SUNDAY

TRIBUNE COMMENT

Natal priority

TALK of peace in Natal abounds, too much of it political point-scoring in a bloody power-game. From one side, there have been calls for the actions of the KwaZulu Police to be probed; on the other, accusations about the aggressive actions of the African National Congress.

Recently, however, the talk has had a more encouraging ring. Mr Patrick Lekota told ANC members to make peace, not to seek revenge; Dr Oscar Dhlomo, perhaps ready to don the mantle of mediator, has supported Mr Lekota and urged a meeting between Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi; and Mr Thabo Mbeki has hinted at positive steps to end the violence. Then, on Friday, Mr Mandela, visiting the site of the Inanda bus tragedy, again committed himself to ending the violence.

Yet the killing goes on. At least 15 people have died violently in Mpumalanga this week, the bloodshed continues unabated in the rural areas and hundreds more are left homeless. The statistics are chilling: more than 4000 have been killed since the beginning of 1987; 9 000 police and soldiers have been deployed in unrest areas ... and people are still dying at a rate of more than 100 a month according to some estimates.

Stopping this slaughter means developing an even greater commitment to the peace process at grassroots level in the troubled areas; there will have to be combined efforts, free of political posturing, to control undisciplined elements on both sides.

And the Government, whose responsibility it is in the final analysis, should take new initiatives. It should show its commitment to peace in the region by setting up a judical commission of inquiry to probe all aspects of the violence; and it should beef up the already-powerful security force operating in Natal.

It should also make renewed efforts to bring the leaders of opposing groups together at the negotiating table. This effort can be started at tomorrow's renwed talks with the ANC leaders. It is clear that the violence in Natal has become a major obstacle to the hopes for reaching agreement on a new dispensation on South Africa: Natal has become a priority on the peace agenda.

If a fresh commitment to negotiations can be secured and an effective new negotiating forum established—the existing peace committee has simply bogged down—the peace process could begin moving again. At the same time, such a forum could be harnessed, with the injection of substantial State aid, to a combined assault on the major socio-economic problems plaguing the region.

By MANDLA TYALA

DURING P W's reign he was dubbed "the other Botha" — the native who caused all the trouble.

Unionist and civic leader Thozamile Botha raised so much hell in the black townships and factories of the Eastern Cape that he found himself in a head-on confrontation with the security agencies of the establishment.

In the post-Steve Biko era, Manager Botha's anti-apartheid crusades had such a popular following in one of the most politicised parts of the country that he was eventually forced into exile.

Now a senior member of the ANC, he's getting set to play a major role in the development of the organisation's policy on education for a post-apartheid South Africa.

This month he was back in the country on a short visit after a decade in exile in (among other places) Britain, where he is completing a doctoral thesis on the development of education in Zimbabwe.

A former student activist and schoolteacher, Mr Botha is spending much of his energy examining options and issues that will face a new government with the task of restructuring apartheid education.

This week he said a future model would have to stem from the concept of "people's educa-

The native who caused all the trouble comes home

tion", which challenges not only inferior "Bantu education" but also the white education system.

"People's education looks at democratising education, giving parents, teachers and even pupils a say in the kind of curriculum that is administered," he said.

"Look at subjects like literature, for instance. At the moment black schools are using English books drawing examples from Britain and other places. There is very little, if any, experience drawn from Africa. Children are forced to memorise foreign concepts they have no inkling of."

He said developing a new curriculum for non-racial education should not be problematic.

"We are looking at a negotiated curriculum that will reach across the racial divide, a curriculum that will involve parents of all races in its development and will be universally acceptable."

Mr Botha has identified five problems that should be on the education priority list of a new government:

• A huge amount of money must be spent on rebuilding schools destroyed in more than a decade of township unrest.

• A high-intensity literacy campaign will have to be embarked on to deal with a generation of black youths who missed out on schooling during the campaigns against Bantu education.

"The obvious solution here is to multiply the space at existing centres for adult education," he said. "We are rather fortunate that the literacy rate in SA in relatively high.

high.
"In Nicaragua, for instance, when the Sandinistas came to power the illiteracy rate was so

high the government sent high school pupils and university students to the rural areas to teach reading and writing".

There will have to be an aggressive campaign to teach advanced skills, too. "Because of apartheid policies, certain skills were denied to Africans. To redress racial imbalances, we need to open schools to everybody. Affirmative action is needed to give disadvantaged communities access to these skills."

• Resources will have to be allocated to rectify the imbalance of education in rural and urban areas.

• Subsidies for white schools will have to be curbed and those for black schools increased until parity is achieved.

"This will obviously affect the acquisition of equipment for labo-

THOZAMILE BOTHA

ratories and other teaching aids at certain schools, but the positive side is that it will also break the concentration of highly-skilled teachers at well-equipped schools. There will have to be incentives for teachers to take posts in rural areas."

Bussing is a strong proposition when it comes to physical integration, although countries emerging from racial segregation like Zimbabwe have experienced immense problems with it.

"The average teacher-pupil ratio in white schools is 1:25 while

in black schools it is 1:65. It is clear that we have to move pupils from one area to another.

"Zimbabwe tried a system called zoning. Because townships were far away from white suburbs, they introduced the bus system. To some extent it helped, but it has problems. Transport costs, for instance, were incurred by the parents."

Mr Botha is hopeful, however, that bussing will not pose too many problems for SA if it is seen against the background of rapid integration of residential areas, which he sees as another priority of a new government.

"We do not envisage a permanent situation in which blacks will live in the townships and whites in the suburbs. We foresee a situation in which low income blacks will move closer to the white areas, making use of the present buffer zones, so that they can take full advantage of the facilities available in those communities."

Mr Botha said the ANC had deliberately refrained from floating any set models for SA.

Everything is at the discussion stage, because we plan to involve the people. At the moment, the opportunity for the ANC to throw this issue to the people and allow it to be debated has not been created."

I'm sorry, UDF leader tells Indians

THE top brass of the African National Congress forced one of its members to retract anti-Indian remarks made in a TV interview this week.

Mr Archie Gumede, co-president of the United Democratic Front and ANC stalwart, later apologised for his scathing attack on Indians during a controversial SATV programme shown in Tuesday night's news slot.

Now the ANC and the UDF are set to take harsher disciplinary action against Mr Gumede and a call has By GEORGE MAHABEER

been made for him to quit politics.

During the interview, featured in a documentary about South African Indians, Mr Gumede:

 Equated local Indians with those who were kicked out of Uganda by deposed president Idi Amin;

Said it would not be surprising if many Indians in South Africa felt more at home in India:

• Claimed Indian people imitated whites in discriminating against

blacks;

• Said he would not be surprised if many Indians voted with whites.

Mr Gumede later told the Sunday Times that he had not seen the programme because his TV set was out of order. But he added that he had not intended his comments to apply to all Indians.

Late on Thursday, Mr Gumede—through the ANC—retracted his remarks unconditionally and apologised "to all those who may have been offended".

Transvaal Indian Congress presi-

dent Cassim Saloojee condemned FAE "racist and anti-Indian" comments made by Mr Gumede.

"We are aware that the ANC ordered Mr Gumede to apologise, but we are demanding they take more severe action against him," said Mr Saloojee.

"He has become notorious for making ill-considered statements. Mr Gumede is unable to perceive the divisive role played by SABC-TV—as this is the second time that he has made anti-Indian remarks on television."

OPINION

Sunday Times

THE PAPER FOR THE PEOPLE

Across the real Rubicon at last?

HE peace talks at the Presidensie tomorrow come not a moment too soon. The costs of delayed negotiations are apparent everywhere — confusion, heightened expectations and the unleashing of a hundred private agendas.

Yet it is to the boundless credit of both sides that the talks are going ahead despite the tumult caused by "Red plots", arms caches and the detention of senior

ANC people.

We must accept that in the bumpy road ahead there will be many such diversions. The best we can hope is that President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela will show the same restraint and purposefulness in the future as they have displayed in the immediate

past.

There should be two prime objectives tomorrow.

First, levelling the playing field through the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles and lifting the emergency in Natal.

Second is stabilisation of the political process — the suspension of the armed struggle by the ANC, the beginning of peace talks between Inkatha and the ANC, agreements to deflate political rhetoric, and some deal on better ordering (though not ending) of street protests, boycotts and strikes.

If all, or even most, of these objectives are reached, South Africa could enter an era in which this country's great, chained, promise is at last realised.

It is, however, unwise to be gulled into naive optimism. The Presidensie talks will merely clear the obstacles to real negotiations.

They cannot, in themselves, deliver visible peace. That is for the various parties' political supporters, ordinary members of the public and the security forces to achieve. It would be naive to believe that everybody will support the model set by participants in the Pretoria talks. Saboteurs to the right and left (some not a million miles distant from the bureaucracy) would like nothing better than to scupper the process.

Neither will the talks resolve longer-term issues like what sort of constitution we will have, who will take part in devising it, who will comprise the eventual government and how will the delicate problems of the transition be handled.

Tomorrow's talks were preceded by delay and turbulence. All the indications are they could succeed in building a basis for even more progress. We should be deeply heartened by this — but not euphoric.

Eldest daughter tells Mandela:

'Charity begins at home, dad'

itterness

NELSON MANDELA'S long-lost daughter, Makie, is coming home, but she will bring a bit-terness she still feels towards her famous father.

Makie Mandela-Amuah, Mr Mandela's eldest daughter from his first marriage, has been in the United States for the past five years working on her doctorate.

Now she has been invited to do research and teach at the University of Natal in Durban for two months, and is expected in October.

Straight-talking Makie, 36, says she was snubbed by her father when he visited America on his recent world trip, and she has no plans to visit him when she returns to South Africa.

"He will have to make the effort, not me," said Makie from her home in Massachusetts this week.

She grew up feeling angry that her father had sacrificed his family for the liberation struggle. She had hoped for a reconciliation when he was released from jail, but was skeptical that this would ever happen.

"I am bitter. Who

Carolyn McGibbon

could not be?

"I won't be going to Orlando. I will be with

my mom in Transkei.
"I'm very sorry about it, but there is nothing I can do."

She was hurt after she was specifically excluded from an invitation to see her father when he was in Boston in June.

"The long and the short of it is that I got a message that he wanted to see his grandchildren, but not me. We were told the children and my husband could visit him.

"It is an irony of life, that a person can have the interest of the world at heart, but not his own family.

"There is a saying: 'Charity begins at home.' It's true for everybody. And it is true for him.

'You cannot extend yourself to the world if you do not extend yourself to your whole fami-

But she said: "It is not something I brood on. I have to get on with my

The rift between the

two appears to be rooted in a bitterness Makie feels towards her father who left her mother, Eveline, before marrying Winnie Mandela.

Makie was eight when her father was first sentenced and still nurses some hurt because he did not choose to take his children and go into exile.

"He was prepared to make the sacrifice and go to jail. But it was at a bitter cost to his family," she said.

She never had the chance to develop a normal father-daughter relationship with him. He divorced her mother when she was four.

When he was on the run from police, it was his new wife, Winnie, who took her to see him in hiding.

When he was imprisoned she resented that all her needs were directed to "Mum Winnie", and was often frustrated.

She married soon after matriculating, but after two children the marriage fell apart. Makie picked up the pieces and found work, telling her father she intended to be-



Makie Mandela-Amuah who says she was snubbed by her famous father.

He criticised her for her lack of ambition and encouraged her to further her studies. Eventually, she took his ad-

She studied for a BA degree at Fort Hare, and then took a job as a social worker.

At her father's insistence, she decided to continue her studies, and came to Durban where she stayed with his close friend, "Aunt Fatima" -Professor Fatima Meer.

After completing an honours degree, she won a Fullbright scholarship to the United States, where she has been working on a thesis on gender relations.

Makie is married to a wealthy Ghanaian, Isaac Amuah, and has three children who will remain in the United States while she is in Durban.

She has emerged as an outspoken young women, occasionally speaking on public platforms and has criticised the ANC's policy on sanctions.

FW notes demands for Natal violence probe

Tribune Reporter

DEMANDS for a judicial inquiry into the violence in Natal are receiving President FW De Klerk's attention, according to his office.

Those calling for an inquiry include the Democratic Party, the Black Sash, the African National Congress, the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa and many prominent church leaders.

The ANC wants, in particular, the role of the police be probed, while Inkatha wants the ANC's role in the

violence to be investigated.

According to the DP's regional director, Roy Ainslie, deaths in the Natal coastal region since the beginning of the year have been around 100, whereas last year it was around 40 or 50.

What has been of particular concern to unrest monitors and observers is the huge disparity between the number of deaths — around 3 500 in the last four years - and the relatively few prosecutions and convictions.

Meanwhile, a spokesman for the President's office, Kobus Pieterse, told the Tribune that Mr De Klerk had taken note of the letter from Diakonia chairman, the Right Reverend Philip Russell.

Mr Pieterse said he could not say when Mr De Klerk would make a decision on the call for a judicial commission of inquiry into the July 18 Inanda bus disaster in which 26 people lost their lives, and secondly, a commission of inquiry into the violence general-

In his letter to Mr De Klerk, Bishop Russell said that when church leaders visited him on April 11, Mr De Klerk had expressed his concern that the scope of a commission into the violence in the whole province would be too broad.

"While we still believe that such a commission is needed, we submit that the Inanda bus disaster is a single incident which could be investigated in a relati-

vely short period.
"It would give an important signal that the State regards violent incidents like this bus disaster in an

extremely serious light."

Police say no ambush took place, but their investi-gations are still continuing and, according to regional commissioner of police in Natal, Major General Johann van Niekerk, the matter will be referred to Attorney General Mike Imber for a decision once the investigation is complete.

The murderous Midlands

Where angry emotion thrives as well as the crops on farms that make

up Natal's breadbasket

Graham Spence

IT's tinder-dry in the Natal Midlands, and the dreaded late winter winds that fan any careless spark into an instant inferno are early this year.

But that's not what's worrying farmers. Instead it's the white-hot emotions that are running rampant in the area that are far more potentially dangerous than any forest fire.

The spate of killings of white farmers is the core of the problem, and for those in the Natal Midlands, the breadbasket of Natal and one of the most picturesque farming areas in the world, life will never be the same again.

Ten people, all elderly soft targets, have been murdered on farms and smallholdings this year, and many others attacked.

As in any small community, the deaths of neighbours in the most brutal fashion imaginable has a reaction far more intensely emotional than it would in a diverse urban community. And now the people are angry.

Dr Mike Lowry, Eston farmer, veterinary surgeon and head of civil defence in the area is one of those at the front line.

A farmer in the Tala Valley, in the past decade he has weathered crushing droughts, floods and hormonal herbicide problems — and now the frightening rural attacks on whites. A large man and much respected, he is a survivor.

"I personally would never advocate any white backlash, and I certainly hope nothing like that will happen. But I can't deny that attitudes are hardening and there is huge resentment here that never existed before.

The area is officially "quiet" at the moment, with the police doing magnificent work in arresting suspects in almost all the murder cases and soldiers being stationed on "soft" farms. Also the Midlands farmers themselves, showing resilience found in few other communities under

siege, have banded together admirably.

The core of their mobilisation is the simple twoway citizen band radio and using their fire-fighting calls where bands of farmers would group at a moment's notice to confront raging forest fires.

The community is also trying to live as normally as possible. Golf and polo matches are still the main weekend activities, although the Richmond Country Club has hired a security guard since several golfers have been attacked by gangs of youths at the fifth hole.

Why have whites been targeted in a comparatively verlig rural area where farmers have a good record of labour relations?

Farmers have mixed views on this. Initially they thought the problem was just a criminal element — vagrants living rough on their lands, or gangsters in

the townships. Most suspects the police have arrested so far do have substantial criminal records.

"Then the army told us it was also a political problem," said Dr Lowry. "We aren't sure. At the moment there is a lot of tribal fighting as well as the same Inkatha/UDF clashes that are happening elsewhere. It could be that criminals are capitalising on the general scenario of violence."

The brutal Midlands murders have also affected the trust between farmers and their workers.

"Barely a year ago I would be called out to the labourers' compound at least two nights a month to patch up a stab wound, deliver a baby or something like that," says Ravenor Nicholson, who farms just outside Richmond.

"Now if someone knocks on my door we don't open up. Instead we just take the details and phone an ambulance, and this has seriously strained our responsibility to our people."

However, Mr Nicholson believes this is just a "political phase" the area is going through.

What are the farmers doing to improve security?

"We're very security conscious now," says Campbell McKenzie, a tall timber farmer outside Richmond who is in charge of the radio security network.

"Two hundred new twoway radios have been bought in this area alone,

and using our fire cell network, if someone is in trouble there's immediate mobilisation."

The main reason for the relative calm now in the Midlands is the highly-effective police and army presence. Gangsters have learned that with the tightened security, there are no more soft targets.

This was tested recently when some ruffians arrived at one compound one payday and demanded "protection money".

The call went out and within minutes a group of armed farmers quite pre-



Dr Mike Lowry: Attitudes are hardening.

pared to do battle arrived. The thugs fled and since then have never returned.

Will the recent wave of terror force the farmers off the land?

If it does it will have serious consequences for Natal as this is the prov-

5/08/90

ince's breadbasket. But it's unlikely, as farmers in general and those in the Midlands in particular are a hardy breed.

a hardy oreed.

But there is light at the end of the proverbial tunnel, says Ravenor Nicholson (senior) who has lived all his life in the area. He is chairman of a Richmond chapter of the Natal Midlands Development Commission that has earmarked R2-billion to upgrade the quality of life for all people in the area, not only the townships.

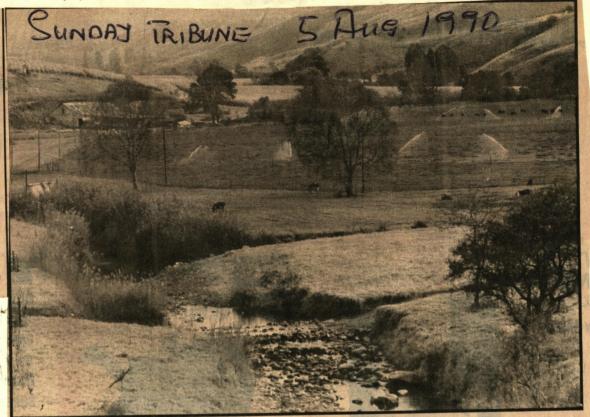
But there are two major obstacles facing the commission. Firstly the UDF-affiliated Crisis Committee has yet to respond to the proposals as the commission is keen to have their



Campbell McKenzie: Security conscious.

representatives on their steering committee.

The second is the most crucial of all. The commission's firm proviso is that before any work can be done, there has to be peace in the townships.



MIDLANDS tranquility: But it is here that farmers are being murdered
Pictures: Graham Spence

The murderous

SUNDAY FOCUS

N the six months since President FW De Klerk's historic speech of February 2, no new political centre has emerged on which a post-apartheid South

Forget the fabled meeting of minds, there is little common ground on which the Government and the ANC can start building the future, argues HERMAN GILIOMEE, head of the Department of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town and author of From Apartheid to Nation-building (Oxford, 1990).

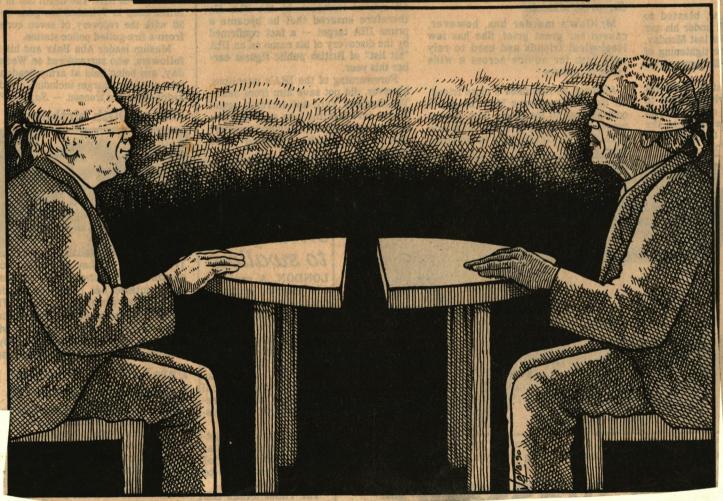


Africa can be based.

This is the hard truth
South Africa has to face
on the eve of the second
round of talks between
representatives of the
government and the African National Congress.

Before the Groote Schuur talks three months ago, it was still possible for normally hard-nosed analysts to indulge in the fantasy that there would be an instant "meeting of minds", even "love at first sight".

This time round, no one can fool himself any longer. Even the favourable personal chemistry between President De Klerk and Mr Mandela cannot compensate for an alarming divergence between the National Party and the ANC over the basic rules of the game in normalised politics.



The case for reform

In trying to persuade a startled white public, President De Klerk has kept in mind the maxim, well formulated by Samuel Huntington, that "the case for reform is never stronger than when it is couched in terms of the needs to preserve domestic peace".

In private the Afrikaner establishment has been using a phrase similar to that of the Brazilian counter-revolutionary elite: "We must make the revolution before the

people do."

Urging this Afrikaner establishment on is the conviction, similar to that expressed by President Kennedy when he urged the passage of his Civil Rights Bill in 1963, that failure to reach an historic white-black compromise would "cause the leadership on both sides to pass from the hands of reasonable and responsible men to the purveyors of hate and violence".

Yet the past six months have seen violence escalate to unprecedented levels. South Africa is an unsafer place than ever before. Investor confidence has sagged. Once again emigration seems the only real option for well-qualified whites. A credibility question is looming behind the proposition that negotiations will preserve peace.

Even allowing for the fact that periods of transition are invariably violent, it is clear that negotiations and public order

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MISSING

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have threatened to break down because of the incorrect assumptions the ANC and the NP have made of each other.

In a paradoxical way, they have both overestimated and underestimated each other's strength.

First, there are continuing perceptions about authority. Because President De Klerk has been careful not to spell out his political bottom line in the negotiations, the impression has been created among the suppressed that everything is up for grabs. While the government is in fact offering the ANC a partnership in a coalition government, sections in the ANC think the move-

ment can soon get control over the entire government provided it exerts enough pressure and creates sufficient turmoil.

Furthermore, the assumption that the ANC really controls, as distinct from inspires, the masses, has been proved to be fallacious. Mr Mandela's well-meant calls for black children to return to school and for pangas to be thrown into the sea have been all but ignored.

According to all accounts the ANC's attempts to turn the forces of liberation into a welldisciplined political movement have had very little success so far. The

general impression of the ANC-United Democratic Front-Congress of South African Trade Unions alliance is one of a decision-making morass in which a small group can impose a rash decision (as with the Natal stavaway) while other decisions are challenged and overthrown (as in the case of the Groote Schuur sub-committee on amnesty).

Of all the organisations in this camp it is the ANC itself which is in greatest need of authority and discipline. As a result of this authority vacuum, South Africa has been hit by the three kinds of violence which usually occur in transition periods, namely revolutionary violence, spontaneous violence and the backlash violence of the right wing.

Second, the strategies the ANC and NP have adopted have also led to confusion and disarray. In transitions from authoritarian rule in Latin America or southern Europe, the authority crisis at the top was invariably solved by "a founding election", usually for a constituent assembly, in which the strongest party was identified and which all but ended inter-party competition for the time being.

South Africa, however. differs from these societies. It is ethnically divid-

ed and the governmment is accountable to an economically powerful white constituency. In the government's view its constituency will not countenance a constituent assembly since it would reduce whites to a politically impotent minority even before the drafting of a new constitution started.

Because the government is unable to concede the most important demand of the ANC, namely a constituent assembly, it has been prepared to be eminently reasonable on virtually any other demand. In rent and service boycotts the government has been unusually forthcoming in meeting demands. What is not vet clear is whether it is prepared to draw a line somewhere: for instance, whether it will definitely terminate bridging finance for townships if local negotiations over rent boycotts fail.

While representatives of the ANC-South African Communist Party alliance have negotiated in good faith in many of these cases, there is also evidence of a double agenda. At the Tongaat meeting SACP leaders expressed the fear that the mass struggle against apartheid was "losing its spark" as the attention focused on negotiations. The task thus was to "galvanise the people into action again". Hence the continuing turmoil as sections within the ANC-SACP alliance aim to eliminate warlords and councillors, smash Inkatha and stage demonstrations over issues about which the government has already signalled that it is prepared to enter into open-ended negotiations.

Clash of priorities

Finally, the cementing of a centrist alliance is threatened by radical forces pulling in different ways. No one can know whether the SACP, enjoying such a position of predominance in the ANC, is prepared to make a pact with a capitalist state. And no one seems to know how strong are the links now being forged between the white right wing and sections of the

security forces which will have no truck with a new South Africa.

At the heart of all this lies a fundamental clash between the NP and the ANC over strategic priorities. For the government the highest priority is to develop common policy positions with the ANC and implement them together as a new governing coalition. For the ANC, on the other hand, the key issue is procedure, but before the procedure for electing a constituent assembly is settled it will do its best to avoid getting entangled in any government machinery. And because it heads up an alliance of such disparate groups the ANC will remain reluctant to develop any clear-cut policy positions which could split the movement.

Yet, however daunting the task may be, the second round of talks between the government and the ANC will have to build common ground with respect to both policy and democratic procedure. If the talks fail to do so, the search for peace in South Africa will remain elusive.

Brendan Seery

IRISH Republican Army (IRA) operatives may have infiltrated South Africa and could pose a serious threat to British diplomats and visiting politicians.

In the wake of last week's car bomb killing of Ian Gow - a close friend of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher - and as two top Conservative Party politi-

cians prepare to visit South Africa next month, the danger is one which should be taken seriously by security chiefs both in Britain and South Africa.

A recent fax, allegedly from the IRA and sent to several South African newspapers, claimed the group had an operational unit in the country.

In a statement this week, a British embassy spokesman said it was in contact with the South African authorities about the fax, and added: "We take the security threat seriously on a worldwide basis."

Former Conservative Party chairman Norman Tebbit is due to address the annual meeting of the Institute of Directors here next month, sharing a platform with Nelson Mandela, in what has been described as a "trailblazer" for the possible visit of Mrs Thatcher to South Africa next year. Mr Tebbit was badly hurt and his wife was crippled in 1985, when the IRA bombed the Brighton hotel where they were staying during the Conservative Party conference.

Star athlete and Conservative parliamentary candidate Sebastian Coe is also expected next month on

a speaking tour.

Other prominent Britons at risk include the British ambassador to South Africa, Sir Robin Renwick, who is highly thought of by Mrs Thatcher, and who will next year take over the Foreign Office's top posting in Washington. The British Army also has a number of its soldiers in Namibia — as the British Military Advisory Training Team (BMATT) - who are helping to train and integrate the new Namibian national army.

Political and military analysts in South Africa and Britain say the Irish rebel organisation - which vows to seek out those it considers enemies wherever they may be may be looking around for "softer" targets after recent setbacks in

continental Europe.

Chilling fax and past links with ANC spark fear for safety of visiting Brits

It is also said to be "conceivable" the IRA may already have people here, who would allegedly have easy access to arms, safe houses and assistance through their friends in the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

Last year, British and Zimbabwean security services reportedly stumbled on what could have been an IRA plot to assassinate Mrs Thatcher during her visit to Harare in March. The conservative International Freedom Foundation (IFF) claimed later that ANC cadres in Harare may have been co-operating with the IRA in the operation.

In December last year, an IRA "death list" of more than 100 prominent British figures, including Mr Gow, was found at a flat in Clapham, London. Newspaper reports of that probe said investigators had linked two SACP "safe houses" in London to the IRA.

Defence analyst Helmut Heitman, the southern Africa correspondent for the respected Jane's Defence Weekly, said that, despite recent attempts by the ANC to distance itself from the IRA, he believed links still existed.

"The IRA, ANC and Swapo all trained together, along with the PLO and Libyan terrorists. They plug into the same worldwide system, where groups do jobs for each other or provide back-up or safe

Ronnie Kasrils, a member of the SACP and the ANC National Executive Committee, as well as former head of MK intelligence, said allegations about terror co-operation between the two organisations were a "tissue of lies".

Last month, a fax purporting to come from the Provisional IRA (Provos) was circulated to a number of South African newspapers. Signed by one "Clennan Feraghty", the document claimed that, since the unbanning of South African political organisations on February 2, the IRA had established in this country "our newest operational headquarters" and said a "wing of Active Service Units (ASUs)" was running here.

Dealers make a

By RYAN CRESSWELL

POLICE believe they have discovered a lucrative international gunrunning racket supplying firearms to Natal's civil war. Evidence of the deadly

trade emerged when Durban detectives arrested three foreigners and seized 3kg cocaine worth R600 000 last weekend.

The raid, which uncovered the largest consignment of cocaine ever found in South Africa, also produced 24 revolvers and 350 rounds of ammunition.

Two Peruvians and a Portuguese-speaking man from Mozambique were arrested.

Two weeks ago, Durban taxi driver Krishna Manickum Reddy, 29, of Newlands West, disappeared into the crowded city streets while showing police where he was going to sell 10 revolvers found in his car's boot.

Sailor

Police believe the semi-plastic revolvers were part of a consignment of 80 delivered by an Argentinian sailor working on a South American ship. They say the ship will probably visit Durban again.

The Argentinian-made .22 revolvers are thought to have been sold for about R400 each in the townships around Durban, where fighting between Inkatha and ANC/-United Democratic Front supporters has claimed 4 000

lives since 1987.

Major Vlaggies Roux of the Durban branch of the SA Narcotics and Alchohol Bureau - whose men arrested the three foreign suspects last weekend said the



Detective Anneline Marais with the contraband Picture: JIMMY HUTTON

revolvers were similar to weapons used in "assassinations".

Observers say there has been a move away from fullscale battles to assassinations and ambushes since security forces moved into Natal's townships this year.

Major Roux said: "We have information that a lot of these guns have already been sold in the townships. It is also possible that there have

been other consignments."

Major Johan Buys of the Truck Theft Unit said the 10 revolvers found in Mr Reddy's taxi and the 24 guns found in the cocaine raid were "definitely" off the same ship.

Times

Frail Tambo to step down as leader

OLIVER TAMBO, president of the ANC for 23 years, is expected to step down in December, handing over the reins to the first internally elected leader of the organisation since 1952.

The ailing Mr Tambo, 72, is expected to officially step down at what promises to be a sentimental occasion for the ANC — the first annual conference to be held at its birthplace in Bloemfontein in 30 years.

Mr Tambo's wife, Adelaide, arrives in SA from London tomorrow after decades in exile - but without her husband who is severely incapacitated by a stroke he suffered last year.

Early

The ANC has confirmed that Mr Tambo, who left South Africa in 1960, will attend its December 16 conference and will deliver "a message"

But spokesperson Gill Marcus said it was "too ear-ly" to discuss his future in

The exit of Mr Tambo may clear the way for Nelson Mandela to be confirmed by popular vote as president of

The ANC, which has been setting up regional structures since its unbanning five months ago, hopes to have its first, and most representa-tive, internal elections since Nobel Peace Prize winner Chief Albert Luthuli was elected president in 1952.

Privacy

The extent of Mr Tambo's illness has long been a matter of speculation. The ANC is fiercely protective of his privacy. The Sunday Times was told yesterday that direct access to Mr Tambo, who is recuperating in London, was "out of the question".

Mrs Tambo is returning to South Africa to attend the re-The extent of Mr Tambo's

South Africa to attend the re-launch of the ANC's Women's League in Durban next weekend.

Miss Marcus said Mr Tambo, who is said to be more frail than the ANC will let on, was not returning with

By MANDLA TYALA

his wife because it was felt he should receive uninterrupted medical attention.

"He is coherent, mobile and is making steady progress. He takes an active interest in the affairs of the organisation and is informed

on all major events."

Mr Tambo's illness has been blamed on the stress of drawing up the Harare Declaration, the ANC's guide-lines on negotiations, and ex-tensive travelling to sell the document to African leaders.

RESIDENTS of strife-torn Sebokeng are to ask the ANC to consider setting up a vio-lence monitoring force in the Vaal Triangle's black town-ships. The call was made yes-

terday at a joint funeral for three of the 16 victims of last month's clashes between Inkatha members and hosteldwelling supporters of the ANC-Cosatu alliance.

A nine-year-old boy was among those buried. The other victims, all migrant work-ers, are to be buried at their homes in the Transkei and Lesotho.

This was the second mass funeral in less than five months in violence-plagued Sebokeng, and residents say they have had enough of the killings.

Fears

Speeches at the Sebokeng Stadium were marked by allegations of security force partiality — with ANC supporters claiming the police favour Inkatha.

The 5 000-odd mourners were also told of advertised plans by conservative whites in Vereeniging to form a "Boere kommando". Speakers said blacks viewed this as provocation at a time when their leaders were talking peace with the Government.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions has expressed fears of a fresh outbreak of violence when Inkatha holds a rally in Soweto today.

Crimeski

RUSSIA has seen a 22 percent leap in rapes, muggings and murders this year, with police blaming the rise on "economic difficulties, ethnic strife and a decline in social discipline"

THE STOMPIE TRIAL

By MARION DUNCAN

MANDELA football team coach Jerry Richardson will be sentenced tomorrow on convictions of kidnapping, assault, attempted murder and the murder of 14-year-

assault, attempted murder and the murder of 14-year-old activist Stompie Moeketsi Seipei. It is also the day on which Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau will start deliberating about whether to charge Winnie Mandela as an accessory. The sensational Richardson trial took place in the Rand Supreme Court in May. It lasted three weeks, during which a

shocked courtroom heard wit-ness after witness recite a damning litany, not only against 42-yearold Richardson, but also against the "Mother of the Nation", Mrs Mandela.

She was said to have started a vicious series of assaults on three kidnap victims (Kenneth Kgase, Barend Thabiso Mono and Gabriel Mono and Gabriel
Pelo Mekgwe) as
well as on Stompie, and to have
participated in a
session of sjambokking that took
place in her Diepkloof house
on December 29 1988.

Her home was the scene of

Her home was the scene of beatings so brutal that blood splattered the walls, curtains, floors and ceilings, the court heard.

She was quoted as telling she was quoted as terming the four youths they were "not fit to be alive", and of accusing Stompie — who was known as the "Little General" — of being a "sell-out".

Drama

Mrs Mandela featured in Mrs Mandela featured in as much testimony as the accused himself, who told the court at one stage: "She is like the God we pray to. Everybody is talking about her, but nobody knows her."

Richardson's lawyers wanted Mrs Mandela to testify for their client, and made repeated efforts to contact her. Finally they wrote a let-

repeated efforts to contact, her. Finally they wrote a letter to Mandela family law-yer Ismael Ayob asking for "the opportunity to consult with Mrs Mandela".

In a dramatic courtroom move, advocate H H Joubert

(for Richardson) put his assistant Kathleen Satchwell on the stand to read the let-ter, and Mr Ayob's reply: "We have consulted with Mrs Mandela and have advised her not to make herself avail-able to give evidence in the matter."

But the lawyers then went to the length of calling as a witness a woman from Brandfort in the Free State who had never met or seen the accused man, and who had no knowledge whatso-ever of any of the events leading to his prosecution.

the noose

Her sole purpose was to give Mrs Mandela an alibi for the time when the assaults were taking place: December 29 to 31 1988.

The judge, Mr Justice B O'Donovan, however, said that the woman's evidence placing Mrs Mandela in Brandfort "did not impress".

And he made a special finding in his judgment that Mrs Mandela had been present for at least part of the

sent for at least part of the

on Richardson himself, the judge was unequivocal: he had lied to the court, and had several times failed to

explain events satisfactorily.
Evidence that he had kidnapped the four youths and
beaten them was undeniable,
as was the evidence on his attempted murder of Ikan-eng Lerothodi by stabbing him with the blade of a pair of garden shears.

Death

Although evidence linking him to the murder of Stompie was circumstantial, objective facts — including his own statements about the youngster being "dumped" or killed — clearly indicated his guilt.

So Richardson, a former Soweto street committee chairman and suspected police informer before his employment by Mrs Mandela, could get the death sentence tomorrow.

And Mrs Mandela — who recently told an American talk show host she would welcome the opportunity to defend herself in court may soon get that chance.

Perspectives

ORGANISED black business came out of a three-day indaba in Durban this week leaning heavily towards the African National Congress's

view of a post-apartheid economy.

Although reluctant to give unqualified support for the ANC's economic policies, the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry found common ground with the organisa-

At a time when the Government has declared its intention to move towards a laissez-faire economy, Nafcoc is adding its voice to the quest for the "third way" between an ubridled free market and a centrally planned economy.

The mood was best summed up by Dr Oscar Dhlomo, former minister in the KwaZulu government, who said at the conference: "We commend Nafcoc for developing

Black business: In search o

and perfecting the philosophy that business must operate in, and positively identify with, a given sociopolitical milieu.

"If that milieu is iniquitous, business must support and encourage efforts to change it.

"The traditional approach, which maintained that the business of business is business, has long since been discredited and those who still subscribe to it shall not survive the socio-economic challenges that lie ahead."

Although they acknowledge the efficiency of a market economy and reiterate their commitment to free enterprise, black businessmen worry that free markets do not only create growth, but also help to entrench inequality.

Professor Wiseman Nkuhlu, chairman of a Nafcoc economic task force, said: "The solution lies neither with Adam Smith (the father of capitalism) nor Karl Marx (the father of socialism)."

Citing Far Eastern economic successes like Taiwan, South Korea and Japan, black businessmen fayour a measure of state intervention in the economy to accelerate black empowerment and to redress the inequalities created by apartheid. They find affirmative action an appealing proposition.

Mr AS Nkonyeni, Nafcoc deputy president, said: "For a start, we could consider a black-biased, apartheid-in-reverse procurement law which guarantees a certain percentage of Government tenders for black contractors.

"There may be many variations to this theme, but the significant point is an aggressive method of correcting historical imbalances in such a way that blacks are placed on a par with their white counterparts." Deputy Finance Minister Org Marais told the conference



WISEMAN NKUHLU



OSCAR DHLOMO



ORG MARAIS

that the problem with the South African economy was "big government" - large-scale social engineering whereby the Government tried to manage all facets of life, from the investor to the consumer to the worker to the retailer.

Mr Marais spent much of his speaking time lecturing the conference on the virtues of unfettered capitalism. He said that through initiatives like privatisation the Government was trying as much as possible to leave the running of the economy in private hands.

But black business was sceptical of Mr Marais's message.

"Black aspirations in relation to the manner in which the ownership of wealth should be restructured go far beyond the fragmentation of big government," said Mr Nkonyeni.

"Black people have deep reservations about what they regard as a

unilateral privatisation programme under the direction of an unrepresentative government,

more so at this time.'

at the Nafcoc conference

Although hints of the ANC's intentions for a post-apartheid economy have raised a howl of protest in the white business community, Nafcoc is determined to work closely with the movement.

The two organisations have established a joint commission to study models for the economy.

Nafcoc has, however, been cautious in dealing with contentious issues like nationalisation, as Professor Nkuhlu observed:

"The need for state intervention in the economy is accepted, but there is still no unanimity about what the liberation movement refers to as nationalisation. The matter, therefore, requires further research and discussion."

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ETTOURIE

Jon Qwelane

BARELY two months after resigning from party politics Oscar Dhlomo, former general, secretary of Inkatha and KwaZulu Minister of Education and Culture, is back in the fray of national life.

At the request of many prominent South Africans, from different walks of life, Dr Dhlo-mo will launch the Institute for Multiparty Democracy in the next four weeks.

Among those expected at the launch in Johannesburg will be leading business people. church leaders, civic personalities, and cap-

tains of industry They include former opposition leader Fre-derik Van Zyl Slabbert, Archbishop Desmond Tutur, Helen Suzman, president of the Method ist Church of Southern Africa Bishop Stanley Mogoba: SA Institute of Race Relations direc tor John Kane-Berman, advocate Dikgang Mo-Seneke and National Union of Mineworkers

general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa.

Dr Dhlomo feels there are two pressing and mextricably, linked questions which have a systal hearing on the future of the whole conti

● Will South Africas become a genuine multi-party democracy of a one party dictatorship? • Will the South African economy grow to new

bleights or will it decay? Says Dr Dillomo. "The next five to 10 years

are crucial
"H is during this period that the first two
elections will be held, and the hattle po make the new South Africa safe for multi-party de-smocracy, will be won/or lost. He feels that pontical education in the non-grarry, and non-partissus sense is "arguably file

party and non-perusin sense is arguany incomes important prerequisite for the enter gence and survival obdemocracy.

Another sum of the proposed institute will be the fostering of a spirit of national reconciliation and conflict resolution.

Part of the institute's chief duties will be the establishment of a rational think sank of keys.

South Africans not directly involved in active. South Africans not directly involved in active political parties and movements.

He stresses the institute will not be aligned to any party

Citizen Hagarier

THE situation in the Kagrso towoship near Kru-gersdoep had almost returned to normal yesterday morning since viol-ence empted between Inkatha and ANC hostel residents on Sunday meht.

Four people were killed during the clashes be though traffic into and tween the rival groups on Sunday and the death toll rose to 10 on Monday dents returned to works when sor more people... died in the fighting.

Eady yesterday morning police found the body of another man who hadbeen shot by unknown gameen, bringing the death-total to 11.

A police spokesman said a senior officer had addressed fighting hostel numates yesterday in an effort to stop the violence.

The meeting took place: near the hostel while patrolling police guarded the area_

The spokesman said alout of the area was minimal, many Kagiso resiyesterday morning...

DEMOCRATIC Party MP Mr Tony Leon last night slammed the African National Congress for having vague and inconsistent policies, and accessed SA Communist Party head Mr Joe Slovo of economic illiteracy:

Addressing a constituency reportback meeting, the Hougitton MP said there was an orgent need. for the ANC to "stop relying on a victim psychosis, and to start being creative in the market place

of ideas and policies.

He warned Mr Slovo-that if the SACP "attempted to implement-state sponsored socialism in SA, then those who possess the wealth, those who create jobs and the opportunities will simply relocate themselves and their assets Sapa