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Opportunism
played a role Â¥

THIS weekâ\200\231s defections to the DP confirm a trend set in last yearâ\200\231s general election.

With its role usurped, the NNP is in terminal decline. Protestations by leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk will not save his party from its inevitable destiny.

Councillors, like most people, look firstly to their own interests. DP leader Tony Leon says none of the defectors was offered preferment or jobs. But we have no doubt individual opportunism played a role in the movement of 65 people, mainly from the NNP.

The number of available posts has been reduced from 12 000 to 7 000 for Novemberâ\200\231s local government elections, so public representatives are weighing up their chances. Obviously they will fare better in stronger parties. Hence the DP is the first choice for those not enamoured with the ANC.

Bolstered by this weekâ\200\231s developments, the DP can expect even more to cross the floor, especially from the haemorrhaging NNP. Mr Leon asserts that the moves strengthen opposition to the ANC. Certainly the DP has been more forthright in standing up to the ruling party. In this sense he is correct.

But to be more effective, and to increase its standing in the black community, the DP will have to avoid the impression of accepting anyone and everyone purely for the sake of ganging up against the ANC.

Already its liberal strain has been diluted by conservative imports.

Inâ\200\231 grabbing support from every available quarter the DP is in danger of losing the qualities, apart from winning, which made it attractive to voters in the first place.

Municipal apathy

IT is astonishing that, months ahead of the municipal elections, six million eligible voters have not bothered to register. Local authorities have a far more direct impact on the lives of ordinary people than national and provincial government.

If we want proper water, electricity, traffic and sanitation services, we should make sure that we elect the right councillors.

This year's local elections are more significant than the previous one because of a stronger emphasis on ward representation. Voters, rather than party mandarins, will decide who will be the councillors.

If government gets its way, local government will become more important. The megacity concept is an important pointer. All the more reason why we should get our names on that voters' roll.

& Johannesburg Friday 9 June 2000

Cover price R1,80

Cape Town price R2,00

MUPANDAWANA. -

President Robert Mugabe warned white farmers in Zimbabwe yesterday that they would die if they tried to resist squatters led by independence war veterans who are occupying their farms.

â\200\234If they try and resist them they will die.â\200\235 he

. told a campaign rally in

Mpanawanda. 220km south-east of Harare. Alternating between Shona and English. President Mugabe

declared the veterans of the war which brought

Zimbabwe's independence from Britain in 1980 to be â\200\234the vanguard of this phase of the revolutionâ\204¢ â\200\234I am glad that they have taken up arms again in order to accomplish the final phase of our revolution. It will be accomplished successfully." the President told the 4 000 to 5000 ruling party supporters assembled on the local football

field. The squatters have occupied some 1500

white-owned farms since February. often violently.

Four white farmers are among the approximately 29 people killed in political attacks since then.

President Mugabe claimed the international Press had portrayed the farmers who were killed as

little gods. but not mentioned the dead blacks.

Some farmers shot at the veterans. President Mugabe said.

Do you expect them not to retaliate? And if they retaliate and you're shot dead. who do you blame for it?

The government last

gave to farmers:
resist us, and die X

week listed 841 white-owned farms - many of them not occupied that it will seize without payment and distribute to landless

blacks.
More will have to be secured. President

Mugabe said.

On Wednesday. he declared: It's not just the 841 farms. We're looking at the totality of our land.

It must come. And if we |
allow others to have portions of it. that must be on

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the basis of our own will,

| TOPAGE 2

| _FROMPAGE1 |

our own desire. our own charity, not on the basis of colonial history and colonial power"

At the rally, he accused the white farmers of supporting the opposition Movement for

Democratic Change
(MDC). which is present-
ing a strong challenge to
his Zimbabwe African
National Union-Patriotic
Front (Zanu-PF) in parlia-

mentary elections due
June 24-25.
President Mugabe

accused white farmers of
forcing their workers to
support the MDC too.

He also accused the
farmers of bringing in
friends from South Africa
to vote in a referendum in
February which would
have strengthened his
powers and legalised a
land grab, but which the
voters rejected.

Parliament subsequent-
ly amended the constitu-
tion and President Mugabe
used presidential powers
to enact the legislation.

The President said the

veterans had not consultedâ\200\231

him before they started
occupying the farms. He
said he had rejected
demands that the police
evict them.

.]

â\200\234I said, to fight which
war?â\200\235 he said. The police
and the army are full of
war veterans. The veter-
ansâ\200\231 cause is just. I will
never, never. send the
police and the army to
drive them out.â\200\235

President Mugabe
renewed his attacks on
Britain. describing the
government of Prime
Minister Tony Blair as
â\200\234children who don't
understand historyâ\204ç,

He repeated a charge
that Britain was trying (o
buy up fuel on the high
seas on its way to
Zimbabwe - a shortage

here is seeing motorists
queuing for hours when
fuel does arrive and that
it was trying to mobilise
international opinion
against Zimbabwe.

British junior Foreign
Minister Peter Hain has
been all over the place
with his mischief, he
declared. - Sapa-AFP,

By. Brian Stuart

E TOWN. President Mbeki approached New National Party leader Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk last year with proposals for co-operation between the ANC and the NNP, Mr Van Schalkwyk said yesterday.

NNP insiders said the proposals would have seen the NNP in coalition with the ANC in the Western Cape to keep out the Democratic Party. In return, there was reportedly a seat on the cabinet for Mr Van Schalkwyk.

The sources said serious consideration was given to the proposal. However, Mr Van Schalkwyk

to comment on the nature of the proposals.

He made the revelation at a news conference at which he accused the Democratic Party of calculated deception by accepting defections from the NNP while at the same time negotiating for opposition co-operation in the municipal elections.

Asked by journalists whether he had considered co-operating with the ANC, he replied: "I was approached the day after the (1999) election. Mr Mbeki asked me to come and see him at his residence in Pretoria.

He put a proposal on the table. I respect confidentiality, and I

asked us to help: NNP

respect discussions which take place between leaders, and I will continue to respect that.

But the essence of the proposal was co-operation between the ANC and the New National Party with regard to the Western Cape.

I did not even consider that, for five seconds. I did not even say: give me time to consider it so that I

can discuss it with other leaders in the NNP.

â\200\234I immediately said: Mr President, we believe it is in the interests of the people of the Western Cape to ensure that that government is in the hands of the opposition.

â\200\234Maybe. 1 should just stop there.â\200\235

depied, this yesterday. and declined |

We must act against KZ-N
â\200\230cowboysâ\200\231 â\200\224 Tshwete

By Brian Stuart
CAPE TOWN. - The assassinations, political violence and intolerance in KwaZulu-Natal had to be ended jointly by the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party, or history would judge them harshly, Safety and Security Minister Steve Tshwete said yesterday.

A head-on strike against this â\200\234cowboyism and lawlessnessâ\200\235, which seemed to have a culture of its own, was needed in KwaZulu-Natal, and the KwaNongoma-Ulundi

arca in particular.

â\200\234The police can no longer, on their own, be a cutting edge against that rampant hooliganism where members and supporters of political parties hoard and brandish firearms to slaughter one another.

â\200\234The political parties in that province â\200\224 and that is the IFP and the ANC in the main â\200\224 will have to close ranks and together fight in the front trenches to mobilise their supporters against politically motivated crime and vio-

lence,â\200\235 Mr Tshwete said.

He told the National Council of Provinces that while at national level relations between the IFP and ANC were good, the same could not be said at lower levels.

â\200\234This situation must be tackled immediately, and once that is done the senseless slaughter will come to an end.

â\200\234Otherwise, the verdict of impartial history will be extremely harsh against them.â\200\235

â\200\230Vigilante justiceâ\200\231 if killers granted bail ,

By Eleanor Momberg
COMMUNITY members have threatened to kill the five men accused of murdering two Akasia emergency services officials near Morula Sun outside Pretoria in April, should they be released on bail, investigating officer Constable Michael Tupper told North District Court yesterday.

He was testifying in the bail application of Mr Peter Hiepheka Baloyi (22). My Tshepo Victor Moalelo (18). Mr Petros Makonyine (18). Mr Baba Abedinico Mnguni (21) and Mr Joseph Mabetwa (34)

They are charged with murdering emergency officials Mr Hendrik du Plooy and Mr Philip van der Merwe. and attempting to murder a witness. Mr Jabu Mahlangu.

The emergency workers

Pretoria

were transferring a patient from one ambulance to another on the M17 at about 9.30pm on April 25

when they were attacked.

The State indicated 10 the accused yesterday morning that because they were charged with a Schedule Six offence. in terms of the Criminal Procedures Act it was up to them. as the accused. O prove Cawnardinary circumstances for their release on bail. and that such a release would be in the interests of justice.

Const Tuppur testified that when he arrived on the scene Mr Van der Merwe was lying. dead. next to the driver's door of the ambulance.

He was informed that Mr Du Ploov, who was shot in the face. execution style. had been taken to hospital in a critical condition. He died the following morning.

Mr Mahlangu's 2002 Mazda

was allegedly hijacked by two of the accused on the scene. He was shot in the arm and neck, allegedly by Mr Makonyane, when the accused noticed he was calling for help on his cellphone. He had since recovered.

His abandoned vehicle, which had an anti-hijacking device. was recovered later that night, about four-and-a-half Kilometres away on the Hebron Road.

Three of the accused are 2002 Mr Balovi. Mr Moalclo and Mr Makonyane - were arrested three weeks after the incident. while Mr Mnguni and Mr Mabctwa were arrested in Soshanguve on May 23.

Const Tupper told the court he was opposed to bail as members of the community where the men lived had telephoned him and threatened to kill the five should they be released on bail.

THE CITIZEN

ABOVE: Zimbabwe
President ROBERT
MUGABE speaks at
an election rally
yesterday in
Mupandawana,
220km east of

Harare.
RIGHT: Ruling
Zanu (PF) support-
ers secure a good
vantage point at
the rally.

Pictures by Reuters

HARARE. â\200\224 Zimbabwe's vital gold mining industry may have only six weeks left unless it receives large injections of hard currency, a mining industry leader warned at a news conference yesterday.

Mr James Maposa, president of the Zimbabwe Chamber of Mines, said gold output this year may slump by 45 percent of the record 28 tons produced last year,

He said gold mining companies were unable to meet payments to foreign suppliers, mostly South African, for R56 million in orders for essential inputs, chiefly cyanide, explosives and spares for machinery.

â\200\234The suppliers have said, â\200\230hold onâ\200\231,â\200\235 he said. â\200\234The credit facilities are gone. They wonâ\200\231t supply and we may grind to a haltâ\200\235.

Mining companies had only six weeks' stocks of cyanide, which is used to dissolve gold out of the ore bearing it.

The shortage of inputs was having a â\200\234very serious effectâ\200\235 on production. Monthly output had fallen 12 percent since December

last year. In April it fell 45 percent.

â\200\234There is great potential that its

(annual production) seems to be as serious as that.â\200\235
- The mining industry received

R14 million in foreign currency

-over the last three months to meet
-, .pa nts on orders for. essential

ts, a shortfall of R105 mil--
-hon, he said

THE CITIZEN

The fall in the international gold price had played a role in the industryâ\200\231s crisis, but more critical were President Mugabeâ\200\231s orders to fix the exchange rate and not to let it slide to its real rate.

Gold mining companies were also forced to sell their production to the central bank, which paid them in local currency. All other sectors were allowed to

retain portions of their export - earnings.

It means companies are paid in local currency, but have to buy hard currency for supplies at a rate from banks, which is up to 40 percent more than the fixed rate of 38 Zimbabwe dollars to the US dollar.

The government had not responded to appeals to allow gold mining companies to keep foreign currency accounts. Nor was there any move on the exchange rate.

The government said it was aware of the difficulties in the industry.

But good and encouraging words are not enough. We have to move with speed or we are a dying industry. It's tantamount to killing the goose that laid the golden egg.

The South African-based Stanbic bank was allowed to retain 25 percent of its hard currency inflows to provide - foreign currency for the gold

But the fund that was supposed to be built up had only R1 million available for orders of R561.

le; to meet

w

up more than half of the country's export earnings.

Mr Maposa's warning heightens anxiety over the state of the country's collapsing economy, cut off from international finance and with the government bankrupt from misrule and expenditure on a costly war in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Sapa.

Zim gold industry ver

Friday 9 June 2000

ges on collapse:

Land on Harare outskirts grabbed

HARARE. - A senior member of Zimbabwe's ruling party has bullied white landowners on the outskirts of Harare into

- Zim agents accused of abducting Cuban doctors

HARARE. ~ Two Cuban doctors, seeking political asylum.

say armed Zimbabwean security agents and

Cuban diplomats abducted them in the middle of the night in an attempt to force them back to Cuba. The two were taken to South Africa on Friday. and later

that day were about to be put on a flight:

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flight to Cuba

when they yelled for help. and slipped out of the airline employees. saying they had been kidnapped.

The airline refused to transport the two, and Dr Noris Pena Martinez (25) and Leonel Cordova Rodrigues (31) were returned to Zimbabwe. SA police said.

After repeat whetehuadesr 4+ been an attack . 0

ediv denying knowledge of the doctors's Zimbabwe Government said there had deport the Cubans. [t promised to

release them and allow the doctors to seek asylum, said Mr

Kris Janowski. Refugees in Geneva.

of the UN High Commissioner for

A UN refugee official. who was allowed to visit the two at a detention centre outside Harare. reported they were in

good health. Mr Janowski said.

Zimbabwe has long maintained close cultural and ideological ties with Cuba, and President Mugabe counts

President Castro among his closest allies.

In Havana the wife of Dr Rodriguez. Rosalba Gonzales. said she was not surprised by her husband's defection attempt.

He always wanted to leave Cuba so he could live better. she said.

Mrs Gonzalez said she had been overcome with worry since learning of her husband's dramatic efforts to prevent being deposed home to Cuba.

I feel like I'm going to die...

Sapa-AP.

I am worried for him. I don't know what is going to happen, said Mrs Gonzalez.

committing large portions of their farms to the establishment of a new suburb, farming sources have said. The sources countered claims this week in the state-run daily The Herald that the farmers had willingly donated the land for distribution to landless farm and domestic workers. Stalin Mau Mau. the parliamentary candidate for the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (Zanu-PF) in Harare East, claims to have obtained at least 720 ha of prime real estate from property owners on the city's eastern outskirts to create a working-class suburb. But the sources dismissed suggestions that the affected farmers

were giving up their -

land freely and willingly, saying most of them had been forced to relinquish up to 20 or 30 per-

cent of their farms with no guarantee of compensation.

Land in the area is valuable, with plots usually selling for Zim \$650 000 to 700 000 (R19 000 to R129 500).

Real estate agents refer to

the area as the â\200\234golden triangleâ\200\235.

The fate of the landowners is similar to that of 804 commercial farmers, whose properties were listed in an official Government Gazette last week for compulsory acquisition by the state.

The government intends to resettle the landless on the acquired farms, without putting in place any meaningful infrastructure.

Opponents of President Robert Mugabe have lambasted the move, saying his government has targeted some of the most productive farms in the country, andâ\200\231

-.the mill would deal a severe

body blow to the countryâ\200\231s agriculturally- dependentv economy Sapa-AFP.

Mbeki has managed to perform a remarkable juggling act, writes Frederik van Zyl Slabbert

THE charm about pub talk politics is that over a couple of beers one can solve all the problems the President hasn't. The catch is, of course, that one's solutions are of no consequence whatsoever.

The same fate most likely awaits more sober reflections on the President's performance in his first year in office. But this will not deter pundits from plying their trade.

A reasonable way of proceeding would be to consider the competing policy options confronting the President and ask yourself, what would you do? For example: The ANC, as a liberation movement, thrived in the Cold War era, and fed their support base on a heavy diet of post-apartheid festive socialism, where capital and business would be severely constrained, and the state would be poverty the instrument in economic development, as well as providing for all the necessary services of its citizens.

The ANC in government in post-apartheid South Africa finds itself in a globalised market economy, where communism has collapsed.

It is expected to introduce reforms such as privatisation and a flexible labour policy, which are not only deeply offensive to significant sections of its own constituency, but a contradiction of what had been promised.

What does the President do? Does he resolutely go for growth, whatever the political costs, and increasingly ignore the democratic demands of his supporters or does he sacrifice growth for democracy at home?

Another case in point: socialism, like capitalism, is a modernising ideology, and has little patience with tradi-

tionalism. Ethnicity, tribalism, chiefs and Y myths are seen as relics of colonial rule,

exploited for the purposes of divide and rule, and clear examples of false consciousness. (In post-liberated Mozambique they used to chant: â\200\234kill the tribe; build the nation!â\200\235).

Now as an ANC government, there is a growing realisation that traditional

However, there is one thing that delivery of services, will resolve all our paradoxes â\200\224

-authority could be a powerful force of instability in the rural areas of the Eastern seaboard, the North and North-West. It is estimated that 25 percent of the electorate live under, and seem to accept traditional authority.

What does the President do? Ignore ' traditionalism, press on with democratic reforms and court investor - unfriendly instability, or slow down democratisation, go for stability and offend powerful lobbies in his own support base?

These policy dilemmas can be multiplied. The tension between human rights and law and order, fiscal discipline and

national sovereignty and globalisation, etc.

So, what would I do? First, I would move a vote of sincere thanks to Providence that I am not in the Presidentâ\200\231s shoes. Then I would

press on with my analysis.

I think Thabo Mbeki has done more than a credible job in trading off these policy options against one another.

They do not involve simple choices between good and evil. More often, he has to decide between good and good. So whichever way he is inclined, he is going to offend somebody with very good intentions.

Of course there is not necessarily an inherent contradiction between democracy and growth, human rights and law and order, fiscal discipline and

delivery of services.

But in a country with our socio-economic profile: deep structural inequality, unemployment and growing poverty - striking a balance between them is a massive challenge.

This is compounded by South Africa being jerked around by the global economy, and simultaneously trying not to get sucked into regional instability.

Mbeki has responded to this challenge with devastating footwork and political agility. He has managed to keep all the balls in the air, and a glimmer of hope alive among competing expectations. Communists and capitalists continue to pursue their respective

agendas, the â\200\234hang-em-burn-emâ\200\235 brigade for law and order try to outsmart the human rights activists, and vice versa, the fiscal savers and spenders try to undo each othersâ\200\231 efforts, the feminists and patriarchs grimly smile at each other in the same caucus. A veritable fruit salad of competing expectations and agendas. Quite a remarkable performance.

But the price we pay for such dexterity is uncertainty. We are not sure what Mbeki wants to do, and where he wants to go. Everyone is waiting for him to bite the bullet, but nobody knows if it is their bullet he will bite.

We live more and more in an â\200\234on-the-one-hand-on-the-other-handâ\200\235 political climate where people begin to impose their own agendas on the uncertainty and analyses highlight singular events to illuminate complex issues. Mbeki on Aids and international consensus, Mbeki on Mugabe, democracy, and law and order, Mbeki promoting capitalism and Mothlanthe hating it, Mbeki on honesty and his Mpumalanga Premierâ\200\231s indifference to it. And soon - the stuff that pub talk feeds on, and democratic opposition does the right and proper thing to exploit.

However, there is one thing that can, and will resolve all these paradoxes. That is poverty. There is nothing uncertain about it in the lives of people. It has the capacity to destroy the whole barrel full of goodness.

It will relentlessly demand its own resolution, even if the country has to descend into criminality, and racial polarisation. But then the President knows this - he has said it often enough. !

Judging Mbeki after one year in office, it is easy to be long on analyses and short on advice. One thing does seem to be clear though: As nature abhors a vacuum, so politics abhors uncertainty.

History is replete with examples where people follow confident and misguided demagogues, rather than ambivalent and agonised philosopher-statesmen. SA needs a demagogue like a hole in the head. Prolonging uncertainty is a certain way of preparing for one.

THE CITIZEN

Friday 9 June 2000

Police acted within the

law to control Al

THE media and the public continue to badmouth the police for doing their job. Our media have treated the Alexandra tragedy irresponsibly, thus straining the relationship between the police and the public.

The police had to do something when it became clear the mob had an intention to cause damage to property and even to kill.

Indeed, the mob did cause damage to property, including the property belonging to the same media people who are pointing fingers at the police. Imagine what could have happened had the police not responded!

When the mob marched to the house of the suspect, police were

faced with this monumental question: Do it you are damned, don't do it you are still damned.

Police are custodians of law and order. And they have to be tough. It is their constitutional obligation to prevent lawlessness and disorder and apprehend criminals. The mob was on its way to break law and order and behave in a criminal manner. They were intent on being destructive. That is unquestionable

To say the police used apartheid-era tactics in dealing with Alexandra is irrational and myopic. Was the crowd not using apartheid-era tactics of mob rule, ungovernability and taking the law

Powers that be should rethink showing Euro 2000 on DSTV

IT would appear that the Euro 2000 soccer championships, which begin this weekend in the Netherlands and Belgium, will be broadcast only on Supersport 2 (DSTV).

If this is correct, millions of South African fans will be excluded from watching one of the world's

most important sporting events.

Many of our population cannot afford a decoder or subscribe to M-Net. However, many more cannot afford satellite TV.

We have been shown previews of the forthcoming championships almost every day on M-Net/CSN, only to be deprived when the tournament proper begins.

The powers that be should reconsider their decision and televise the games on M-Net and/or CSN, as they have done in the past. This is certainly not the way for M-Net to treat its subscribers!

J FREEDMAN
Edenvale

ex riots

into their own hands long before any shots were fired? The mob-psychology of the 1980s seems to have overwhelmed the crowd.

The Alexandra tragedy would not have happened had the people of that township, especially the youth, followed the rule of law. When police became aware of the murder that sparked off the whole thing they went to the scene and questioned people in the vicinity, and even those who resided with the deceased. Alas. not one knew what happened.

As one Minister said: criminals do not come from the sky above. They live among us. We know them. The suspect in the death of the student leader was known and the mob just wanted to lynch him in mob-justice style. That we could not allow. Nor could we allow the wanton torching of houses, property and cars. But the information police needed - the man's identity and whereabouts - was never communicated despite repeated requests.

Though the Independent Complaints Directorate is investigating allegations of the police conduct, police say the crowd fired first and they had to shoot back because they were not sacrificial lambs.

NHLANHLA MBATHA
Media liaison officer
Gavuteng Department
of Safety and Security

DP plays an

effective role
in SA politics
I SHOULD like to express my
personal appreciation of the
role played by the Democratic
Party in the South African polit-
ceveek

*esesnes

ical scene. I have taken note of
its effective, constructive oppo-
sition since it became the offi- @
cial opposition after June 2 gen-
eral election last year.,

I'believe the only problem in :
South Africa is that there are :

those who deliberately portray
the DP as a white, middle-class

party. At the moment they may -
be winning but in the near
future I am quite sure the peo- -

ple, particularly blacks, will see
the need to have the DP as an
official opposition.

If one looks at its leadersâ\200\231
input in the broader political
scene, be it Tony Leon, Douglas
Gibson or Ryan Coetzee, these :
men are well-informed and there :
is nothing to suggest they are the
voice of the conservative whites.

I am not opposed to blacks
being given senior influential
positions in the DP, but they
should be given those positions
on merit not because of their
skin colour, if we are serious
and -truly mean a non-racial
society with only one race - the
human race!

SIVAVUYA SINEKE

Braamfontein
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