't hear what they were saying above the uproar.

Finally the new Speaker, Eli Louw, intervened when Mr Hendrickse declared that the NP would only succeed in buying off Labour Party MPs "whose hearts throb democracy but whose minds think pe-

Notes in the House

JOHN SCOTT



cuniary gain and/or political positions".

"Is the minister indicating that honourable members can be bribed?" asked Mr Louw.

"I say it because I can prove it," replied Mr Hendrickse.

But he withdrew the remark.

The last speaker in the debate, Finance Minister Bar-end du Plessis, gave Andries Treurnicht his almost exclusive attention, accusing the CP leader of selective deception for omitting the international qualification to self-determination that it be accompanied by equal rights without racial discrimination.

"You are very superficial," remarked Dr Treurnicht.

"If the CP came to power would it ban the Communist Party?" demanded Mr du Plessis.

"Yes, and you too," shouted a CP member.

"Will the ANC be banned?" asked Mr du Plessis.

"Yes," shouted Salmon Barnard (CP, Hercules).

Dr Treurnicht himself, however, didn't seem so sure.

"The Member for Hercules says yes, but his leader doesn't know," jeered Mr du Plessis.

The ANC would just have to remain in suspense.

Earlier the CP's deputy leader, Ferdi Hartzenberg, told President de Klerk that whatever the outcome of a referendum, he couldn't win.

"If you win the referendum, the ANC is in. If you lose the referendum, the CP is in. If you win or lose, you are out."

Viewpoint

NATALMERCURY

31 JAN. 1992

Some thoughts about the Maximum Leader . . .

ON HIS recent visit to Cuba, ANC President Nelson Mandela had nothing but high praise for Fidel Castro and the "great advances" the Caribbean country had made under communism. He particularly admired the sacrifices the Cuban people had made in maintaining their sovereignty "in the face of imperialist-orchestrated" campaigns.

A couple of weeks ago, a spokesman for the SA Communist Party Natal Midlands branch, the same organisation which warmly welcomed the right-wing (hardline communist) coup which temporarily ousted Mr Mikhail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union last year, stated that the SACP saw the campaign to save Cuba as urgent. The campaign, he added, was part of a wider international strategy to "expose the imperialist onslaught" on Cuba. The campaign was underpinned by two considerations — humanitarian aid and an "eco-political" strategy to boost the Cuban economy."

It is understandable that in

their quest to overthrow apartheid the ANC and the SACP turned to any quarter that would give them help. Unfortunately, for decades the Western democracies cold-shouldered the ANC. This was partly because the SA Government had enjoyed long, close links with the West (SA had fought on their side in major global conflicts), partly because apartheid was practised also in the US until the 1960s, and partly because the ANC, and obviously the SACP, were seen to be clients of the Kremlin so that to help them would have been tantamount to shifting the balance of power in southern Africa in favour of the Soviet Union.

The "imperialist" West was branded as the buttress of apartheid. Apartheid itself was labelled as a hybrid of imperialism. The communist bloc, eager to use any opportunity to embarrass and destabilise the West, exploited this by projecting itself as the true liberator of the South African oppressed, its own appalling record of human rights abuse

notwithstanding.

If the ANC and the SACP would be honest and say the real reason why they show such ardent support for Mr Castro is simply out of loyalty and gratitude for the support they got during their years of struggle, one could perhaps understand their motivation.

But it is incomprehensible that their support is so often dressed up as admiration for the alleged great advances of Fidelism (as the Cuban brand of communism is known) or, alternatively, the need to show internationalist solidarity with socialism (read communist totalitarianism) against imperialism (read Western democracy).

If Cuba is such a marvellous place, why does the Maximum Leader (as Mr Castro modestly calls himself) not allow a multi-party democracy and free elections? Why does he not allow a free press to compete with his party's monopoly of the media? Why does he travel about his own country in constant fear of his life, choosing without notice from any one of 20 safe houses where he will overnight?

Of course, the communist diehards will say these measures are necessary because of the imperialist onslaught against Cuba. But in their hearts they know this is a lie. The truth is that Mr Castro has subjugated his people to one of the most brutal experiments in social engineering in the history of man. In the end, like the disastrous and equally monstrous experiment of apartheid, Fidelism will be swept into the dustbin of history. And if the ANC and the SACP should ever attempt to instal Fidelism in SA it will have the same fate.

I visited Havana for a few days two years ago and was able to see at first hand what sort of paradise Mr Castro has created for his people. While it is true that one cannot judge an entire country and system after only one brief visit, certain things were quite obvious to me.

We were told by our government hosts that Mr Castro had devoted his life to creating "the New Man" (heed that phrase carefully, some of our own politicians are using it). New Man is

supposed to be liberated from poverty and materialism (and, what they don't tell you, critical thought). His fundamental needs are provided for by the state, including food, shelter and employment.

Under Mr Castro's dictatorship, everyone is supposed to have a home. But because no one is allowed to own property (all houses belong to the state), there is no incentive to maintain them. One has only to drive through Havana to see how people are jammed into decaying houses, shacks even, which were last painted before the revolution. The party elite, on the other hand, lives in palatial accommodation in the diplomatic suburb of the capital.

Everyone has food, but most people are hungry. On a large tropical island that should be a massive exporter of food, the Cuban people's food is rationed. Local citizens readily tell visitors about the chronic shortages and the measly quality of even the most basic of foodstuffs such as milk, bread and meat.

They all have "jobs", but most

B/Dag 31-1-1992

Coloured and Indian MPs join the NP

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The NP gained its first Indian MP yesterday, while two independents in the coloured House of Representatives also joined the NP amid signs that the Labour Party's eight-year rule of the Representatives will come to an end today.

Durban Bay MP Sathie Naidoo, who had been sitting as an independent, is the first Indian MP, while Glen Rooskrans (West Free State), and Cyril George (Greenwood Park) also linked up with the NP.

MP Anthony Reeves (Klipspruit West) announced he would be leaving the LP, but he has still to indicate whether he will join the NP.

That gives the NP 36 votes in the 85-seat House — seven votes shy of an outright majority. And there were strong indications yesterday that it would achieve that figure today. It had already lined up a "shadow" ministers' council headed by Jac Rabie.

National Party sources were bullish yesterday about the outcome of the no-confidence debate today.

They predicted that there was little chance that the LP would be able to cling to power.

B/D Day 31-1-1992

COMMENT

Turning point

THE rush to cut mortgage bond rates will have a psychological effect way beyond its economic impact. After all, reductions of one percentage point on home loan rates will not mean huge savings for homeowners paying up to 20%, nor significantly reduce the cost of buying a new house.

More important than the rates cut may be what people make of it. The perception will be that the economy has reached a turning point, that the drop in rates marks the end of the recession and the beginning, however mild, of a new upswing in the business cycle.

The banks which started the bond war believed a cut in Bank rate was imminent. They may be right, and their move may also help fulfil

those expectations. The Reserve Bank's eyes are on the inflation rate; as bond rates are part of the inflation calculation, even a small reduction in mortgage costs will help. Once the Bank is convinced that inflation is on its way down from the current 16%, it will cut Bank rate, leading to a general relaxation of lending rates.

Perceptions can have a powerful effect. South Africans have been waiting for years now for the economy to kick back into life, for a return of confidence, investment, growth and jobs. The rates cuts are going to be taken as a sign of better times ahead, and people will act accordingly.

When they do, we should be on our way out of the doldrums.

B/Dag 31-1-1992

COMMENT**Confidence builder**

IN APPOINTING former Gencor chairman Derek Keys to the Cabinet, President de Klerk took an important step towards providing the critical element needed in rebuilding the country's economy through growth — investor confidence. Now Keys, in his maiden speech as Minister of Trade and Industry and of Economic Co-ordination, has given notice that he is prepared to "become obsessed" with the task of persuading firms to put more into capital investment.

The Minister's former business colleagues would not have expected less of him. They will be heartened by the precise manner in which he has set out his assessment of the country's problems, and the way he hopes to tackle them. They will have noted, particularly, his reference to government, and its need to demonstrate its own confidence by systematically striving towards the highest long-term goals, and becoming a reliable bulwark for the entrepreneur.

If Keys, backed by the man who appointed him, can inculcate this philosophy in government, he will be halfway home.

Keys, as Minister of Economic Co-ordination, will be expected to work for a commitment among his colleagues not only to uncompromising efficiency but to policies which are clearly defined and consistently applied. This is needed as much in the fiscal and economic spheres as it is in government's approach to wider issues, like education, health and housing. If govern-

ment departments expect to earn a new credibility with business and the public, they must be prepared to be held to account for their actions. That is one aspect essential to investor confidence which Keys may help inspire.

He has also mentioned the "golden triangle" — business, labour and the state "joined in a consensus carefully and consciously aimed at economic growth" — which has been a common factor among countries achieving great things. Keys has the personal standing to move government and business towards this consensus, and it will be interesting to see whether his presence holds any sway with labour. Again, the test will be integrity, and labour's perceptions of government's motives.

If all these forces come together, the hope would be that the other vital aspect of South African life holding back investors, social unrest, would also diminish to the point that long-term planning would again become viable for businessmen. A reminder was hardly necessary, but Britain's Overseas Development Minister Lynda Chalker put it succinctly this week. She said South Africa needed foreign capital, and nothing chased it away more quickly than outbreaks of violence.

It would be naive to expect a business mogul turned politician to wave magic wands and transform society, but Derek Keys could be the man to set the country on course for the goals he sees so clearly.

B/Day 31/1/92

CP says FW had plan to destabilise homelands X

CAPE TOWN — Plans to destabilise the homelands had been made in 1990 by President FW de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha, said Ferdie Hartzenberg (CP Lichtenburg) yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on the President's opening of Parliament address, he said this information had been in secret documents leaked to the CP.

He also claimed that when Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo refused to sign the declaration of intent at Codesa in December last year, he had been threatened that his government would be replaced by another.

NP MPs shouted denials at both allegations.

Hartzenberg said the SA Communist Party was the leader of an alliance with the ANC and Cosatu that "would return socialism to its rightful place" in SA.

Despite the ANC being involved in negotiations, it was still speaking about seizing power.

Transkei military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa wanted recognition for his country and the only way he would get that was from the CP, who were the country's only true nationalists.

Codesa, said the CP deputy leader, would do for SA what the revolution did for Russia.

"The revolution destroyed the Soviet Union and Codesa will destroy SA."

The NP could not win an election based on one man, one vote, said Hartzenberg. — Sapa.

B/Day 31/1/92 -
**ANC vows support for
economic integration**

TIM COHEN

MAPUTO — ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu yesterday pledged the ANC's support for regional economic integration, emphasising the importance of the regional market for SA manufactured goods.

Speaking at the start of the 12th annual Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference's (SADCC) consultative conference, Sisulu emphatically rejected SA economic "hegemony". He joined other speakers in rejecting an SA-orientated approach to economic development and warned that SA's contribution to the economic life of the subregion was likely to be limited in the early stages.

"We do nevertheless believe that by actively participating in the restructuring of existing relations on a more equitable basis and addressing current imbalances, a climate conducive to development and mutually beneficial co-operation can be created," he said.

Sisulu, speaking on behalf of the ANC and the PAC, said the liberation movements' desire for eventual economic integration derived from their belief that it would be in the best interest of SA and its people.

"The countries of Africa will be potentially important trade partners for a democratic nonracial SA. Already, some have suggested that an increase in trade could provide a 'kick-start' for growth and development in a post-apartheid SA."

Almost all speakers spoke positively about the changes in SA, reflecting an increasing concern in the SADCC about SA's future role in the region.

While hailing Codesa, Botswana Vice-President Peter Mmusi said the time was not right to establish normal relations with SA.

B/Day 31/1/92 Police agree to step up efforts on Reef trains X

POLICE have agreed to step up body searches and introduce a "rail watch" in co-operation with the Soweto community to help address train violence on the Reef.

Sapa reports this follows yesterday's meeting between representatives of the SAP, Spoornet and the Greater Soweto dispute resolution committee.

Committee chairman Charles Nupen said the police had also agreed to immediately deploy more members at stations and to step up random searches.

"Political and community organisations undertook to consider co-operation between the community and the police in monitoring train stations, counselling constituents in conflict situations and establishing a 'rail watch' to promote community involvement in policing railway stations," Nupen said.

The police also undertook to investigate more effective methods of confiscating dangerous weapons at stations, and would look into providing a toll-free number at which complaints could be made and information given about criminal acts on trains.

Nupen said the Spoornet representative undertook

to report back on overcrowded trains and the permanent installation of metal detectors at commuter entrances to stations.

Another meeting would be held on February 10.

The ANC's PWV region yesterday welcomed the ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons on trains as announced by police.

But the organisation said the ban was long overdue and fell far short of the demands of the people, "namely that the ban apply at all public places".

The SA Rail Commuter Corporation (SARCC) yesterday announced drastic action would be taken to combat train attacks.

LINDEN BIRNS reports two people were killed and two injured in train attacks on the East Rand and near Soweto last night. This brings to three the number reported killed in train-related incidents yesterday.

Witwatersrand SAP spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman said the bodies of two dead men were picked up by police at the Boksburg East Station shortly after 6pm. Both were believed to have been thrown off a train.

Two men were seriously injured when they were thrown off a train traveling between Longdale and New Canada Stations, he said. None of the victims appeared to have been shot or stabbed. All the dead and injured were older than 18.

Earlier yesterday police reported that the body of a commuter, believed to have been a victim of a tram attack, was found between Kettlehong and Wadeville stations.

B1 Day 31/1/92

White teachers pulled out X

ALL 19 white teachers at Katlehong schools were withdrawn from their jobs yesterday after a teacher at Kathorus College of Education was doused with petrol and set alight by pupils on Tuesday, Department of Education and Training (DET) sources said.

Teaching at the college came to a halt as black lecturers refused to resume their classes in protest at the attack. The college was placed under police protection, but classes should resume next week.

Adding to the East Rand crisis, two armed robbers yesterday attacked the East Rand College of Education in Kwa-Thema township outside Springs. Shots were fired, but no one was injured and the robbers escaped with a few hundred rands.

KATHRYN STRACHAN

Apart from the absence of white teachers, Katlehong schools carried on as usual, except for Kwa-Dukathole High School where activities were suspended after a recent attack on the headmaster and teachers.

DET director-general Bernhard Louw said yesterday regional chief directors had taken all steps that could reasonably be expected to ensure teachers' safety.

In the past two weeks Katlehong has been the scene of four other attacks on white teachers. Since the beginning of the school year six black teachers have been attacked and injured, three seriously.

□ To Page 2

Teachers

WILSON ZWANE reports that police are investigating the possible involvement of members of the PAC-aligned Pan Africanist Student Organisation of Azania (Paso) in attacks on white teachers.

A Witwatersrand police spokesman said yesterday although no arrests had been made in connection with the attacks, Paso involvement could not be ruled out.

Chants of "one settler, one bullet", a slogan of the PAC and its affiliates, were heard outside one of the schools in the township last week, the spokesman said.

At a news conference, Paso said it would leave no stone unturned in investigating reports that its members were implicated in the attacks. Paso general secretary Lawrence Ngandela said disciplinary steps would be taken against any guilty members since his organisation felt that "the crisis will delay the learning process".

DET director-general Louw denied that

the attacks were triggered by the department's political actions, as suggested by Paso. "There is no preference of whites over blacks. These white teachers have been there for a long time and we have to honour their contracts. It is just a smoke-screen for a criminal deed."

An SA Democratic Teachers' Union spokesman said his union "while acknowledging that there is a problem regarding the staffing policies of the DET, cannot condone the atrocities perpetrated against white teachers".

The National Education Co-ordinating Committee southern Transvaal region said "concrete measures" had to be sought to ensure that law and order prevailed.

The ANC's PWV regional branch condemned the attacks on teachers and called for an urgent community meeting to ensure that 1992 was "a year of learning".

□ From Page 1

B/Day 31-1-1992

African states divided¹ on relations with SA

LUSAKA — The Preferential Trade Area for eastern and southern Africa opened its 10th summit in Lusaka yesterday with opposing views on relations with SA before democratic change.

Zambian President Frederick Chiluba, new chairman of the 18-member trade and economic grouping, said in his opening speech that member states should beware of being marginalised as the world established links with SA.

"Highly developed countries including Japan have upgraded their links while we are waiting on the sidelines," he said.

But Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni cautioned about the danger of strengthening relations with Pretoria.

He said apartheid structures were still in place and there was need to be careful in case "we have to fight them tomorrow if the constitutional talks bog down".

Chiluba pointed out that the organisation could not ignore SA in the hope that it would quietly solve its problems and then beg for membership. — Sapa.

The Weekly Mail

(23)

31 Jan - 6 Feb 1992



Nelson Mandela

F.W. de Klerk

would have to be addressed in some way — and is looking to the ANC for some sort of compromise as well.

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer has raised the further question of how the country can go to elections without the other checks and balances — such as a Bill of Rights — being in place. However, De Klerk addressed this point too on Friday, proposing a first phase of a Bill of Fundamental Rights as part of the transitional constitutional arrangements.

A further question to be addressed is who will govern the country while the first elections for the new parliament are to be held.

Mandela has said the government's proposals for a referendum and an election before an interim government is in place begs the question because "there cannot be any democratic elections in our country while the apartheid regime is in place".

However, the room for compromise is large with ANC demanding only that there be joint authority over the security forces, state-owned media, electoral processes, budget and finance in the run-up to an election.

A major impasse also seems to have emerged over the question of a white referendum and the NP's proposal that this would imply a veto of the new constitution. De Klerk insists on a referendum and through out the week cabinet ministers have been digging themselves further and further into the cor-

ner that De Klerk painted himself into.

De Klerk's position is that when he was returned to power by the white electorate in September 1989 with a mandate to negotiate a new constitution, he promised to go back to them for endorsement of whatever was negotiated. He thus argues that he is honour bound to win white endorsement for the new constitution.

It would be madness for the ANC, which is in no way similarly bound, to accept something so anathemic to its principles as a racially delineated all-white veto of the negotiations — and the movement has said so repeatedly in strong language.

But Ramaphosa demonstrated flexibility even on this question. He acknowledged that De Klerk has a problem but said that if he acted unilaterally the ANC would be in no position to help. "A lot can be done to assist De Klerk within the negotiating process itself," he said.

While the ANC is unlikely to accept a white veto, it may be able to live with a separate count of the white vote. The ANC is as aware as the NP is of the dangers of not getting majority support in the white electorate for the changes.

This was spelt out eloquently by the *Sunday Times*: "No greater folly is imaginable than for the National Party and the ANC to try to strike a deal between them, and then to foist it on an unwilling or rebellious population."

"The least that would happen would

be to turn the rightwing into a local equivalent of the Irish Republican Army, sustained down the years by the assertion, mythical or not, that most whites rejected the constitution, even though it was accepted by the leaders of the National Party."

A victory for the NP among whites in the referendum would neutralise the right. With the SABC and virtually the entire press supporting the changes, and with the prospects of more international sports teams coming to South Africa, the NP should be in a position to sway the white vote.

At the same time, the NP is working away assiduously at splitting the moderates and radicals in the Conservative Party, and at politically breaking the rightwing before an election.

A defeat in the referendum would be a serious blow for the NP. "Then we'll be in trouble," concedes Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

But even here the NP appear to have contingency plans that they're not revealing. "It will be a political blow, but not a constitutional crisis," said Deputy Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Tertius Delpoort.

On the question of timing, De Klerk's speech has helped close the gap between the NP and the ANC. As recently as January 8, Mandela rejected a long drawn-out transitional government, accusing the the NP of attempting to "legitimise an undemocratic constitution, parliament and regime and prolong the transition by 10 years and more".

However, De Klerk said last Friday that he was flexible on the issue of the timing of the transition. He believed it would be unwise to commit to a rigorous timetable, but that the parties in the government should themselves judge the length of the transition on the basis of the level of violence and intimidation, as well as the degree of consensus on specific changes to the constitution.

"At the same time, we are not opposed to any reasonable measures taken to obviate unnecessary or wilful delays," said De Klerk. "The sooner South Africa gets a comprehensive, all-embracing constitution, the better."

By Monday Ramaphosa too was singing a very different tune. "If he means he has shifted from the notion of an interim government over five to 10 years, then we're prepared to talk to De Klerk about his interim government."

In the ANC's view the interim government should not govern for longer than 18 months or two years.

Despite the public rumbling, the unimaginable is unfolding in South Africa. Both the ANC and the NP are feeling their way towards a coalition government in which the ANC will be the dominant partner.

The Weekly Mail 31 Jan - 6 Feb 1992 (21)

LETTERS

■ DR TREURNICHT'S refusal to participate in Codesa on grounds that its signatories are committed to an "undivided unitary state" which he interprets as being at conflict with any concept of self determination, has elicited an interesting response from Codesa delegations. The government, the ANC, the DP etc, who were all signatories to the Declaration of Intent, are all now prepared to back track and amend the Declaration of Intent.

The IFP has no truck with the CP, but we welcome their participation in Codesa. Our view is quite simple. Codesa must be as inclusive as possible. The IFP supports the inclusion of the CP and others in the Codesa, but by the same token representation by the kwaZulu government and the Zulu people must also be addressed by Codesa.

The IFP will give Codesa its "best shot". We subscribe to many of the president's objectives

but we disagree with him on how these objectives should be achieved.

The IFP strongly believes in the Rule of Law. However, we are not about to surrender because the police do not protect us. We welcome the additional 18 000 police that have been appointed. However, we also believe the government is attacking the symptom, not the cause of the problem.

We believe that much of the violence and crime in SA is rooted in poverty and SA's prime objective must be therefore to achieve rapid economic growth.

Sanctions and threats to renege on "apartheid" loans do not help South Africa attract foreign investment which we desperately need if we are to create employment and compete in the international arena. It is time that delegates to Codesa adopt a responsible attitude, and honour the spirit of Codesa which currently is our "best shot" at

achieving peaceful change in SA. — Dr EF Benard, chairman Sandton Branch, IFP

■ I WOULD like to congratulate *The Weekly Mail* for performing such a good job of exposing secret funding of Inkatha and other organisations.

Allow me at the same time to take this opportunity to respond to A Sutton from Pretoria (*Weekly Mail*, January 3 to 9 1992). He accused the newspaper of having an objective of blackening Inkatha's image.

I disagree with him. Inkatha has itself to blame for allowing itself to be used by the oppressors and exploiters of the people they claim to be representing.

We, the oppressed people of this country, do appreciate what *The Weekly Mail* is doing. Inkatha has fooled its supporters by claiming that it is independent while it gets its funding and training from the SADF.

Inkatha claims to be fighting for the freedom of the oppressed masses from an apartheid regime at the same time it goes to the same oppressors for training and funding.

The ANC and MK don't get funding and training from the government and SADF.

Many of us are happy with the exposé, now we know what Inkatha and its leaders are all about. *The Weekly Mail* must keep on doing its good work. — Velaphi Gumede, Durban

The Weekly Mail 31 Jan - Feb (20) 1992

SOFTLY spoken, bespectacled Kgalema Motlanthe hardly seems suited to his new post. With predecessors like the charismatic Cyril Ramaphosa and feisty Marcel Golding, one expects someone more forthright, more self-assured.

But his diffident facade belies strength of purpose. An avowed socialist — although not a member of the South African Communist Party — he expresses firm views in clear, carefully chosen words.

His eloquence is that of someone who has pored over many books for many hours: convicted of terrorism, he spent 10 years on Robben Island before joining the union in 1987.

"He never speaks off the top of his head," comments Iscor's Neils Howan, who knows Motlanthe from the two years he served as the National Union of Mineworkers' chief negotiator at the steel giant.

In a surprise move, Motlanthe was installed as the union's acting general secretary at a weekend central committee meeting, when many assumed that Golding was safely ensconced as NUM chief until its next national congress in 1994.

Support for the new man was overwhelming, taking even Motlanthe by surprise. Union sources say that of all the officials, he enjoys most grassroots support.

Leading 290 000 militant workers in South Africa's most strategic industry, Motlanthe will have his work cut out this year. His most daunting task will be to find alternative ways of tackling the crisis on the gold mines, following the union's decision to ditch productivity bargaining.

On the weekend's shock abandonment of productivity bonus schemes, he says: "It was a difficult decision dictated by a difficult situation."

Motlanthe was one of the architects of last year's ground-breaking wage agreement — in which the NUM embraced productivity bargaining for the first time — and was sent to Germany and Sweden to study how such deals operate in social democratic Europe.

He says they work there — and he is keen that they should work in South Africa. "Today's decision may not be right for tomorrow," he comments.

The existing scheme fell apart, he says, because it was difficult to relay developments to workers without access to information from the mines. Doubts began to set in when months went by without bonuses or evidence to show that mines could not afford bonus payments.

The NUM is not looking for quick-fix solutions to the industry's crisis, Motlanthe stresses. Under his hand, the approach is likely to be considered and carefully formulated. "He always comes well-prepared," said an Iscor negotiator.

The quiet man with a paisley tie heads the NUM

The election of Kgalema Motlanthe as acting general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers surprised many, including himself. How will he handle the hard men of the Chamber of Mines?

By FERIAL HAJFAJEE



Kgalema Motlanthe — Avoids conflict

His bent toward the meticulous is expressed in his dress: tweed pants, paisley tie, matching shirt and socks and the shiniest of shoes. A maroon leather-bound file folder, in which each appointment is carefully noted, ensures that he will honour every appointment and be on time.

But don't risk getting his back up. "That is absolutely without basis," he retorts angrily when questioned about claims that he is a militant, and the militants' candidate in the leadership election. During his five years with the union, he has built a reputation as one "who

works to unite, not divide", he says.

Employers agree: they describe him as "problem-orientated" and "keen to find solutions".

An former chairman of the African National Congress' Witwatersrand region, he won widespread respect. "He has the ability to avoid conflict, he thinks through issues," says regional secretary Barbara Hogan.

His dislike for the adversarial colours his plans for the union. To continue the work of the mining summit, a key move towards co-operation between the mining houses and the NUM initiated last year, will be his priority.

He will also work to get a negotiated code of conduct governing worker-employer relations and designed to reduce mine violence, off the ground. He describes the initiative as being "as important as securing wage increases".

But his long-term aim is to increase worker education so that workers can lead the union. By 1994, at the NUM's next congress, he would like to see mineworkers taking up national positions.

His experience as the union's education officer will assist him in this. "I will ensure that a fair layer of workers get the necessary training to lead the union."

Motlanthe also inherits responsibility for the NUM's decision not to join Codesa — in defiance of its big brother, the Congress of South African Trade Unions. Again the conciliator, he feels strongly that the press should not have known of Cosatu's decision to apply for a seat at Codesa before the two had met.

He justifies the decision, however, stressing that Cosatu should maintain its independence and become a pillar of civil society. The federation should seek to influence the constitutional process through its alliance with the ANC and SACP, he believes.

Union sources describe him as "a 100 per cent ANC supporter", and he still retains his seat on the region's executive. Although he may relinquish even this because of his new union job, he plans to remain a working member of the ANC and believes wearing two hats will not be a headache.

He also "sees no problems" with the divergent views he holds on Codesa as a unionist and as a member of the ANC.

Motlanthe refused to be drawn on why he was re-elected over Golding, commenting only that "it is for us to achieve synergy in our work".

He is more forthcoming on his socialist beliefs and how he hopes to realise them.

He has no ideological problems with the SACP, and indeed is "agonising" over whether he should join. Finding time to be an active and hard-working member would be the only constraint — he does not believe in "paper membership" of any organisation, he concludes.

The Weekly Mail
31 Jan - 6 Feb 1992 (19):

APARTHEID BAROMETER

HUNGER STRIKERS

Christopher Makgale, held in Bophuthatswana's Odi prison has been on hunger strike for more than six weeks, according to the Human Rights Commission.

The HRC reports that it they have not been able to ascertain whether Sipho Amos Ramasega, Peter Modisane, Petrus Mothupi and Adel Lourengio are still on the hunger strike they started on January 2.

Their legal representatives have been denied permission to visit them at the Rooigrond prison, where the four political prisoners are being held.

DEATH IN POLICE CUSTODY

~~San Bonifacio was found hanging in his cell at Danielskuil on January 25, after~~

police repeatedly received complaints about his "rowdy behaviour", the HRC's weekly bulletin reports.

RACIAL CONFLICTS

A 24-year-old white man killed one, and wounded six others in a wild shooting spree in Middelburg. This was the third shooting spree involving whites in 10 days.

On January 20, Kallie Delpont allegedly shot his father and nine others and wounded 19 in Ladysmith, Natal.

Five days later, in the eastern Transvaal town of Kriel, a white apprentice allegedly shot dead a black man and fatally wounded a black woman.

Family quarrels preceded all shoot-

ing sprees.

The Weekly Mail (18)
31 Jan - 6 Feb 1992

Deaths of the rails X

THERE were more attacks on Reef trains during the week, killing 223 people and injuring 82 in separate incidents. In one case a grenade was thrown into a coach, in another passengers were injured when they leapt from a moving train to escape attackers. Police, under attack for failing to stop the attacks, announced "drastic action" to ban dangerous weapons on trains.

Bugs blooper X

A STRANGE attack on the Pretoria offices of the PAC wreaked havoc although there was no sign of a bomb. The best theory is that a spy planting a bug in the roof fell through the ceiling.

The Weekly Mail

31 Jan - 6 Feb 1992 (17):

EDITORIAL

Militant tendencies

WHATEVER the rights and wrongs of the affair, the collapse of productivity bargaining on the gold mines must be seen as a serious setback for a hard-pressed industry and the economy as a whole. Last year's wage deal between the NUM and the Chamber of Mines, providing for low basic increases coupled with production bonuses on economically sound mines, was a triumph of pragmatism over dogma and a step towards a new, more constructive regime in a sector which has long been a byword for labour conflict.

As Cosatu's first union to embrace and defend productivity bargaining publicly, the NUM also blazed a trail for the labour movement. Employers cannot escape a measure of responsibility: although strongly favouring the new approach, they have fuelled union suspicions by, among other acts of shortsightedness, linking bonuses to discipline. But the NUM's decision not to renew existing agreements seems more of an angry reflex than a considered strategy. It will still have to confront the vexed issue of the marginal mines, and how to ward off further closures and job cuts. The union has hinted that it may consider other forms of productivity bargaining.

We hope that its latest move is a temporary reversal for an approach which could prove vital to South Africa's economic reconstruction.

THE INDEPENDENT PAPER FOR
A CHANGING SOUTH AFRICA

1600

THE NEW

WEEKLY MAIL

102

Volume 8, Number 5 January 31 to February 6 1992

Closer, but not close enough

THE government and the National Party this week made a giant leap away from apartheid and towards democracy. Their new constitutional proposals — outlined in Cape Town by Dr Gerrit Viljoen and Dr Stoffel van der Merwe — suggest a major change of policy on the part of the country's current rulers.

A few months ago the government categorically rejected the idea of an interim government or a constituent assembly. At Codesa last month it was talking about a five to 15-year transitional government, with no hint that this should be elected.

The new proposals offer something quite different: an acceptance that the new constitution should be drawn up by a democratically-elected transitional parliament (in some respects similar to the ANC's constituent assembly), which should also serve as a transitional government.

Differences remain between the two parties:

- While the ANC appears willing to accept a post-Codesa referendum on constitutional principles, it is understandably reluctant to concede a separate counting of the tricameral vote, which the government has committed itself to, and will also be hard-pushed to turn a blind eye to the exclusion of the TBVC states from the process.

- The ANC proposes an appointed interim government to oversee the constituent assembly elections and take control of the security forces, the state media and the budget. The NP proposes its transitional government come into being only after elections.

- The ANC version of a constituent assembly is a single chamber body which elects its own chair. Government/NP proposals suggest a bicameral body (with inflated minority representation in the upper house), a multi-party cabinet and multiple presidency.

- The ANC has proposed that the process be completed within the next 18 months, while the NP wants to avoid time constraints.

On each of these points there is room for compromise. What happened this week was that in one giant step the government/NP proposals brought the two major parties within range of a lasting agreement. The ANC would do well to respond in kind — by accepting the government has no alternative but to go ahead with a tricameral count in an otherwise non-racial referendum, even if they reject the notion that this implies a white veto, and push for the inclusion of the TBVC states in the vote.

And with the government having now committed itself to what amounts to a constituent assembly, it's time the PAC got back on board.

The Weekly Mail

31 Jan - 6 Feb 1992

The PAC: Power or a paper tiger?

Last Friday's marches on parliament pitted the mobilising abilities of the Pan Africanist Congress against those of the African National Congress. The ANC won by a mile — but is this a true reflection of the PAC's strength? asks GAYE DAVIS

IS the Pan Africanist Congress a force to be reckoned with, or is this an illusion created by a larger-than-life media profile? For some, the question was answered by the huge disparity between the tens of thousands who marched on parliament under African National Congress banners and the few thousand who turned out for the PAC in Cape Town last Friday.

Crowd-counting is an inaccurate art: ANC officials were this week scrutinising aerial photographs of the Grand Parade for a figure they could offset against reports ranging from 15 000 to 100 000.

Whatever the tally, ANC numbers completely eclipsed those of the PAC, for whom crowd estimates ranged from about 1 200 to 4 000. "I'm glad they organised something public like this," an ANC activist said after watching the PAC's march. "At least now we know what we're dealing with."

The demonstrations were not intended to become a test of strength between the two organisations, but inevitably, that's what they became. Neither the ANC nor the PAC could be over-confident: the PAC was venturing into an arena it had little experience of, while the ANC couldn't be certain that those who claimed the days of mass action were over weren't right after all.

In the event, the ANC triumphed. In the words of one commentator, it showed it was the biggest and best-organised of the forces ranged against the government. The PAC, on the other hand, was left at the starting gate.

PAC publicity secretary Barney Desai insisted this week that its showing wasn't a true reflection of PAC levels of support in the Western Cape. The ANC had spent much more money on its campaign, he said, and with the same resources "we could have brought many more people out".

According to Desai, the PAC spent R12 000 mobilising for its anti-Codesa march, distributing 30 000 leaflets and 1 000 posters and hiring a train, two buses and several taxis to bring supporters to the city centre.

He claimed those who marched under the PAC's banner were all "solid party members, not rent-a-crowd" — an aspersion ANC national campaigns organiser Ronnie Kasrils described as "laughable".

"Proof of the pudding was the discipline of our people on the Grand Parade," Kasrils said. "They were packed like sardines in a can in the baking sun for hours. We needed tremendous co-operations to control a crowd like that, and we found it."

He said that in a two-week campaign which cost "under R100 000", the ANC distributed 50 000 leaflets and 5 000 posters. It hired nine trains and 50 buses to ferry people to town.

If people had been going to the polls instead of the gates of parliament last Friday, the ANC would have won the day. But is this any reason to discount the PAC?

One line of analysis views the ANC's current support in terms of there being a lack of alternatives. If people felt the National Party and the ANC were doing a deal, the PAC could scoop up significant numbers of disenchanted ANC supporters, the thinking goes. Others dismiss this, saying the PAC lacks the organisational ability to bring it off.

Nevertheless, as one foreign observer commented: "Strength is not necessarily about popular support but the ability to impede the negotiation process."

Said Desai: "If the Convention for a Democratic South Africa falters, the implications for us are enormous. It's a miscalculation to judge strength on numbers. Our potential strength is far greater. A whole world lies ahead for the PAC."

On the other hand, if Codesa did manage to deliver a constituent assembly, "we'll contest it and people will recognise us for what we are".

At the moment, though, the ANC holds the upper hand.

MPs clamber on Codesa's gravy train

The Weekly Mail, 31 Jan - 6 Feb 1992 (14)

HERE's a story doing the rounds in national negotiating circles about why two House of Representatives parliamentary parties are fighting tooth and nail to prevent a third from getting representation in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

It is causing a bit of a snigger among the major parties, familiar with the back-scratching, back-stabbing politics of the House of Delegates, but it also brings home the kind of dilemma faced by Codesa in deciding which of the outsider applicants to accept among their hallowed ranks.

The would-be insider is a tiny outfit calling itself the Merit People's Party, whose main claim to national influence is it has a single MP in the House of Delegates. And it is this fact which is causing so much fear and loathing among the frac-

tious MPs of the Indian ruling party, Solidarity, and its official opposition, the National People's Party.

Representation in Codesa provides a lot of things for the 12 delegates and 12 advisers from each party: free travel, perks and, most of all, status. These may all be transitory for the MPs of the soon-to-be-demolished House of Delegates, but they are worth taking while they are still up for grabs.

If the MPP, with its lone MP, is accepted it will be looking around for delegates, and there will be several from the NPP and Solidarity who will be

There's more than a peaceful solution to be gained from joining Codesa. Participants also get travel money, perks and status.

By GAVIN EVANS

happy to oblige.

While most of the 17 other Codesa insiders have little concern about the havoc a bit more poaching would cause in the Indian House, so far they have not come up with any further criteria for deciding which of the 29 other applicant organisations, parties and interest groups to accept.

All that is certain is that for

reasons of expedience the Zulu royal family, the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa and at least one right wing party will get the thumbs up. For the rest, no one knows.

The Codesa Daily Management Committee has drawn up a series of questions for applicants. From there, says Janet Love of the Codesa Political Secretariat, the issue will go the

full 38-member management committee to decide on guidelines for representation, and the issue may only be decided at the next Codesa plenary session in two months time.

Meanwhile, the five Codesa working groups concluded their work on procedures and agendas this week, and will begin tackling the issues of substance on February 10.

Because of the enormity of the issues they need to negotiate, and the pressure to reach "sufficient consensus" in the shortest time possible, the working groups have opted to form sub-committees to speed things up.

Each of them have elected steering committees — with the African National Congress, National Party/government, Inkatha and the Labour Party being the only parties to have representation on all of these structures. The Democratic Party and Truskei government are represented on four steering committees, and the South African Communist Party on three. The Bophuthatswana government, which is resisting pressure for re-incorporation, has chosen to have steering committee representation on Working Group 4, dealing with the future of the TVBC states.

X

The Weekly Mail
31 Jan - 6 Feb 1992 (13)
Mandela in Cuba X

HOW FAR WE SLAVES HAVE COME
(Pathfinder, R18,50)

ON July 26 1991, Nelson Mandela and Fidel Castro spoke together for the first time in Mantanzas, Cuba, to commemorate the 36th anniversary of the beginning of the Cuban revolution. This book is composed of the complete text of their speeches.

The speeches contain large salvos of mutual appreciation, but the book is nevertheless a worthwhile historical document which sheds light on the Angolan war and current co-operation between southern African revolutionaries and the Cuban government.

Blake Owens

(22)
The Weekly Mail 31 Jan - 6 Feb 1992

Ring-a-ring a rosies: But will they all fall down?

There may be public discontent but the African National Congress and National Party are slowly starting to sing the same song. **PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK reports**

equal number of seats no matter how many voters it has, in much the same way as the United States senate.

Thus, the Northern Cape with a few hundred thousand votes will have equal representation to the Witwatersrand with some six million votes.

The NP proposals go further. They want every party that wins above a certain percentage of the votes in a region to get an equal number of seats in that region.

Thus, in the NP's conception, the parliament that will draw up the final constitution will not be based on one man, one vote, as the constituent assembly in Namibia was.

The upper house is skewed towards those such as the NP which have a broad sweep of support around the country, even if it is nowhere in the majority.

Thus the NP could end up with as many — or more — seats in the upper house than the ANC, with only a fraction of the votes, and be able to block further constitutional amendments.

This could be what Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Gerrit Viljoen has in mind when he says, somewhat puzzlingly, that using the interim parliament to draw up the new constitution will ensure the proper representation of minorities in negotiations for a future constitution.

The ANC wants the constituent assembly to be based, like the lower house, on one man, one vote proportional representation — though ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa finds it encouraging that the NP have accepted the idea of an elected body to draft the constitution of the country.

He adds, however: "We are confident that we will turn De Klerk around completely to accept the constituent assembly as demanded by the ANC."

But the NP is keeping in mind the constant assurances of ANC president Nelson Mandela that the fears of whites

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's latest leap in lateral thinking amounts to the acceptance — in principle at least — of the two fundamental African National Congress demands of an interim government and an elected constituent assembly.

If the proposals that have emerged over the past few days were accepted at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), the ANC could within 18 months be the dominant partner in an elected transitional government of national unity.

In return, the National Party will keep some hand on the levers of power by remaining in government as a coalition partner.

Much of De Klerk's rhetoric at the opening of parliament last Friday was aimed at a white population that has grown restless at the changes that are sweeping the country and the prospects of an ignominious NP defeat in the by-election in the Potchefstroom constituency next month.

More important is what he has introduced through the backdoor — both at the opening of parliament and at Codesa last month.

Going hand in hand with that is an alternative vision of how to get from here to democracy.

De Klerk is proposing a phased movement towards that goal: agreement at Codesa on an interim constitution; a referendum; and an election for a new parliament upon which the interim government would be based and which would negotiate the final constitution.

In coming up with what many observers are realising is a fundamental, if convoluted, new shift in NP thinking, De Klerk is proposing a plan that at least in some aspects appears more democratic than the ANC's. Where the ANC's interim government is an appointed body, De Klerk's transitional government is elected.

There are, however, two major areas that the NP will have to compromise on before the plan could become in any way acceptable to the ANC's membership — there has to be a time limit placed on the life of the interim constitution, and the upper house of parliament has to be composed in such a way that it cannot be a brake on further changes to the constitution.

The form of De Klerk's interim parliament, based on the NP's proposals, will be a bicameral legislature. The lower house is to be elected on the basis of proportional representation — one man, one vote. On that there is unlikely to be disagreement.

The problem, however, is likely to be with the upper house. The NP proposal is that this be elected on the basis of regions with each region getting an

—D

(1)

*The Weekly Mail**31 Jan - 6 Feb 1992*

Pupil power chaos grips black schools

PUPIL power has taken over as frustrated youths turn on their teachers in Transvaal townships. The Department of Education and Training said this week it could not guarantee the safety of white teachers after a lecturer was set alight in his classroom.

The incident followed a week of violence in which white staff were threatened by armed youths and fled, inspectors were chased from the premises and black teachers were taken hostage.

Thousands of pupils refused entrance to overcrowded schools are roaming the streets — while in some, pupils have taken control of admissions.

The perennial problems of overcrowding and shortages plague township schools. "It's very discouraging to come to a school that resembles a war memorial," said one teacher. "Classes have no doors and windows, and in some cases girls take notes on their tights."

Each year the crisis deepens as failure rates soar. Pupils have lost all faith in the system. Teachers, the most immediate representatives of authority, are often the butt of their anger.

But educators are determined to rescue the "back to school" campaign. At a meeting this week, 2 000 Soweto teachers called for principals to admit pupils even if schools were bursting at the seams.

Full details: PAGES 2 and 3

Pupil power as chaos grips schools

As attacks on white staff add to the spiralling crisis in black education, educators are taking steps to rescue the 'back to school' campaign.

PORTIA MAURICE reports

COMMUNITY leaders warn that 1992 will be a year of delivery — or explosion — as black schools on the Reef have slid into renewed chaos just three weeks into the first term.

Pupil power has taken over as frustrated youths turn on their teachers in traditional hotspots of militancy: the Pretoria townships of Mamelodi and Soshanguve, Katlehong on the East Rand and Diepkloof in Soweto.

On Wednesday the Department of Education and Training said it could not guarantee the safety of white teachers in black schools after Katlehong lecturer Schalk Dippennar (53) was assaulted and set alight by six men who barged into his Kathorus College of Education classroom.

The incident followed a week of violence that began in nearby Kwa-Dukuthole High, which remains closed. There, white staff were threatened by armed youths and fled. Inspectors were chased from the premises and black teachers were taken hostage and marched to the police station to secure the release of an arrested pupil. Agitators moved to nearby schools, leaving terrorised white teachers to seek refuge in the local circuit office.

At Mamelodi's J Kekana High School, *The Weekly Mail* was told, *tsotsi* elements had filled a void in student leadership and assaulted the principal while trying to enforce the demand to "pass one, pass all" — a campaign which appears to have taken root in Reef schools.

The principal of Kekana was not on the premises this week for comment, and pupil anger ran high. Some claimed teachers did not come to class, while others were more sympathetic. "How can a teacher do his job under pressure and fear, not knowing what type of gun a student may be hiding in his satchel?" one asked.

Meanwhile, thousands of pupils refused entrance to overcrowded schools are roaming the streets — while in some, pupils have taken control of admissions.

The perennial problems of overcrowding, shortages and disillusionment plague township schools. "It's very discouraging to come to a school that resembles a war memorial," said one teacher. "Classes have no doors and windows, and in some cases girls take notes on their thighs."

Each year the crisis deepens as failure rates soar while build-

ings and teachers are not increased to meet the growing need. Pupils who have lost all faith in the system believe they have the right to demand what is their due, and will do almost anything to get it. Teachers, the most immediate representatives of authority, are often at the butt end of their anger.

But educators are determined to rescue the "back to school" campaign. At a Diepkloof meeting this week, 2 000 Soweto teachers called for principals to admit pupils even if schools were bursting at the seams.

"This process of admissions is merely a restatement of the right to learn," Soweto Education Crisis Committee (SECC) chairman David Maepa told the teachers. "We cannot close our doors to pupils simply because the DET has failed to provide."

Some schools have enrolled way beyond their means, while those with a more hard-line approach have kept numbers low. At one Moletsane school, pupils allegedly punctured the principal's car tyres because they could not get in.

Moving from school to school, pupils seeking a place have fallen victim to a racket in the forgery of report cards and certificates. "A pupil who failed Standard Seven is somehow able to produce a report card saying he has passed Standard Nine," said South African Democratic Teachers' Union Soweto spokesman Oupa Mpetla. "When you trace back, he has no record."

The demand to "pass one, pass all" — automatic promotion, or "condoning" — is likely to create huge bottlenecks when pupils reach matric. Often below-borderline cases are pushed through to



Angry Soweto teachers discuss the education crisis at Diepkloof Hall
Photo: GUY ADAMS

the next standard, but some pupils complain the practice is completely arbitrary and only those who "push hard" get away with it.

Linda (18) lives in a dilapidated shelter in the "People's Village" squatter camp in Diepkloof with her two sisters and their children. Of her 42 classmates, 16 passed and four were "condoned". When she tried for promotion at Madibane High, she lied about her age but was told she was young enough to repeat.

She also claims a classmate passed the History exam without writing it. "She was sitting next to me in the exam room and she did not write a thing. But when we got our reports, she had passed," Linda says.

A Sunday newspaper alleged that gangs of Pan Africanist Student Organisation members were responsible for the attacks

on white teachers, but the organisation's leadership this week condemned the action.

Paso blamed the Congress of South African Students for the "pass one, pass all" campaign, which it says has its roots in the 1985 student uprising. "We will not support such foolish actions," Paso general secretary Lawrence Ngandela told *The Weekly Mail* this week. "This is the reinstallation of the 'education before liberation' slogan. It has become the norm that pupils don't work throughout the year and then expect to be condoned."

Reacting to claims that the onslaught against white teachers was racist, Ngandela said Paso members would be disciplined if they were found to have been involved. However, he warned that the employment of white teachers in DET schools while thou-

sands of their black counterparts remained jobless was causing frustration which could escalate into further violence.

"African students often opt for leaching as a last resort to secure employment, but they are frustrated when they can't find jobs at the end of the road," Ngandela said. "We are not being racist, but disadvantaged African teachers should be given opportunities. They (DET) just take some defunct teachers from these boers and put them here - but we cannot go and look for a job in Boksburg, for example."

The DET said this week that in 1990 (the last year for which figures were available) it had employed 837 white teachers. Spokesman Geoffrey Makwakwa said they were not employed "at the expense of black teachers", but to teach subjects such as Maths and Science, in which black teachers were insufficiently qualified.

He said black teachers were given preference in appointment, but that many refused to move to rural schools which needed staff.

However, the SECC's Maepa said he knew of more than 3 000 Soweto teachers who had been unemployed for three years, although their services were sorely needed.

He called on inspectors and subject advisors to assist the teaching corps. "This is a time of crisis for the black child and every person who is qualified to teach must do so. Inspectors should not enter the schools as bosses — they should display their skills in the classroom," Maepa said.

Teachers clearly unable to cope and searching for solutions expressed a host of other problems at the Diepkloof meeting. Some said they had been threatened with victimisation by education authorities if they attended the meeting.

At one Soweto school, it was alleged, there was a "money first, books later" policy. Only pupils who had paid R5 school fees had been allocated stationery.

Maepa said the DET has been "ducking" negotiations to resolve the crisis and that conditions could worsen in what is likely to be a watershed year for South African education. "We hold responsible those who sit comfortably in their plush Pretoria offices. It is our children whose blood will be spilt, not theirs," he said.

The Weekly Mail 31 Jan - 6 Feb 1992 (4)

Lots of rhetoric, beer, music — but no teaching

By FIAT NXUMALO

I ARRIVED at Soshanguve's Tiyelclani High School at about 9.30am on Tuesday. What struck me first was the overwhelmingly large number of pupils outside classrooms. Nor were any teachers in class; most were sitting just outside the entrance to the staff room.

The school was re-opened on Monday after being closed for a week. The reason for the Department of Education and Training shutting down the school was the pupils' demand for a "pass one, pass all" policy and the admission of pupils by other pupils.

So I went there as a pupil to try and get admitted to Tiyelclani — and, more importantly, to see who was in charge of admitting new pupils. The attempt turned out to be an eye-opener which brought me close to the chaos that rules in the school.

There was no teaching taking place. Those pupils in classrooms were playing draughts and just whiling time away in whichever way they could.

Others indulged in a game of dice-throw-

ing behind a standard eight classroom.

Although it was still early in the day, three empty quarts of beer were half-hidden under the chairs. You didn't have to be a genius to notice that some of the pupils had been drinking — and more was to follow as the day wore on.

I introduced myself as a pupil from Mamelodi's J Kekana High to a tall guy called Lucky — who seemed to be very involved with admitting new pupils.

"Don't worry my bra. No students will be thrown into the streets," he assured me as he led the way to the library — where I would be "helped".

The library itself is far from what one expects a library to be. There were no books in sight. And the place was crowded and very noisy. Outside a group nonchalantly sat around a pupil's black VW Golf belting out *Everybody, Everybody* — a hit tune by Italian supergroup Black Box — at full blast.

"Tell those people out there to switch off that thing. We are in a meeting here," a

"comrade" pupil said to a boy standing on a desk next to the window.

Instead, the would-be messenger continued dancing on top of the desk. So the meeting continued, with a constant flow of pupils going in and out.

Maybe the rhetoric bored them. Speaker after speaker stressed that "every pupil who has a genuine desire to learn has a right to be admitted at the school", and reminded the meeting that "as students we must be united in everything we do".

The main speaker — who appeared to be more popular among his peers, perhaps because of his fiery utterances — was a comrade colourfully dressed in a khaki cap, yellow T-shirt, "army brown" pants and black boots.

"These teachers get paid. It is therefore your task to make sure they get their salary for a job well done. Don't let them make you believe there is no more space for you. You need to be taught," he said to tumultuous applause.

In their commitment "to see to it that every student gets free education" the pupils did not even see the DET hunkie come in to deliver "freedom stationery".

One observer remarked that, considering schools

opened three weeks ago, "the stationery was delivered quite early — maybe the DET has had a change of heart after all".

For an outsider like myself it seemed the teachers' job for the day — to ensure that stationery got neatly tucked away in the store-room — was done. So, without any effective teaching having taken place, they padlocked the heavily vandalised store-room and left.

Meanwhile, the meeting in the library continued into the next phase, which was to send a delegation to the teachers "to negotiate the question of admitting pupils".

In an interview earlier, one teacher had told me: "There is no way additional pupils will be admitted. The school has 1 649 pupils and 28 teachers — to be accommodated in 22 classrooms."

So the arithmetic goes against the pupils, and not the teachers, as the speakers at the library would have us believe. It's only a pity that the prospective pupils never got to know the truth.

By the time I left at 1.30pm the meeting was still in full swing in the library — and there were no teachers left on the school premises.

The Weekly Mail 31 Jan - bfeb
 When crocodile and fish unite X1992
 (9)

BY HUBERT MATLOU
 BOPHUTHATSWANA President Lucas Mangope will be facing a strong test to his authority as two powerful tribes — the Bafokeng and the Batlhaping — are set to challenge his power to depose and install chiefs, and to act as spokesman for the Tswana at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

This emerged in a meeting of the Bafokeng, held earlier this month in Hillbrow and attended by a delegation of the Batlhaping. Both share the same problem: Bafokeng Chief Lebone Molotlegi and Batlhaping Chief Sam Mankwatoane have both been deposed by Mangope.

The two went into voluntary exile as a result of police harassment and fear for their lives after the abortive coup in 1988.

After the coup, Mangope sought to secure his position by embarking on a forced recruitment drive for the Bophuthatswana Democratic Party in order to identify his opponents. He took it to extremes by usurping powers to appoint and dismiss traditional leaders as he liked. To facilitate this, he amended the Traditional Authorities Act of 1978, enabling him to gain constitutional powers of installing and deposing chiefs arbitrarily. Prior to the amendment, Mangope's role was limited to the installation of the heir chosen by the royal family and the tribe.

The joint campaign by the two tribes is also geared to undermine Mangope's participation in

Codesa, and press for the reincorporation of the "independent" homelands into South Africa.

This follows Mangope's refusal to sign Codesa's declaration of intent, insisting on maintaining Bophuthatswana as a separate entity. In a surprising move, he announced his government's delegation to serve in Codesa's working groups.

The intensity of the meeting was pre-empted by Fatus Mkgwe, of the Bafokeng Action Committee, in his chairman's remarks — "when crocodiles and fish resolve to unite and fight a common enemy in the water, Mangope doesn't stand a chance but to capitulate" (a crocodile and a fish are worshipped by the Bafokeng and the Batlhaping respectively).

The meeting brought about 30 people together, many of them migrant workers and urbanites who originally come from Phokeng, in Rustenburg. The meeting's tone was set by Caroline Makgala, a domestic worker in Johannesburg's suburbs. Actions considered for the year include summoning Mangope to a tribal meeting to demand the return of Molotlegi, taking the chief's wife, Semane, back to his house in defiance of the deportation order Mangope placed on her, and continuing to submit memorandums to President FW de Klerk to put pressure on Mangope to allow exiled chiefs to return and succumb to the demand for the reincorporation of Bophuthatswana into South Africa.

The Weekly Mail 31 Jan - 6 Feb 1992

'Hearts and minds' cost millions (7)

By DREW FORREST

THE South African Defence Force's top-secret battle for hearts and minds has cost the South African taxpayer more than R150-million — and millions more will be spent before funding is cut off in 1994.

This is confirmed by an inspection of budgets and confidential project reports which have come into the possession of *The Weekly Mail*.

They show how Military Intelligence-spawned Adult Education Consultants (AEC) grew into a monster whose tentacles spread into every corner of South African society between 1986 and this year, when it was disbanded.

Sources confirm that AEC has already spent in excess of R150-million and that funding for the various regional fronts formerly under its umbrella will continue until 1994, at an additional cost of up to R20-million to the taxpayer.

The nakedly political objectives of the "education" and "training" offered by AEC, and its octopus-like growth into all communities, emerges clearly from its internal documents.

But *The Weekly Mail* has also uncovered links between its activities and violence. Training and funding was offered to "moderate" groups subsequently involved in attacks on political opponents. In at least one instance — at the Hippo camp in Namibia, where in 1986 AEC trained over 80 Inkatha "political communicators" — contra-mobilisation training was provided in conjunction with SADF instruction in warfare.

AEC's 1988/9 budget sets aside R7-million for the Pretoria head office, R1,2-million for the establishment of training centres and R3,5-million for front organisation-run projects in the eastern Cape, western Cape, Transvaal, northern Transvaal, Natal and northern Cape. At that stage, 103 posts were envisaged.

Training camps already existed in Goedeheop and Crausekloof, and further camps were planned in South West Africa, the eastern Cape, western Cape, northern Cape, Natal and Transvaal.

Heavy emphasis is placed on the coloured community — R1,6-million is earmarked for the "mobilisation and counter-mobilisation (of coloureds) for national security objectives".

Urban students are to be deflected from "people's education" and professional groups mobilised to support the free market system and the government. In addition, members of the coloured Labour Party were given 15 training courses in 1987 to equip it to fight three by-elections.

Another key target group is Xhosas — the eastern Cape was seen as strategically vital — with R480 000 being earmarked to mobilise them as an ethnic group against the "ANC/SA Communist Party alliance" and to neutralise the latter's influence.

Xhosa students are to be organised into a stu-

Die projekbegrotings is gebaseer op bestaande projekte in S.W.A. en die R.S.A., asook op die bevolkingsgroepprioriteitslys.

SAMEVATTING

Bedryfsbegroting	R 7 490 900
Terreine	R 1 241 800
Projekte: R.S.A.	R 3 539 600
S.W.A.	R 4 184 600
TOTAAL:	R16 456 900

Documents reflect AEC's budget for 1988/89

Xhosas (R480 000)

Missie

Om die Xhosa as bevolkingsgroep te kontramobiliseer en te mobiliseer om daartoe te lei dat die ANC/SACP alliansie se invloed onder die bevolkingsgroep geneutraliseer word.

Xhosa-studente

Doelstelling

Xhosa and coloureds in the eastern Cape were seen as key target groups

dent body which is not affiliated to the National Union of South African Students (Nusas). In line with "successes" in Venda and South West Africa, a traditional Xhosa authority structure is to be set up to make Xhosas more "culture-conscious" (*kulucabhevis*).

In addition, AEC targets the leaders of various homelands: R350 000 is to be spent on Venda leaders, R296 000 on Zulu leaders and R240 000 on leaders of Bophuthatswana.

The Weekly Mail has already provided details of the systematic leadership and political training given by AEC, heavily biased against the ANC and its allies, to Inkatha's top echelons.

In Venda, AEC trained Venda cabinet ministers, headmen and school principals at a secret facility at Goedeheop, near Louis Trichardt. Participants told the *Sowetan* they had been lectured on "the evils of communism".

Also provided for in the 1988/9 budget is R4-million for contra-mobilisation in Namibia, broken down into projects for the Owambo, Kavango, Herero, Nama, Damara, whites and others.

White youth movements and students are also targeted, and a Cape Town-based Christian publishing company, Goeie Noud Bemaking, is allocated R225 000 to "conscientise members of cultural front organisations".

AEC's total projected spending grew from

about R11-million in 1986/7 to R16,5-million in 1988/9. Sources estimate there was a 10 percent escalation each year thereafter until 1991/2, when the network began to wind down.

This accounts for close to R100-million, but does not include overspending or special projects. From internal documents, *The Weekly Mail* knows that AEC expected to exceed its 1987/88 budget by R1,2-million. Special projects known to *The Weekly Mail* include:

●Project "Mike Wildt", in terms of which AEC set out in 1986 to roll back a Swapo drive to win over headmen, at a projected cost of R121 000. The "Mike" referred to may be Mike Davis, since active in Durban front organisation Creed Consultants.

●A project, with a budget of R323 000, in terms of which 30 hand-picked Owambo matriculants would be trained as "communicators and influencers" in such subjects as "the onslaught" and communism. Training was conducted partly in South Africa, and R21 000 is set aside for the provision of weaponry and weapons training for this group.

In addition, 1988 saw the formation of SADF-controlled Central Capital Control Services to oversee the financing of projects. With offices, sophisticated computer equipment and a large staff, the CCCS cost at least R15-million to set up and run in that year alone, sources estimate.

BLACK CAT boss Chris Ngwenya, leader of a criminal group that terrorises members of the African National Congress in the Transvaal township of Wessellon, has ordered the assassination of two dissident colleagues who spoke out last week about the gang's links with Inkatha.

Ngwenya ordered his men to "eliminate" the pair just days before they are due to give evidence at Justice Richard Goldstone's commission of inquiry into the violence that now sweeps the country, according to a third member of the gang who defected this week.

The three former gangsters have provided detailed evidence about how a band of Black Cats was recruited by Inkatha and given paramilitary training at a camp run by a front company for the South African Defence Force in preparation for attacks on members of the ANC who live in the township near Ermelo.

A team of lawyers, led by David Soggo SC, will have the three Black Cat defectors with them when they fly to Cape Town next week to present evidence and witnesses to the commission about the gang's violent activities in Wessellon and their links with Inkatha and a front company run by Military Intelligence.

The Weekly Mail has informed Justice Goldstone about the threats to potential witnesses at his commission's hearing next week and sent an urgent message to Police Minister Hernus Kriel asking him to ensure the safety of the witnesses.

Kriel's office replied by saying that requests for residents of Wessellon to be protected from the gang have been sent to the regional police

The Black Cat order goes out: Kill them

Black Cat gangsters are under order to find and kill two dissidents due to testify before the Goldstone commission next week. By EDDIE KOCH and PHILLIPA GARSON

commissioner in the eastern Transvaal.

According to evidence supplied by the defectors, the pro-Inkatha gang works closely with white policemen based in Ermelo and appears to have been protected by the very SAP officers investigating a string of crimes and killings in which they have been involved.

The third defector, who wishes to remain anonymous, this week said a hit squad assembled by the Black Cats was sent to Johannesburg this week in order to find and kill *The Weekly Mail's* informants.

Meanwhile, frightened civic members in Wessellon report that since the Black Cat dissidents went public with their story, there have been numerous instances of intimidation and

death threats from the gang, which is attempting to prevent others from coming forward.

Gang leaders reportedly held a meeting late last Saturday night with the policemen from Ermelo police station implicated in the vigilante onslaught against township residents.

In the early hours of Sunday morning, a Wessellon resident, Morris Mthembu, was shot by unknown people in a white Nissan Skyline. And residents report that a white Jetta with kwaZulu registration plates has been patrolling the township.

According to one informant, the occupants of the car — two men from Ulundi, a hit-squad member known as "Sugar" who has been linked to several deaths in the township and a local Black Cat gangster known as "Papa" — are on a mission to assassinate three key civic members.

Police public relations headquarters have responded to *Weekly Mail* reports of the gang's collaboration with SAP members in Ermelo by saying the incidents are being investigated by "the Special Investigating Unit headed by Major-General Gloy and are at an advanced stage".

Major-General Leon Mellel, spokesman for

the minister of law and order, said this week that allegations of police complicity in the intimidation of witnesses were serious.

"You are requested to make such evidence available to the Goldstone Commission or alternatively to the regional commissioner, to investigate. Should it prove to be true, the necessary action would most certainly be taken," he said.

Justice Goldstone's hearing, which will probe *Weekly Mail* reports of extensive links between the SADF's Department of Military Intelligence and a roving team of paramilitary hitmen from Inkatha who appear to have the support of some SAP members, begins in Cape Town on Tuesday next week.

Two teams of lawyers will address the commission and present it with military documents and at least six witnesses, including defectors from the Black Cats, former MI front operators and former Inkatha leader Mbongeni Khumalo.

The Weekly Mail's legal team is led by David Soggo SC, assisted by Paul Kennedy and instructed by David Dison. The ANC and the Congress of South African Trade Unions have instructed a team from Cheadle, Thompson and Haysom to represent them.

●The Inkatha Freedom Party this week submitted a 25-page "dossier of death" to the Goldstone commission, outlining "a campaign to assassinate IFP officials, particularly in areas of Natal". It gave details of the killing of 78 IFP officials and supporters and the injuring of another 75 since last September. ANC members were blamed for most of the incidents.

The Weekly Mail 31 Jan - 6 Feb 1992 (6)

The Weekly Mail

31 Jan - 6 Feb 1992

(5)

What the SADF's covert funds cost taxpayers: R150 million

THE South African Defence Force's secret battle for hearts and minds has cost the South African taxpayer more than R150-million.

And the spending spree is not over — millions more have been allocated to be spent over the next two years.

This is confirmed by detailed budgets and confidential project reports leaked to *The Weekly Mail*.

Some of the budget figures, for example, set aside R7-million for the Pretoria head office of a "front" organisation, R1,2-million for the establishment of training centres and R3,5-million for projects in the eastern Cape, western Cape, Transvaal, northern Transvaal, Natal and northern Cape.

The reports place heavy emphasis on the coloured community — R1,6-million is earmarked for the "mobilisation and counter-mobilisation (of coloureds) for national security objectives".

In addition, members of the coloured Labour Party were given 15 training courses in 1987 to equip it to fight three by-elections.

Another key target group are Xhosas — the eastern Cape was seen as strategically vital — with R480 000 earmarked to mobilise them against the "ANC/SA Communist Party alliance".

Full details: PAGE 5

The Citizen 31/1/92

Needed^X

DR Treurnicht is a brilliant man, but confused. Codesa is a fact of life. The CP's presence is desperately needed at Codesa to offset the ANC-NP "axis".

The CP has recognised that the IFP's valid objection to the "undivided unitary State" in Codesa's Declaration of Intent will require amendment.

~~DR TREURNICHT~~

Sandton

The Citizen 31/1/92

ANC alarmed over violence

THE ANC yesterday expressed alarm at the increase in arbitrary acts of violence carried out by Whites on Blacks and vice versa.

It said some of the crimes appeared to have no logical explanation other than "a deeply-felt rage within the bosom of the perpetrator".

In other instances, they bore "all the hallmarks of premeditation" and "a cold-blooded calculation born of a deep-seated hatred for the victims".

"Sections of our country's population are evidently in the grip of a profound psychosis. We place the blame for this squarely at the door of the instigators of apartheid and racist domination that have dehumanised and objectified their victims," the statement said. — Sapa.

The Citizen 31/1/92

STARTLING CLAIMS

BY CP

Allegations against Pik, FW start row

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN — A huge row is brewing in Parliament over Conservative Party claims that both State President De Klerk and Mr P.W. Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, knew of attempts in 1990 to force the TVBC states — Transkei, Venda, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei back into South Africa.

Dr Hendrik Hartzenberg, CP deputy leader, quashed "secret agreements" that when Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei was reluctant to sign the Codesa Declaration of Intent last month, he was "assured there would be a new coup in Ciskei if he did not sign".

Deputy Minister of Justice, Mr Dami Schutte, accused Dr Hartzenberg of "shocking and highly emotional" allegations, which should be put to the Goldstone Commission investigating violence and intimidation.

Dr Hartzenberg made

his bombshell speech on the eve of the debate this morning on the CP's motion of "no confidence in the Cabinet", in which State President De Klerk is expected to take part.

Speaking during the closing moments of the debate on the State President's opening speech, Dr Hartzenberg said he had a secret document from government "inner chambers", and he would quote this in Parliament to avoid the government again trying to force people to denounce their

people to denounce their

TO PAGE 4

CP allegations

FROM PAGE 1

The source says that in February 1990 it was decided, with the knowledge of the State President and Mr P.W. Botha, that the TVBC countries must be destabilised in order to convince them that the only alternative was to link up again with South Africa.

The source said it was decided that bombs would be exploded sporadically within these countries to convince their governments that they could not fight against the ANC.

"The impression also had to be created that the ANC enjoyed wide support in their countries."

There were numerous interjections of denial from NP benches during Dr Hartzenberg's speech.

Dr Hartzenberg continued: "The information says the coup against the Ciskei government of President Sebe was planned and executed from the offices of Military Intelligence in the Eastern Cape."

"During the Codesa negotiations, when Brigadier Oupa Gqozo did not wish to sign the declaration, he was called in and assured there would be a new coup in Ciskei if he did not sign the declaration."

"He came into power with a coup, and he was threatened that another coup would take place if he did not sign," said Dr Hartzenberg.

Earlier in his speech, Dr Hartzenberg said that on April 26 1991 the director-general of the National Intelligence Service (NIS) Dr Niel Barnard told senior NIS management that leaks had taken place from the NIS to the Right-wing.

He also said NIS members had made contact with the ANC, apparently aimed at "feathering their own nest". In the past year, NIS members had also given "full information" to more than one Western intelligence service.

Dr Hartzenberg added: "I want to say that the leaks to the Right side of the spectrum did take place, and if they were 'leaks' at that time, then they now take the form of a stream."

Dr Hartzenberg quoted Dr Barnard as saying that the NIS was "conducting information masquerade and mercilessly in favour of the present government". Any person or body who undermined the settlement process would be opposed by the NIS with all the might and talents it had.

"It is the CP that he (Dr Barnard) is here opposing with all the might he possesses," Dr Hartzenberg said.

"I say this is the lowest point to which democracy has yet fallen in the world. It is the lowest, to use organisations to spy on your opponents, and the State President has admitted that he is spying on us and doing other things to us."

"Now I ask whose future can be entrusted to a government which wrongfully uses taxpayers' money to spy on opposition parties?"

"I want to go further by saying they are not only spying on us, and refer to a few leaks. I have a number of documents that they went and stole from the ANC and SACP, their future life partners."

He said he was quoting from a "Report of the Organising Committee to

National Consultative Conference" of the ANC. This document spoke not of "sharing power" but of "seizure of power".

Another secret ANC document said that negotiations were not merely negotiations, but a "struggle" during which the ANC would grasp power.

"This immediate objective we share with our allies in the tripartite alliance (the ANC, the SACP and Cosatu)... is the seizure of power," Dr Hartzenberg quoted.

The democratic Socialism for which the SACP stands will return Socialism to its true and original vocation as envisaged by Marx and Engels and many other great socialist pioneers.

Mr Joe Slovo was quoted as saying: "However much they manoeuvre, we will never shift from our insistence on majority rule. It means that we are taking the shortest and only possible road to Socialism, the road of a non-racial, non-sexist, united and democratic South Africa."

There were again interjections from NP benches that Dr Hartzenberg was repeating "scandal stories".

Responding to Dr Hartzenberg, Mr Schutte said the CP must know that the NIS did not collect information on political parties.

"But if those parties are involved with violence, they will earn the attention of NIS. The government is not naive about the onslaught from the Left or Right."

Mr Schutte said if Dr Hartzenberg believed his allegations, he should put them to the Goldstone Commission. Wild and unsubstantiated allegations were not in the country's interest.

The debate ended last night on the State President's opening speech. But in the House of Assembly today, Dr Andries Treurnicht, CP leader, will propose his motion of "no confidence in the Cabinet".

The Citizen 31/1/92

'Overtures to Right shows disquiet in NP'

OVERTURES to Right-wing parties by way of a lengthy explanation of self-determination reflected extreme disquiet in the National Party, the Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, Mr Allan Hendrickse, said on Wednesday.

The debate was marked by Mr Hendrickse engaging in an bitter, finger-pointing exchange with President De Klerk, during which Mr Hendrickse denied he was racist or anti-White.

Mr Hendrickse said Mr De Klerk's 1992 opening address indicated that there was concern in his mind.

"Missing from his speech was a crystal-clear forward surge from point A to point B, as we have come to know him from his 1990 and 1991 speech-

es," Mr Hendrickse said in debate on the State President's opening speech to Parliament.

Mr De Klerk appeared to be caught in a web woven by people on the Left and Right, both inside as well as outside the NP.

"There is no question about it, that the overtures to Right-wing parties by way of a lengthy explanation on the subject of "self-determination" reflect a situation of extreme disquiet within the NP," he said.

There was a simple explanation for the "split personality" that epitomised the behaviour of NP politicians: "The Nationalists have apartheid in their hearts and blood..."

"They are struggling to think democratically because their hearts throb apartheid," he said.

The Citizen

31/1/92

CP slams NP on self-rule

IT was unbelievable that the National Party was now linking power-sharing with proportional representation and saying this was self-determination, Mr Moolman Mentz (CP Ermelo) said yesterday.

Speaking during the debate on the State President's opening-of-Parliament speech, he said the proposal by President De Klerk in his speech that the issue of self-determination be put on Codesa's agenda had changed nothing.

Imagine if the CP were to set up another forum for people who believed in partition, Mr Mentz asked.

The National Party had no mandate to negotiate with the ANC.

And a smaller South Africa was acceptable to the CP.

The Citizen 31/1/92

NP welcomes HNP's 'volkstaat' stance

CAPE TOWN. — The Herstigte Nasionale Party's acceptance of a "volkstaat" was welcomed by the National Party yesterday, because, it said, the party had moved closer to the negotiation option.

The NP's Information Service said the announcement by the HNP's leader, Mr Jaap Marais, accepting the volkstaat concept was seen as a possible consolidation of Right-wing parties' position on constitutional negotiations.

It said it was "interesting" that the party's apparent shift had come soon after President De Klerk's call for the Right-wing to debate the issue of self-determination within Codesa, and it would now hopefully result in a "map" for such a nation-State from the ranks of the Right-wing.

"The NP is convinced there is a growing number of Right-wing voters who favour negotiations for a volkstaat and that the true Right-wing leaders will shortly be compelled to join the negotiation table on behalf of their supporters."

"The NP will welcome it."

The Boerestaat Party yesterday also welcomed the HNP's decision to accept the idea of an Afrikaner State.

Its leader, Mr Robert van Tonder, said the veteran leader of the HNP, Mr Jaap Marais, was an important and steadfast leader.

"His influence would help Boers and other Rightists to consolidate for collaboration."

A volkstaat had to be reinstated on historical grounds and had to be based purely on the Boer philosophy.

"The Afrikaner has never had his own State, only the Boers did — the Boere Republieke. By accepting the Boer philosophy, the nasty racist connotations which gave us a bad name world-wide will be negated."

An "Afrikanerstaat" would necessarily include "brown Afrikaners", said Mr Van Tonder, referring to Afrikaans-speaking Coloureds.

An exclusively White "Afrikanerstaat" would be a step backwards because there would be discrimination on the grounds of colour.

"The Boerestaat is based on grounds of nationhood like any normal nation in the world and not on grounds of colour." — Sapa

Independent joins NP in House of Delegates

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. — The National Party has gained its first MP in the House of Delegates, and also came one member closer to a takeover in the House of Representatives yesterday when a previously Independent member joined them.

The first NP member of the House of Delegates is Mr Solile Naidoo, Independent MP for Durban Bay.

A previous Ministerial Representative of the House of Delegates, Mr Naidoo is a former lecturer at Durbanville Westville, Rhodes, Zululand and Fort Hare Universities and the M L Sultan technikoon.

"I believe that the NP has the capacity and the resources and sufficient constituency support to continue in office in the

interests of all South Africans," said Mr Naidoo.

The NP had committed itself to securing justice, liberty and equality of opportunity for all its citizens in a united nation.

Joining the NP caucus in the House of Representatives was Mr Glen Rooskrans, MP for West Free State. He was the youngest elected member of the

Labour Party when he entered Parliament in 1984. He is now 34.

Mr Rooskrans said yesterday that in the new South Africa the only three political parties which would play a major role would be the NP, ANC and Inkatha.

Of these, only the NP could safeguard the interests of all South Africans and could ensure that a sound economic policy was maintained.

The Citizen

31/1/92

The Citizen 31/1/92

NIS probes parties 'who use violence'

POLITICAL parties concerned with violence had earned the attention of the National Intelligence Service, the Deputy Minister of Justice, Mr Danie Schutte, said yesterday.

Speaking during debate on the State President's opening speech, he said allegations made by the Conservative Party's deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg about the NIS had been shocking and highly emotional.

Dr Hartzenberg had said earlier yesterday that the NIS was spying on the CP.

"The CP must know that the NIS does not collect information on political parties... but if those parties are involved with violence they will earn the attention of NIS.

"The government is not naive about the onslaught from the Left or Right."

If Dr Hartzenberg really believed in his allegations he should put them to the Goldstone Commission investigating violence and intimidation.

Wild and unsubstantiated allegations had short-term political value but were not in the country's interest.

"The CP have not just refused to participate (in the peace process). But instead we have just heard more and more of threats of violence in this debate."

Mr Schutte also denied that the government was behind a "Third Force" saying allegations to this effect did not make sense.

"Why undermine

peace and stability and then set up a competent and credible commission (the Goldstone Commission) which will clearly reveal underhand activities — if they exist?"

Legislation would soon be tabled to give statutory recognition to the National Peace Secretariat and the peace structures functioning under it.

The commitment and sincerity of the government in curbing violence could not be questioned.

"The government has gone out of its way to cure the climate of unrest by positive actions which are aimed at anticipating and combating the occurrence of unrest and intimidation, and by actively promoting peace at grassroots level."

The Citizen

'De Klerk wanted

to allay fears'

PRESIDENT De Klerk, wanted to allay the fears of minorities, particularly Whites, in his speech at the opening of Parliament last Friday, Dr Denis Worrall (DP Berea) said yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on the speech, he said the electorate was concerned

— particularly in the light of rising prices, political violence and crime playing havoc with the public.

Mr De Klerk also was able to give balance to both the importance of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa and Parliament.

"Most Blacks are looking to Codesa, most Whites are looking to Parliament.

"Any new constitution must come through this Parliament."

Both Parliament and Codesa were dependent on each other for success.

He also paid tribute to Dr Simon Brand who died last week, saying he had been a financial advisor to a number of Presidents and would have made a valuable contribution to the new South Africa.

31/1/92

The Citizen 31/1/92

CP needs Black power to negotiate: Barend

THE Conservative Party needed Black power such as KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope to negotiate, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said yesterday.

Replying to the debate on the President's opening of Parliament speech, he said Chief Buthelezi wanted a unitary South Africa and had signed the

Codesa declaration of intent for it.

The declaration of intent was not the final word on a new constitution, but the clause about a unitary State had been endorsed by all participants.

The CP was moving goalposts as far as demands were concerned and other participants at Codesa had done the same.

The CP would not get away with moving goalposts at Codesa negotiations as consensus had to be reached.

"You can move the goalposts here (in Parliament) where you talk for 25 minutes, but you cannot get away with it at Codesa in working groups."

Mr Du Plessis said the CP did not understand the meaning of consensus.

There was selective use of the term self-determination and the CP played on the Eastern Bloc now being given this right.

Eastern European countries had been ruled by minority governments and were now being given over the majority, Mr Du Plessis said.

The United Nations Declaration of Human Rights linked equal rights and self-determination with no discrimination.

The CP should never use the term self-determination unless it linked it with equal rights.

The Citizen 31/1/92

Dr T lets us down

DR ANDRIES Treurnicht has become the spokesman for the majority of South Africa's Whites.

However, he refuses to talk to the ANC/SACP, and by his refusal he lets us down.

Dr Treurnicht and the Right-wing leaders should be present at the Codesa talks and demand that the ANC/SACP must govern only their own people and not the South African White population.

This can be accomplished if "one-man, one-vote" is based on the vot-

er's ethnic group and not on the district in which he resides.

In other words, Black voters will vote for Black candidates, Indian voters for Indian candidates, Whites for White ones, and so on.

There will be a Federal Assembly, as in the Swiss canton system, to ensure that each group or "canton" remains autonomous.

If a number of leaders from the Right attend the talks, they can prevent the National Party playing footsie-footsie with the ANC/SACP and help

to create a fair-for-all South Africa.

Then there will be no need for a White homeland.

If I wanted to live in a White homeland, I would have to sell my home, give up my job, leave my friends and relations and start life anew — probably in some remote region of the Eastern Transvaal.

That's enough to make the man who wrote "Home sweet home" turn in his grave.

TALK SENSE

Bedfordview

The Citizen 31/1/92

Main actors at Codesa

BEFORE we all get carried away by what Codesa means to the people of South Africa we should take a long and hard look at who the people are that gather under that name. Here are a few examples:

1. The SACP which has the doubtful qualification that it represents about 20 000 people and an ideology that guarantees economic, social and cultural disaster. Every socialist government in history has disarmed its citizens and turned them into subjects of the ruling elite.

2. The ANC — still a liberation movement complete with terrorist army, arms caches and ideas of a "people's war" if they don't get what they want. The cherry on top is, of course, the fact that this movement is dominated by Communist!

3. The Transkei is represented by Bantu Holomisa. A man who came to power by means of a military coup. He hardly has the right to talk about democracy and respect for a constitution.

4. Ciskei — ditto.

5. Venda — ditto.

6. The Labour Party under Allan Hendrikse got the most votes during an election in which about 15 percent of the Coloured people cast their ballots. Hardly a sound basis for a claim that they represent the Coloured people of South Africa. They are also bedfellows of the Communist-dominated ANC via the Patriotic Front.

7. The Indians under Reddy — ditto.

8. The NP rules the country without a proper mandate. By-elections have proved that they have lost the support of most of the White people in South Africa. They have definitely lost the support of the majority of Afrikaners, and as far as constitutions go, they live in Gummibear land.

They also don't know their history, because they suggest a constitutional model that looks a lot like the one that caused a civil war in Yugoslavia.

These then are the main actors at Codesa—I don't think we need to take them very seriously.

W J GROBLER

Randburg

The Citizen 31/1/92

Aim to destroy SADF

HAVING successfully hamstringed the police with civilian interference, codes of conduct and political senior appointments, now, in spite of contradictions from the Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr Wynand Breytenbach, one can rest assured that the appointment of that Brilliant Military Strategist, Mr Roelf Meyer, to the position of Minister of Defence was the start of the destruction of the SADF.

Mr De Klerk has already got his orders from his alliance buddies, Mandela and Hani, for the destruction of the main security arm of the country, and what Mandela wants, he gets from Mr De Klerk.

I wonder whether the military will accept this civilian interference as meekly as did the weakling police generals. It will be interesting to see.

By the way, I have yet to meet a civilian military expert, but it seems that the National Peace Council and Codesa consider themselves to be expert at everything.

J P PROCTOR

Pretoria

The Citizen 31/1/92.

Coloured admin accounts are queried

CAPE TOWN. — A parliamentary committee has expressed serious concern about the standard of financial management by the House of Representatives' Administration, and has demanded immediate corrective steps.

The Representatives' House Committee on Public Accounts also called, in a report published yesterday, for a full investigation into the payment of job creation funds, including advances, at all regional offices of the administration, and said effective internal checks should be established to curb disturbing irregularities that had come to light in connection with these funds.

The committee was commenting on the Auditor-General's report on

the accounts of the administration for 1989/90.

The committee expressed concern about the AG's statement that inadequate internal checking and control, errors, weak financial records and non-compliance with instructions were continuing, and in some cases had deteriorated further.

All purchases of computers and other equipment at departments of the administration should be thoroughly investigated departmentally on a priority basis in order to recover outstanding amounts, to obtain outstanding authorisations — especially since there might be cases of unauthorised spending — and to possibly institute disciplinary action against the officials responsible.

— Sapa.

The Citizen 31/1/92

ANC challenges paper to release tapes

THE ANC has challenged the Vrye Weekblad to make public a tape-recording of an alleged plot by two of its intelligence officers to assassinate a former senior member of its intelligence division, Mr Glory "September" Sidebe.

The ANC said in a statement yesterday that after careful consideration of allegations carried by the newspaper in its January 17 to 23 issue, it had come to the conclusion there was "not a shred of truth in the story".

It was reacting to a report which alleged that the intelligence officers had paid AWB member Mr Daniel Odendaal "at least R20 000" for special projects, including the assassination of Mr Sidebe, an alleged Askari, and had a tape-recording of the transaction. Mr Side-

be had left the ANC to join the SA Police.

"Having listened to the tape referred to in the Vrye Weekblad, it is clear that contrary to the allegations, the two officers are heard to state that they are not interested in killing Glory Sedibe. It is in fact not the policy of the ANC to assassinate.

"This comes out so clearly in the tape that there is no way that this could have been interpreted in any other way. This raises in our minds the question: Why would the Vrye Weekblad carry such an obviously untrue story?"

The ANC said it was not its policy to kill its opponents.

At "this stage of the struggle", it believed in "fostering a spirit of reconciliation as part of our commitment — towards

peaceful transformation in the country".

"In this regard, the ANC is actively encouraging security forces to make common cause with the struggle of our people. Indeed, a number of these elements have responded positively and have come over to the ANC, and September would not be treated differently."

"We are convinced that the allegation of a conspiracy to assassinate September was a story trumped up to discredit the organisation," the statement said.

It said the ANC was "particularly concerned" about the newspaper's insinuations that deputy secretary-general Mr Jacob Zuma and two of its members, Ricky and Mao, were involved in "some dirty tricks cover-up".

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By Brian Stuart

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Joining the NP caucus in the House of Representatives was Mr Glen Rooskrans, MP for West Free State. He was the youngest elected member of the

Labour Party when he entered Parliament in 1984. He is now 34.

Mr Rooskrans said yesterday that in the new South Africa the only three political parties which would play a major role would be the NP, ANC and Inkatha.

Of these, only the NP could safeguard the interests of all South Africans and could ensure that a sound economic policy was maintained.

The Citizen 31/1/92

The Star 31/1/92

Call to probe House of Reps finances

The Representatives House Committee on Public Accounts has expressed concern about the financial management of the House of Representatives Administration.

In a report yesterday, it called for an investigation into the payment of job-creation funds at all the administration's regional offices.

Commenting on the Auditor-General's report on the accounts of the administration for 1989/90, it expressed concern that "the accounts, statements and returns were once again not submitted timeously, and that the Auditor-General was not able to express an opinion on the true state of the administration's finances".

The Star 31/1/92

6 hurt in petrol bomb attack

West Rand Bureau

Six people were slightly injured when two petrol bombs exploded in a bedroom at their Chiawelo Extension 2, Soweto, home early this morning.

Soweto police spokesman Captain Joseph Ngobeni said five petrol bombs were thrown at the house. Three exploded outside and two in the bedroom.

The injured were treated at Baragwaneth Hospital. The house was slightly damaged.

● A man was killed when he was stabbed and stoned by high school pupils in Soweto yesterday morning.

Captain Ngobeni said three men fired shots near Madubane High School. Pupils caught Victor Malena (23), who was stabbed and stoned.

Police were investigating a charge of murder. No arrests have been made.

The Star 31/1/92

Government 'planned destabilisation' - CP

Plans to destabilise the homelands had been made in 1990 by President de Klerk and Foreign Minister P. W. Botha, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg (CP Lichtenburg) said in Parliament yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on the President's opening of Parliament address, he said this information had been in secret documents leaked to the Conservative Party.

Dr Hartzenberg also claimed that when Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo refused to sign the declaration of intent at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) in December last year, he had been threatened that his government would be replaced.

National Party MPs denied both allegations.



Alleged planner
President de Klerk.

Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa wanted recognition for his country and the only way he would get that was from the CP, which were true nationalists.

The NP had consigned itself to a coffin with its support of Codesa as it could not win an election based on one man, one vote. — Sapa.

The Star 31/1/92

Top meetings for FW on 10-day trip

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

President de Klerk leaves for London today and will meet British Prime Minister John Major at 10 Downing Street tomorrow at the start of a six-nation, 10-day tour of Europe.

Last night Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers and a party of officials and journalists flew out of Jan Smuts Airport to accompany Mr de Klerk for part of his trip.

This party will go to the Swiss Alpine resort of Davos for the high-powered World Economic Forum Conference.

Mr de Klerk address the conference on Sunday and then takes part in a panel discussion on the future of the South African economy with ANC president Nelson Mandela, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Cosatu secretary-general Jay Naidoo, National Peace Committee chairman John Hall and Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike.

The Davos conference will be

attended by top political and industrial leaders, including Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng.

On Monday, Mr de Klerk and his party will travel to Paris where he will lunch with President Francois Mitterrand and then receive Unesco's Felix Honghouet Boigny peace prize jointly with Mr Mandela.

On Tuesday, Mr de Klerk will receive the award for political courage from the French journal *Politique Internationale*.

For the next three days, Mr de Klerk conducts an intensive programme of back-to-back state visits to Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland, the first by a South African head of government to former East bloc countries.

Next Saturday he will commemorate a South African connection with Poland when he lays a wreath at a monument in honour of the South African Air Force pilots who airlifted supplies into Warsaw during World War 2.

Mr de Klerk's party returns on February 10.

The Star 31/1/92

Govt 'won't consult ANC on loans'

CAPE TOWN — The Government did not intend consulting the ANC on the acquisition of international loans, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis said today.

Speaking at an international media briefing, he said sanctions were "yesterday's issue".

Despite the ANC's earlier statement that they would not honour loans granted to South Africa during the National

Party Government, he did not have to give the assurance that loans would be repaid as South Africa's reputation was good enough.

The Independent Development Trust had lost \$150 million (about R420 million) because of ANC vacillation.

"We do not intend to consult the ANC on loans."

Asked if South Africa

would qualify for an International Monetary Fund loan which required a deficit in the balance of payments, Mr du Plessis said the Government would not precipitate a crisis in the BoP to get a loan.

"When we apply for an IMF loan, they will take into account that we have engineered the economy so that there was no BoP deficit." — Sapa.

The Star

31/1/92

2 more men die in brutal train attacks

By Monica Oosterbroek
and Sapa

Two people were killed and two badly injured on trains last night, bringing the toll this week to 10 dead and 37 injured.

The men died after they were thrown off a train at Boksburg East Station at 6 pm. The others were injured when they were thrown off the train between Longdale and New Canada stations 15 minutes later.

Yesterday morning, a man was killed and one badly injured in two other train attacks. The body of a man was found on the line between Katlehong and Wadeville. Police said he had been hacked to death before being thrown off the train.

In the second attack yesterday, a man was hacked in the face by a panga and thrown off a train in Industria.

A man sustained serious head injuries when he was thrown off a train between Orlando and Nancefield yesterday evening.

Police said he was found outside the Nancefield Station and was taken Baragwaneth Hospital.

Police have agreed to step up body searches and introduce a "rail watch" in co-operation with the Soweto community.

On Wednesday, Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe announced a ban on weapons on trains.

Yesterday, representatives of the SAP, Spoornet and the Greater Soweto Dispute Resolution Committee, formed under the National Peace Accord, met in Johannesburg to discuss the train attacks.

Chairman Charles Nupen said in a statement the police had further agreed to deploy more of their members at stations and to step up random searches.

"Political and community organisations undertook to consider co-operation between the community and the police in monitoring train stations, counselling constituents in conflict situations and establishing a 'rail watch' to promote community involvement in policing railway stations," he said.

The Star 31/1/92

Cheers as Indian MP joins Nats

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN -- Members of the National Party parliamentary caucus burst into applause yesterday when Sathie Naidoo (Durban Bay) walked in proudly as the first NP House of Delegates member.

Mr Naidoo (35) applied to join the NP more than a year ago. The Cabinet finally decided to admit him to the party on

Wednesday.

Mr Naidoo polled the least votes of all the winning HoD candidates in the 1989 election — 488. By May 1990 he was sitting as an independent.

He yesterday said the NP had the honesty to take stock of its weaknesses and deficiencies, and the failures of its past policies and ideological errors, in pursuing a new political order that it was confident would enjoy the mandate of the

broader electorate.

Dr Johan Steenkamp, the NP MP for Umhlathuzana, said Mr Naidoo was the tip "of a lot of grassroots support for our policies within the Asian community".

This did not mean the NP had declared war on Solidarity or the National People's Party, but the NP could not close its ranks "to those who have been waiting quite a while to come closer to us", Dr Steenkamp said.

CP 'will win referendum'

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

CAPE TOWN — The Conservative Party would definitely take part in a white referendum on constitutional change — in spite of its refusal to participate in negotiations — and the party was confident of winning.

This emerged in a media briefing given by CP MP Dr Piet Gouws in the parliamentary complex yesterday.

Asked what the CP's action would be should it lose such a referendum, Dr Gouws said the existence of a people could not be destroyed by a referendum — but conceded that defeat in such a referendum would be a setback.

Dr Gouws confirmed the CP's gradual policy shift away from "grand apartheid", saying the party would not seek to implement Verwoerdian ideals if it found itself in Government.

A CP Government would also not act in a "high-handed manner", he said. That was something of the past.

"We will have to sit down and discuss what the future of South Africa is," Dr Gouws said.



Dr Piet Gouws . . . the existence of a people could not be destroyed by a referendum.

He said the main item on the agenda of such discussions would be the right of self-determination.

Boundaries for a white homeland would be discussed only once the CP was in power.

Dr Gouws distanced the CP from the Afrikaner Weerstand-

beweging, saying the movement had no links with the CP.

The CP would also not enter into bilateral talks with the ANC as it had nothing to gain from such a step and there was no compelling reason for the party to do so.

Asked about speculation of an

alliance between the CP, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Bophuthatswana government, he said the CP was "open-minded when dealing with people with the same beliefs" and there was "a lot of common ground" between them.

There was no split looming in CP ranks and the speculation of such a development was National Party propaganda.

The most pressing problem facing the country was the production of enough food this year. The situation in the rural areas was "desperate", and people might have to start queuing for food as is the case in Eastern Europe.

This dire situation had been caused by financial and economic mismanagement by the country and a drought, which was probably the worst in the country since 1932.

Referring to Mr de Klerk's announcement that the principle of self-determination would be placed on Codesa's agenda, Dr Gouws said: "No, we will not participate on that basis. It is not good enough."

Until this principle was recognised, no carrot would be big enough to tempt the CP to join Codesa, he added.

The Star 3/11/92

The Star 31/1/92

Ennerdale residents vow to fight on

By Brian Sokutu

Ennerdale residents -- victims of Monday's police shooting -- last night vowed to continue the struggle for affordable water and electricity rates.

Residents packed the Ennerdale Civic Centre to hear civic leaders report back on a meeting with groups including the Ennerdale Local Development Committee, the Ennerdale Management Committee and police representatives.

ANC and PAC national leaders, also at the meeting, pledged solidarity with the residents, who suffered yet another blow yesterday when the Ennerdale Development Committee cut water to the area.

Ennerdale and Surrounding Civic Association chairman, Clifford Smith, said local government officials had agreed not to suspend electricity because of non-payment.

Among demands not yet met was a call for the resignation of the township's management committee members, he said.

"We also told them we want to pay a flat rate for water and electricity ..."