

Daily Dispatch

Ciskei emergency

Ciskei's collision course with the African National Congress has culminated in a state of emergency called by its military leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, 19 months after he seized control from Lennox Sebe.

President F. W. de Klerk will not be pleased with the declaration of a state of emergency inside South Africa, having recently dispensed with one himself. He can do without hiccups at such a time, and there will be some unfavourable international reaction.

Brigadier Gqozo said he had taken the action to curb acts of arson and terrorism fomented by the ANC. It is more complicated than that. Fundamentally the violence in Ciskei emanates from a clash between the traditionalists, backed by the state, and younger, more sophisticated radicals who align themselves with the ANC.

Ciskei's military ruler initially underwent a honeymoon period with the ANC, but significantly he went out of his way to thank South Africa for its military assistance in quelling the riots, destruction and looting that took place immediately after his coup. It was Pretoria that gave him power base, and helped to consolidate it.

Increasingly Brigadier Gqozo has placed reliance on the National Party government and their advisers, seeing Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — with whom he has a

good relationship — and the Inkatha Freedom Party as role models to the extent of organising his own political party, the African Democratic Movement (ADM). The ADM has been associated with a Ciskei government move back to a headmen system of tribal government, which has been resented, and resisted, by ANC supporters.

By contrast, an early rapport with General Bantu Holomisa deteriorated to the point where he accused the Transkei military leader of being involved in a plot to overthrow him.

It is difficult to see where Brigadier Gqozo goes from here. He has become more and more isolated, and appears in public only at carefully selected events, often outside Ciskei.

Indeed he missed an opportunity that could well have helped to defuse the situation in Ciskei by declining to meet the president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, when he was in the Eastern Cape recently.

Mr Mandela made the attempt but the brigadier was "not available." His prickliness was again self-evident when he said later that he expected Mr Mandela to inform Ciskei officially if he intended visiting the territory. What is essential, of course, is restraint by everyone concerned and a return to peace and stability.

16/1/11

Political Correspondent CHRIS WHITFIELD reports

ANC finance policy taking shape

ANC policy on foreign investment is beginning to gel following last month's ANC-SACP-Cosatu seminar — and first indications are that it will go some way towards addressing fears of potential investors.

The text of a speech prepared for ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa for an investment conference in Hong Kong states categorically that foreign investors would be free to repatriate profits and the organisation would "guarantee foreign investments against nationalisation without fair compensation."

It might also consider "some special financial arrangements" for investors.

Mr Ramaphosa never got to deliver the speech after pulling out of the trip because of a family illness. It is understood, however, to be based on a draft policy document drawn up after the seminar.

In the speech he pointed out that the country's mineral wealth is declining and world prices for primary commodities showed no sign of rising rapidly enough to boost the South African economy.

"We must diversify our exports into manufacturing. There are positive signs that some sectors of industry are already close to being competitive, but many

will not reach a high enough level of efficiency and productivity without closer links with international firms," said Mr Ramaphosa.

"Foreign investors in general, and transnational corporations in particular, will be crucial in our effort to restructure and regenerate the South African economy," he said.

Such investors could supply some of the capital required for investment in a productive capacity. "But foreign finance will be critical, from the beginning, not only as an element of investment, but, importantly, as a source of foreign exchange.

"We want to make certain that when an upswing begins, as it will when we enter a democratic era, that it is not constrained by balance of payments problems."

The ANC would "enthusiastically" encourage stronger links with the major transnationals, "particularly those which can contribute to the regeneration of our manufacturing sector."

Smaller foreign firms would also be encouraged to invest for their "labour absorbing" capacities.

Mr Ramaphosa said it was important to provide an economic climate that attracted foreign investment. This required: strong and growing domestic and regional markets; political

stability; transparent and consistent economic growth; the prospect of steady economic growth; and a well-trained, flexible and productive work-force.

"For most purposes, foreign companies will be treated in the same way as domestic companies, and we will expect them to respond to the same incentives, and comply with the same regulations and affirmative action programmes.

"We realise though, that in the context of the political uncertainty that surrounds the transition that is taking place in our country, foreign investors might require certain additional assurances beyond the general prospect of 'national treatment'," said Mr Ramaphosa.

"We do not hesitate when we say that an ANC government would be willing to guarantee foreign investments against nationalisation without fair compensation. Moreover, we envisage an economic system where foreign investors will be free to remit funds in the appropriate currencies — for the purpose of repatriating profits, or purchasing inputs."

The secretary-general said that if an ANC government could provide the right climate for investment then "fancy incentive schemes"

would become irrelevant.

"Evidence for the efficacy of financial incentives, such as tax breaks, in attracting investment is ambiguous at best. Such investments can lessen the benefit derived by the host country from foreign investment."

However, "highly desirable and expensive" domestic or foreign investments might require some special arrangements — "such as those provided by the Government for the recent Columbus stainless steel project in South Africa."

Mr Ramaphosa added that the ANC "might consider reciprocation for export performance or some other form of foreign exchange or saving."

He said the ANC's economic programme centred on the need to raise the living standards of all South Africans, but particularly on seeing to the needs of those who were economically deprived under apartheid.

"The sooner we move towards democratic government in South Africa, and the creation of an interim government is the most crucial step, the sooner we will get to the position where we can show foreign investors that the ANC, and only the ANC, can create a climate in South Africa conducive to foreign investment," he concluded.

State of emergency declared in Ciskei

Headman system leads to violence

Early in September — about four months after Brig Gqozo's announcement — the first headman system-related death in Ciskei was reported. The death resulted from a clash between KwaNdlambe (near Peddie) Residents Association members and supporters of the local chief and headman.

The African National Congress later claimed Ciskei Police had sided with KRA rivals. Scores were injured in the clash and at least 13 ANC and association members were arrested, the organisation claimed.

Observers saw the incident as the spark of an outburst of violence, warning sounds of which were heard at the Border Peace Conference earlier this year.

In recent weeks there have been reports of altercations between members of residents associations or left-wing organisations, and proponents of the headman system from other areas of Ciskei.

But worries over a Natal-type violence were discounted by a Rhodes university academic who said Ciskei did not have an ethnic problem to exacerbate the situation as elsewhere, where the media has presented it as a Zulu versus Xhosa conflict.

He saw the re-intro-

duction of the system as going hand in hand with Brig Gqozo's launch of his "cultural" African Democratic Movement (ADM). Brig Gqozo needed the headmen in the rural villages to recruit and consolidate support for the ADM, the academic claimed.

The ADM has been rejected by ANC-leaning organisations in the region, while Brigadier Gqozo, who shared a public platform with Inkata in Ulundi, is seen to be sympathetic to that that organisation.

A paper presented to the Conference of the Association of Anthropology in South Africa examines the historical background to the headman/local authority issue. It is clear that the roots of the conflict lie in the years before Gqozo and Lennox Sebe.

The Black Authorities Act (BAA) of 1951 caused a radical change, the paper says. While the white administration's policy up to that time was to rule blacks through government-appointed headmen, the act allowed for the establishment of tribal authorities headed by chiefs.

The chiefs were assisted by councillors under a system which "sought to revive traditional leadership" — chieftain rule and rule through elders.

The paper suggested that throughout Africa the system of chiefs had been discredited through its association with colonial regimes. In Botswana for instance, chiefs were rendered powerless, being relegated to a meek Upper House.

While the BAA gave chiefs increased powers it ignored the fact of great changes in Ciskei. Ciskei's incorporation into the colonial system as early as the mid-19th century effectively undermined the ideal of chiefs in many Ciskei communities.

In the early 1950s "chiefly traditions were no longer of any significance to the people in the Keiskammahoek district" where colonial rule had been established since 1853, the paper said.

In such areas the people's "social universe" had expanded and attempts to revive the old patriarchal structures fell flat. A similar situation developed in Zimbabwe when author-

Since Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, announced the re-introduction of the headman system in the homeland, there has been violence and conflict between the system's supporters and its opponents. ANDREW TRENCH looks at the issue.



BRIG. GQOZO

ities proclaimed chiefs as legitimate representatives of the people and conferred greater power of them — a decision that was vehemently criticised.

Tribal authorities in Ciskei consisted mainly

of elderly men who were seen as conservative bodies not reflecting the educational and occupational diversity of the people, the paper said.

Younger and more educated members of the community had no say in village affairs and the councillors' lack of education led to competency problems, and the continued exclusion of women from tribal authorities was out of step with their increasingly important role in many organisations.

The tribal councils were also seen to be solely concerned with instructions from central government, and not with local affairs.

During this period sub-headmen administered the bulk of the work of the tribal authority and were the main communication link be-

tween the authority and the villages.

There was no indication that people accepted the sub-headmen with complete willingness, the paper says.

The tribal authorities were identified with external political interests — interest which did not always match the need of the people. Corruption had also greatly discredited these administrations.

Funds collected for the ruling party and for government-associated undertakings were at times embezzled.

In response to these conditions, increasing opposition grew to the Ciskei Government during the rule of Mr Lennox Sebe.

After Ciskei achieved self-governing status political activity increased. In the mid-1980s, residents' associations were formed to oppose Pretoria's relocation policy and homeland government attempts at forced removal.

As the 1980s closed, opposition grew as

people in the rural areas embarked on a Ciskei National Independence Party card-burning campaign. As violent incidents began to escalate with the growing rejection of Ciskei's independence, local headmen were targeted. These activities co-incided with, and were fuelled to a certain extent by, national political developments — the unbanning of "liberation movements" and the release of prominent imprisoned leaders.

As the unrest continued so did rejection of the headman system. Allegations of headmen collaboration with Ciskei security police surfaced — claims which are being repeated now.

After Brig Gqozo took over in March 1990 he recognised the people's desire to be rid of the headmen. Within weeks he announced the scrapping of the system.

However, chiefs were to be retained. The scrapping of the headmen left a vacuum in local government and "five months after the coup local government in Ciskei lacked direction".

In the months following the coup rapid organisation of residents' associations got underway. Within months nearly every village in Ciskei had an association. Then late last year came Brig Gqozo's local gov-

State of emergency

declared in Ciskei

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ernment plan to introduce village representatives appointed and paid by government.

The proposals were rejected by the United Democratic Front, ANC and Border Civics Congress.

Following this, Brig Gqozo, made what the academic called a "silly" decision — to go ahead with the local government proposals anyway. The decision was described as dangerous by the opposing organisations and heralded the start of serious tensions between them and the Bisho administration.

In July this year Brig Gqozo announced a restructuring of local authorities, which included traditional leaders playing a more important role in rural local authorities.

These would be constituted by headmen elected by their communities in elections supervised by local magistrates. Traditional leaders would preside over these bodies, Bisho said.

The civics re-acted with an immediate rejection of the plan. Within days 22 villages in Ciskei voted against it, a trend followed throughout the homeland. Nevertheless, the plan went ahead — on a collision course with the aspirations of increasingly politicised communities.

Ciskei State of Emergency

Council of State cites reasons for decision

JOHANNESBURG — Ciskei had decided to declare a state of emergency because security in the homeland had been seriously compromised, the Ciskei's Council of State media office said in a statement late yesterday afternoon.

"Despite the signing of the Peace Accord, members of various parties are pursuing a course of violence," the statement said.

"In September and October the people of the Ciskei have had their security seriously compromised.

"They have been intimidated, their properties have been burned down and government buildings have been subject to arson and sabotage.

"Thus we have decided to declare a state

of emergency."

The proclamation, issued yesterday, empowered the Commissioner of Police to authorise, without warrant, the arrest or detention of any person deemed a threat to the safety of the public or the maintenance of public order.

"If a member of the security forces is of the opinion that it is necessary for the safety of the public, or the maintenance of public order, any premises or building may be entered, any person may be searched and any vehicle or aircraft seized.

"It is also the commissioner's right to, after due notice, restrict any media presence in areas deemed applicable, or prohibit distribution or sale of printed matter."

The statement listed incidents of violence in the Ciskei:

● Aug 28: Dimbaza rent office petrol-bombed;

● Sept 2: house of Headman in Krwakrwa, Alice, burnt down;

● Sept 6: house of ADM Member at Masele Location burnt down;

● Sept 13: Sada Government Offices petrol-bombed;

● Sept 21: house of policeman at Whittlesea attacked with a hand-grenade;

● Oct 1: Sada Rent Office petrol-bombed;

● Oct 1: house of Headman set alight;

● Oct 9: Peddie Municipal Offices petrol-bombed;

● Oct 9: ADM member's house in Mdantane petrol-bombed;

● Oct 14: house of headman at Whittlesea burnt down;

● Oct 16: house of headman burnt down. His 13-year-old son burnt to death;

● Oct 18: house belonging to supporter of headman at Peddie burnt down;

● Oct 24: house of headman at Izele Administrative Area burnt down;

● Oct 24: Bottle store and truck petrol bombed at Izeli. Eleven people hacked with pangas and knives by members of residents' association;

● Oct 27: house belonging to chairman of Committee of Headmen set alight;

● Oct 28: Peddie Post Office petrol-bombed and burnt to the ground. — Sapa

Villagers held under Security Act

Daily Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The hundreds of people arrested in Ciskei in connection with disturbances in rural areas have been detained under the homeland's security laws, but they have not been charged with any offence.

More than 300 people have been arrested following unrest incidents related to opposition to the reintroduction of the headman system in Ciskei.

The areas affected have been villages in Alice and Izeli, outside King William's Town.

A lawyer representing those arrested, Mr Mike Smith, said it was not clear yesterday how many had been held under section 26 of the Ciskei National Security Act — which provides for indefinite detention.

Mr Smith said lawyers were waiting to see how many people would be brought to court.

In another development, the Ciskei Government cancelled a press conference which was scheduled for yesterday afternoon.

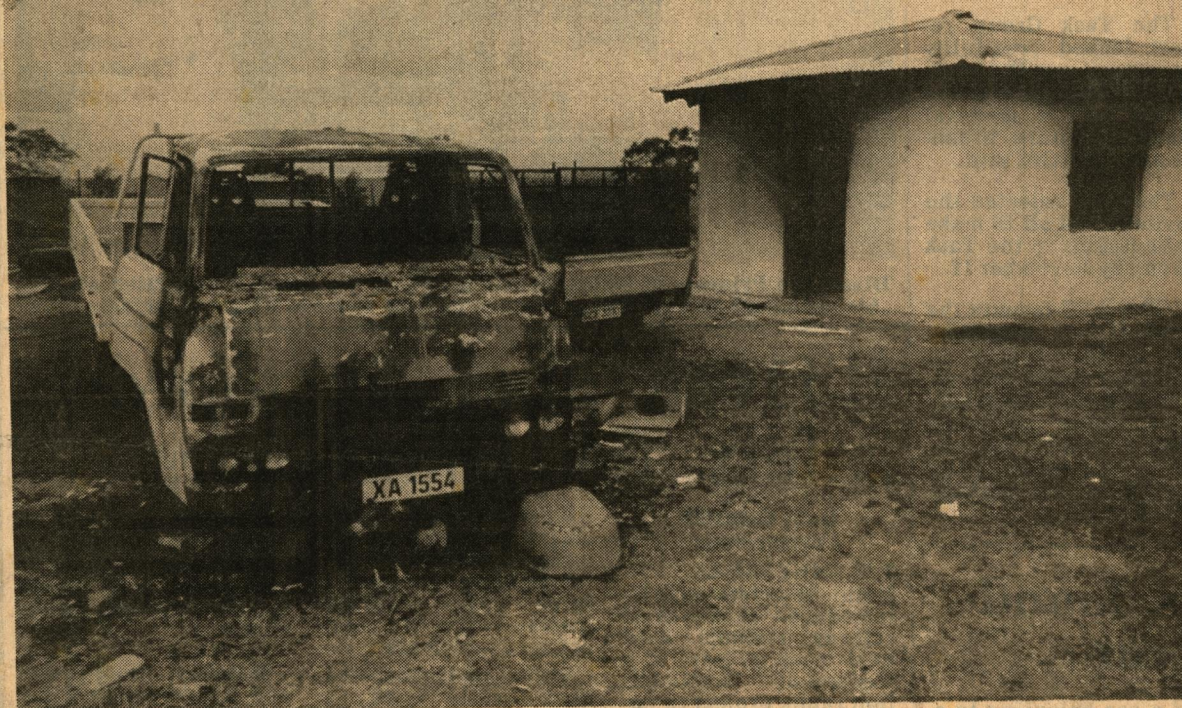
A government spokesman, Mr Cloete Breytenbach, would not say why the conference had been cancelled at the last moment, nor would he confirm reports that the conference had been restricted to radio and television media only.

He said a press statement would be issued to the South African Press Association later yesterday.

DAILY DISPATCH

30/10/1991

Wednesday



The gutted remains of a truck and burnt-out house at Nothenga village in Izeli, where residents clashed with supporters of the headman on Sunday. See also report on page 5

DAILY DISPATCH

Ciskei emergency

EAST LONDON —
A state of emergency giving police wide powers of arrest was declared in Ciskei yesterday.

The Ciskei Council of State said in a statement the emergency had been declared because security in the homeland had been seriously compromised.

"Despite the signing

of the Peace Accord, members of various parties are pursuing a course of violence," the statement said.

Ciskeians had been intimidated, their properties had been burnt down and government buildings had been subject to arson and sabotage, it said.

The proclamation empowers the Commissioner of Police to authorise, without warrant,

the arrest or detention of any person deemed a threat to the safety of the public or the maintenance of public order.

"If a member of the security forces is of the opinion that it is necessary for the safety of the public, or the maintenance of public order, any premises or building may be entered, any person may be searched and any vehicle or aircraft seized," the procla-

by **PATRICK GOODENOUGH**
and **ANDREW TRENCH**

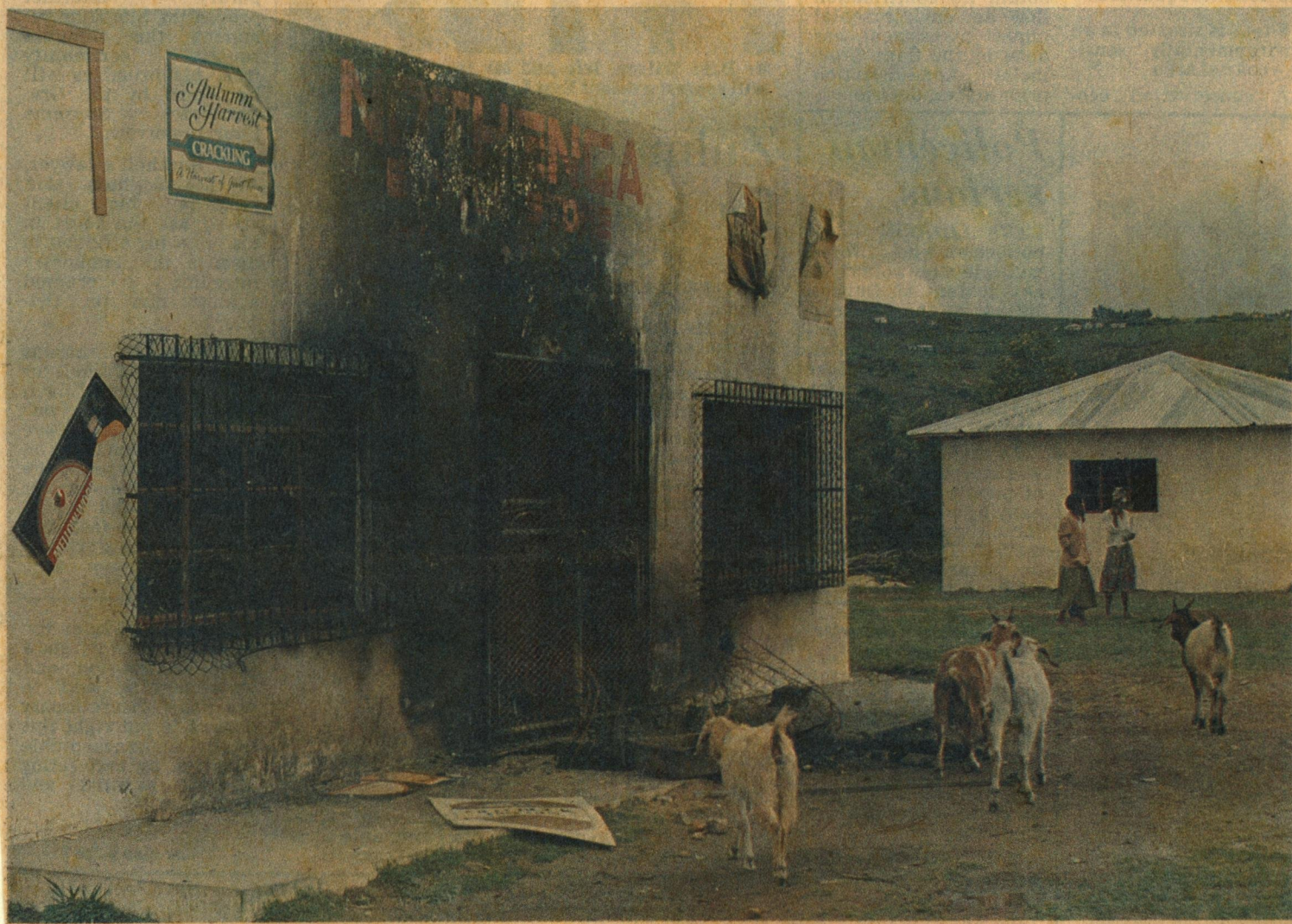
mation states.

It was also the commissioner's right, after due notice, to restrict any media presence or prohibit the distribution or sale of printed matter.

The step came amid growing opposition to the military ruler's local government policies and

the formation of a political party — the African Democratic Movement — widely regarded as an attempt to undermine the African National Congress's support in the region.

Earlier yesterday, the military leader, Brig O. J. Gqozo, accused the ANC of actively cam-



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Peddie PO bombed X

EAST LONDON — Ciskei Police confirmed last night that the Peddie Post Office had been destroyed by a petrol bomb early on Monday.

In an interview yesterday from a technician's telephone outside the building, a post office worker said employees had reported to work to find only the shell of the building standing.

The interior, ceiling and roof had been burnt. Walls were still standing, but they had large cracks.

Ciskei police are investigating the incident. — DDR

paigining against both himself and his government.

"The Ciskei Government is completely not going to sit and fold its arms while its people are being massacred, are being destroyed, are being intimidated and are being trampled upon by the ANC," Brig Gqozo said.

In turn, the ANC dismissed the brigadier as a leader of no standing, and described the emergency as "the return in the Ciskei to old-style repressive rule".

Other organisations which condemned the state of emergency included the ANC Youth League, the Border Council of Churches and the Human Rights Commission.

In the latest outbreak of violence in Ciskei, ANC members in Izele villages clashed with supporters of the recently re-introduced "headman" system at the weekend.

It emerged yesterday that some 300 citizens arrested in Izele were being held under Section 26 which allows for indefinite detention without trial.

The ANC is to challenge Section 26 in the Bisho Supreme Court in two weeks' time on the grounds it contravenes Ciskei's Bill of Rights.

At 4 pm yesterday, a 48-hour deadline for criminal charges to be laid against those arrested on Sunday expired, and lawyers said they were therefore

either being held under security legislation or were being detained illegally.

Ciskei Government officials confirmed late yesterday that they had been detained under security legislation and would not appear in court.

A press conference scheduled late yesterday was cancelled. Daily Dispatch reporters were told they were not allowed on Council of State property.

A spokesman for the South African Defence Force in Pretoria, Commandant Riaan Louw, said "at this stage" there had been no requests from Brig Gqozo for assistance in maintaining control.

He discounted claims of SADF troops being mobilised in the area.

The legality of the state of emergency was questioned yesterday, with lawyers pointing out that no document bearing the proclamation had been made available.

A government spokesman, Mr Cloete Bretsenbach, said the Council of State was "under no obligation" to make the document available. It would not be released to the media, but would be gazetted, he added.

Ciskei's former Justice Minister and drafter of its Bill of Rights, Mr Keith Matthee, said three legal avenues of redress could be considered. They were:

- To challenge the emergency in terms of the Bill of Rights on the grounds the courts had to decide whether sufficient cause existed to curtail individuals' basic human rights;



The Ciskei military leader, Brig O. J. Gqozo, outside the SABC studios in East London last night.

- To bring an application for an interdict against Brig Gqozo for comments broadcast over Radio Ciskei, among them remarks about police beating people;

- A clarifying order over the legitimacy in law of the headmen.

Yesterday evening, Brig Gqozo refused to answer a Daily Dispatch reporter's questions about the legality of his announcement and whether South Africa supported his move.

The reporter and a Daily Dispatch photographer were pushed and threatened by Brig Gqozo's security men outside the SABC's studios in Gladstone Street.

When reporter Andrew Trench approached Brig Gqozo as he walked towards the entrance of the building, two security men grabbed him and flung him against a wall.

A bodyguard told photographer Janet Knott she was "not allowed" to take photographs and waved his arms in a threatening manner.

Later, when Brig Gqozo returned to his car, Mr Trench was shoved away from the vehicle and sworn at. Two guards pushed themselves against Ms Knott while a third opened an umbrella in her face to prevent her from taking a picture.

Left: A burnt-out bottle store at Nothenga... the scene of Sunday's clash which resulted in the arrest of over 300 people.

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Tension rises as Zambia readies for the

A deep air of uncertainty hangs over the political and economic future of impoverished Zambia, which tomorrow holds its first multi-party elections in 18 years.

Tension has built up in recent days with the government and opposition each accusing the other of preparing for violence if it loses. The church has taken up a mediatory role in the hope of preventing trouble.

A few weeks ago, political analysts were unwilling to bet on the outcome. Now they are tipping victory for the main opposition Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) with around 105 of the 150 seats in parliament, although predictions are shaky at best.

President Kenneth Kaunda, 67, has domi-

nated the country since independence from Britain in 1964, strengthening his grip after introducing single-party rule in 1973 in order to halt tribalism.

But bureaucracy and corruption have undermined the ruling United National Independence Party (Unip) and the government, which has burdened Zambia's eight million people with 7.8 billion dollars in foreign debt.

The presidential and parliamentary elections are the culmination of nearly two years of pro-democracy activity.

Zambia has seen a steady rise in unemployment, crime, budget deficits and inflation. Social services have declined and the black market has eclipsed formal economic activities.

"One thing that is clear is that President

Kaunda and his government have known all along what needed to be done in this economy," one analyst said, adding that "Kaunda and his clique of older Unip members have over the years deliberately blocked economic reforms."

Pro-democracy activists who united in the MMD, and pressure from the international community in linking aid to democratic reforms, forced Kaunda after months of hesitation to reintroduce pluralistic politics last December and call elections this year.

The MMD, led by veteran trade unionist Frederick Chiluba, has promised to work with multilateral institutions to improve Zambia's economy, but there are no illusions over the amount of work needed.

Chola Chimbano: Lusaka

Chiluba himself is challenging Kaunda for the presidency.

"This country's economy has been destroyed and there is no money. Are you prepared to work hard to rebuild? Do you know that building is more difficult than destroying?" is Chiluba's message at campaign rallies.

The retirement from politics of some of the leaders of the independence struggle and Kaunda cronies has failed to reduce pressure on the president, whose statesman-like international image contrasts sharply with the poverty of his country.

Both Kaunda and Chiluba say they will accept the election results, although Kaunda has also said he will "deal" with

the opposition, which he accuses of insulting him.

Kaunda says he does not plan to retire until the economy recovers.

Diplomatic sources say the government's record on the economy is not encouraging.

Zambia has abandoned several reform programmes agreed with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) since it started dealing with the Fund in 1972, leading the economy into deeper trouble.

It lost more than 500 million dollars in donor aid when Kaunda ditched an IMF austerity programme in 1987 after food riots the previous year.

It rebuilt donor confidence only when the IMF and World Bank ap-



PRESIDENT KAUNDA

proved a policy paper in late 1990 for a programme covering the period 1990-1993.

The government ran into trouble again last month, defaulting on a 20.8 million dollar arrears payment to the World Bank and delaying the implementa-

tion of austerity measures until after the elections.

As a result, Zambia stands to lose more than 200 million dollars in balance of payments and import support from the World Bank and other donors.

Political and economic analysts say the post-election atmosphere should allow greater economic development in a country where political survival has taken precedence over vital austerity measures.

The analysts trace Zambia's economic decline to the 1974 oil crisis and depressed copper prices.

Copper production by Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM), the country's main foreign exchange earner, is expected to fall while

polls

mining costs are rising, ZCCM said in its latest annual report.

The economic reform plan backed by the IMF and World Bank aims at increasing non-traditional exports, reducing inflation and the budget deficit, developing strong fiscal measures, civil service reform and privatisation of state-run enterprises.

Measures taken so far include devaluation of the local currency, moves towards privatisation and the removal of price controls, except those on the food staple, maize.

As polling day draws near shopkeepers, particularly those of Indian descent, have cleared their stores in case of rioting. Diplomats say many Indians are leaving the country, at least temporarily.—Sapa-RNS

Ciskei State of Emergency

Izeli quiet, schools empty

by **PATRICK GOODENOUGH**
and **ANDREW TRENCH**

IZELI — This rural Ciskei area was quiet yesterday after a flare-up among residents on Sunday led to the arrests of more than 300 — still believed to be in detention.

At two village schools, teachers sitting idly outside empty classrooms explained their pupils were either still being held by police or were hiding in forests, in fear for their safety.

Attendance at Nangamso junior secondary school had dropped from a possible 197 to nothing, while at the nearby Noteya primary school only 85 of a total of 540 pupils attended yesterday.

Exams at Noteya begin on Friday, and at Nangamso pupils face exams from next Tuesday.

Teachers expressed concern over the interruption in schooling and the potential disruption to studies which they believed could result from the declaration of the state of emergency.

Two teachers at Noteya — the only staff members who live in Izeli villages — were arrested on Monday, the deputy principal, Mr Zamile Duda, re-

ported.

The villages were virtually deserted, with the few residents reporters could find saying the quiet was unusual.

Residents were obviously jumpy. Some said they ran and hid when cars appeared.

Several expressed distaste for Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's decision to impose a state of emergency.

"First he was a hero ... now he has become a dictator," one said.

In Nothenga village, reporters saw two burnt-out vehicles and two gutted houses, and a bottle store which was extensively damaged in a clash between supporters of the area's headman and African National Congress members on Sunday.

Eyewitnesses said the bottle-store owner, Mr Bhesi Mevana — also a member of the headman committee — sustained head injuries after residents hauled him and other committee members from the store.

They said a crowd of more than 1 000 had stoned the property and torched the buildings and cars.

A 20-year old woman, related to Mr Mevana, said a stone had hit her on the back and she had required medical treatment.

She denied an accusation by the Nothenga Residents' Association that Mr Mevana had been organising for the African Democratic Movement, headed by Brig Gqozo.

Mr Mevana is recovering in Cecilia Makiwane Hospital. A spokesman there yesterday described his condition as "not serious".

An elderly woman in a house near

the bottle-store said police had questioned her on the whereabouts of her husband, who was working.

"They said 'You are fortunate your husband is not around, or you would both be arrested'," she said.

Police patrolled the area in large numbers on Monday, the woman added.

While no police were seen yesterday, villagers interviewed at an advice office in King William's Town were reluctant to return, citing further arrests on Monday as the reason.

Appeal for impartiality

EAST LONDON — The Border Civic Congress appealed to Ciskei police to act impartially with regard to the state of emergency.

Bocco said the police should adhere to the principles of the national peace accord of which the Ciskei Government was a signa-

tory.

It said residents were extending the hand of friendship to the Ciskei police and appealing to them to act impartially and not take orders from Brigadier O.J. Gqozo, who had said in a radio broadcast police should beat those opposed to the headman system.

The re-introduction of the headman system and discredited community councillors was rejected by the majority of residents, Bocco added.

The system was undemocratic as in some areas it was reported only two people elected a headman. — DDR

I am led by God, Gqozo claims in radio broadcast

Daily Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The Ciskei military leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, said in a message to chiefs, broadcast on Radio Ciskei on Monday, that he had a mandate to rid Ciskei of corruption and to protect human rights.

The following is an extract from the broadcast:

"I am led by God as his servant. Give me power to lead Ciskei people, I pray every day.

"I will rule with a mandate until Ciskei goes back to South Africa. I have a mandate from the army to get rid of nepotism, corruption and to protect human rights. People hate me because of the mandate.

"Youngsters want old people to go out and toyi-toyi and do all wrong things. They want Ciskei to be ruled by an exile, an ANC member or someone from Robben Island...

"There is no order at schools and in the communities, (with) demonstrations during school time. I am unpopular because I am against disorder.

"The ANC says it will not comment on Trans-

kei disturbances because they are their friends. Many people are arrested without trial in Transkei.

"Once a person is arrested in Ciskei, a hue and cry develops. Only one member of the ANC (Mr Smuts Ngonyama) was bombed in Dimbaza. There were reports about blue cards of my party (the African Democratic Movement) which indicated that Inkatha was involved with it. This is all printed by the Daily Dispatch.

"There are reports that my bodyguards are members of Inkatha and that we are ruled by Inkatha. These are all lies. There is also another lie that I gave R8,5 million to Gatsha (Buthelezi)...

"The good things done by the government are not popularised.

"I say to (the) police they should beat silly people on the heads because courts take a long time while they (the people) continue to burn people. Let us get those claims, we don't care, money has been made for that.

"A naughty child is given a hiding by elderly people by Xhosa tradit-

ion. It does not matter whose child it is...

"If these boys are severely beaten they can claim if they want to, but we will try and make laws that they don't get anything. We are here to make laws to protect people...

"People are scared of arson. Police should work and fools should be hit hard.

"If they attack us we should mete out a harsher action against them. The stand of the African Democratic Movement is to collect all people who want peace. We are in the majority...

"The ADM wants real peace; not peace written on papers and thereafter people are again assaulted.

"We don't want people who say we should not go to work... we don't want boycotts of certain shops...

"ADM people should be united and be able to fight those who oppose it. We are not organised. There was a magistrate in Peddie and the area was rotten during his time, but when we removed him the area became all right.

"Any policeman who does not want to work will join the toyi-toyi. All policemen, irrespective of the unit, should work. Policemen are paid but are not doing work...

"If I receive a complaint, I will ask the policeman what he has done. If he had done nothing I will fire him..."

Love letter writer needed

VERONA — Verona is seeking a secretary to answer love letters addressed to Romeo's Juliet.

A council official in Verona, fabled home of Shakespeare's star-crossed couple, yesterday announced a competition to find someone skilled in penning answers to an average of two letters sent to Juliet from Italy and abroad every day.— Sapa-RNS

DAILY DISPATCH

Wednesday 30/10/1991

Widespread condemnation of Gqozo's actions from Border organisations

by MTHOBELI
MXOTWA

EAST LONDON — The Border African National Congress and the Border Council of Churches yesterday strongly condemned the state of emergency declared by the Ciskei military government on Monday.

The Congress of Tra-

ditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) called on its members in Ciskei "to keep clear of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's actions and not associate themselves with the brigadier's activities".

At a press conference, the ANC described the declaration of the state of emergency as "the return in the Ciskei to old-style repressive rule".

The organisation said it was regrettable that the incident was taking place at a time when South Africa was striving for peace and reconciliation.

Past states of emergency had failed to stop the forces for democracy and justice in the country and the present state of emergency would also fail, the ANC said.

It said the state of emergency was a "desperate measure to reinforce the feeble forces clamouring for a place at the all-party conference".

It blamed the National Party government for the imposition of the state of emergency in Ciskei saying the NP had long been warned about the "unacceptable methods" followed by the Gqozo regime.

The ANC called on the police and the army in Ciskei to disassociate themselves from the direction Brig Gqozo was taking.

"We know that his reign will soon be over and they, (security forces) are the people who would remain behind while Gqozo, like his predecessor, seeks comfort in Pretoria," the ANC said.

It claimed Brig Gqozo was under pressure from the South African Government to oppose the ANC.

The BCC said it was shocked by the declaration of the state of emer-

gency, which was contrary to what the Ciskei authorities had been claiming to promote — human rights.

The clerics warned the Ciskei Government to learn from their South African counterparts, saying a state of emergency would not suppress people's quest for democracy.

The BCC president, the Reverend Bongani Finca, said a letter had been sent to Brigadier Gqozo yesterday morning requesting an urgent meeting, but the military ruler did not respond.

The present attitude of the Ciskei Government created a potential for bloodshed, the BCC warned.

The president of Contralesa, Chief Patekile Holomisa, said the continued existence of homeland administrations was a recipe for disaster and anarchy.

Contralesa said the Ciskei military government was "a menace to the well-being of the people of Ciskei".

The formation of the African Democratic Front was an attempt by Brig Gqozo to entrench himself politically, Contralesa said.

"Contralesa members in the homeland are advised to keep clear of Gqozo's moves to set up a political party. They should also take heed of the people's feelings about the issue of headmanship and bear in mind the abuse and manipulation of those authorities by Gqozo's predecessor.

"The legitimacy of the traditional leaders in Ciskei does not at all depend on their cohabitation with the Council of State, but on their hereditary lineage and acceptance by the people," Chief Holomisa said.

The Human Rights

Commission condemned the state of emergency and said the headman system had resulted in strong resistance from local communities.

"At a time when all political leaders have committed themselves to peace, Gqozo's actions lead one to wonder what his real agenda is," the HRC said.

During the past two months the HRC noted an increase in security force actions against protest to the headman system, and this led them to believe old style repression had returned.

The Border branch of the Black Sash said Brig Gqozo's action illustrated the "illegitimate nature" of his military council.

Brig Gqozo's actions rested ultimately with President F. W. de

Klerk, as Ciskei was an artificial creation of the South African Government, it said.

The Black Sash, in light of the government's commitment to the Peace Accord, called upon Mr De Klerk to intervene immediately and decisively in an increasingly oppressive situation which threatened to result in violence and the loss of life in the region.

Sapa reports the SACP's central committee said people had approached Brig Gqozo to normalise the situation, but had been rejected.

It said the Ciskei military council was a signatory to the National Peace Accord which committed signatories to allow for unfettered political activity. Brig Gqozo no longer enjoyed the trust of the people, it said.

DAILY DISPATCH
EAST LONDON

30/10/1991

David Braun reports from Washington on an important development

This will give the ANC more leverage

SSAN 30/01/91

THE Congressional Black Caucus has taken control of the key Africa Subcommittee of the US House of Representatives in a move which could have an important impact on American policy towards South Africa.

Africa Subcommittee chairman Howard Wolpe vacated his post yesterday to take up the politically more important chairmanship of the House Science, Space and Technology Committee.

More significantly to many Africanists in Washington, however, is that the staff director of the Subcommittee on Africa, Steve Weissman, and other key members of the staff appointed by Mr Wolpe, will also be moving on.

The new chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa, Mervyn Dymally, will appoint his own staff.

Mr Weissman, like Mr Wolpe, is a respected Africa expert. Both played key roles in setting the Congressional and the overall US agendas on the subject of South Africa.

Mr Weissman confirmed this week he would be leaving the Africa Subcommittee. He said he was considering taking up a position with a university.

Mr Wolpe and Mr Weissman were instrumental in persuading the US Congress to impose sanctions on South Africa in 1986.

More recently, they welcomed the reforms of President de Klerk, but remained skeptical that the political process in South Africa was truly irreversible.

Mr Wolpe is to remain an ordinary member of the Subcommittee on Africa, as the ranking Dem-

ocratic member.

According to Democratic Party sources, the outgoing Africa Subcommittee chairman has taken the chairmanship of the Science, Space and Technology Committee because it gives him much more status within Congress and because of the prestige it gives him within his own Congressional District in Michigan.

Mr Dymally's succession as chairman of the Africa Subcommittee is a major coup for the Congressional Black Caucus, which has long believed it should control the important panel.

The 64-year-old California representative (he was a Lieutenant-Governor of California) is a senior member of the Black Caucus.

Washington Africanists believe the Black Caucus control of the

House Subcommittee on Africa gives the African National Congress a huge new advantage.

Although there are some prominent Black Caucus members who have demonstrated flexibility, the body is firmly behind the ANC.

Some analysts are concerned that Mr Dymally's close links with President Mobutu of Zaire will put him at odds with other members of the Black Caucus, and that this could have an impact on his approach to South Africa (in the sense that he would not resist a hard line towards Pretoria).

There is also some concern that the new Africa Subcommittee professional staff will take a long time to settle in, and that they may therefore be somewhat less effective than Mr Weissman and his colleagues. □

16/1/91

AK murders — 2 held

By Tony Stirling

EASTERN Transvaal police are holding two Black men in connection with the investigations into a number of murders carried out this month with AK-47 rifles.

This was announced yesterday by Brig G W Smit, the regional chief of crime prevention and investigation for the Eastern Transvaal.

The murders being investigated include apparent supporters of both Inkatha and the ANC, but no political motive is at this stage suspected.

The slayings, all done

with AK-47 rifles, appeared to have had a criminal motive.

Brig Smit said further arrests were expected soon.

A quantity of weapons, which were possibly connected to a number of recent murders in the Eastern Transvaal, had also been seized.

TO PAGE 2

Citizen Oct 30

AK murders: Two held

FROM PAGE 1

The two suspects were named as Sipho Buthelezi (25) and Naphthal Ngomezulu (33).

According to Brig Smit, Eastern Transvaal Murder and Robbery Unit detectives are on the track of a number of other suspects. More weapons could be seized.

It appears that the murders and attacks involve the activities of a criminal gang which has been operating in the Ogies and Kendal districts.

Cases under investigation include:

- The shooting of Petrus Skosana (61), who was shot in the left side on October 16 at Phola township, near Ogies.

- The shooting of Vusi Mbatha (23), who was found shot dead in Phola township on Oc-

tober 18.

- The murder of Abraham Mokoena, who was seriously wounded in the same incident and died in the Witbank Hospital the following day.

- A murder on October 18 in which the body of Mr M Z Ngobela (25) was found in the Amalozzi squatter camp near Kendal. He had been shot dead.

In this incident Mr M

Nkosi (25) sustained serious injuries from gunshot wounds and is still being treated in the Witbank Hospital.

- Three murders in the Kendal plots area on October 19. Three Black men were killed when they came under attack. Only one has been identified. He was Mr Richard Mayane (25).

Two women were also in the group at-

tacked — one was as-
sanited and the other
managed to escape.

- A murder on October 20 at the Safe Sec Compound at Kendal where the body of Mr Alec Mgudiza Zcuba was found. He had been shot.

Brig Smit praised the dedication and perseverance of the police investigation team and thanked the public for their support.

Business Day Oct 30

Schlemmer sees role for statutory council

SA NEEDS a formal device such as a multiparty statutory council with expert subcommittees to solve major national problems and prevent the country's transition from breaking down, says Wits Centre for Policy Studies director Lawrence Schlemmer.

He writes in the Human Sciences Research Council book, *Policy Options for a New SA*, launched in Johannesburg yesterday, that the process of government will be substantially beyond the control of politicians and their planners.

Given government's large scope and role in SA's transition, the deep structural imbalances and conflicts in society which had to be addressed, and contradictory pressures and demands on government, special elements were required.

One element often suggested was a social contract between major parties allowing opponents to suspend competitive antagonisms sufficiently to allow co-operation in solving problems.

Approved

"Such pacts and alliances are needed, but they are also predictable and subject to breakdown," he says, proposing a more formal arrangement to assist government in addressing the problems.

He suggests a statutory council or councils with subcommittees, composed of relatively impartial experts nominated by parties and approved by a two-thirds majority of the legislature.

"Their role might be to examine any proposed legislation or policy at the request of any party in the legislature, in order to attempt to resolve issues of conflict and to point to unforeseen consequences."

They would then have the power to refer matters back to a cabinet with recommendations, operating much like the President's Council.

Schlemmer said at the launch there was

BILLY PADDOCK

a tendency for parties to raise proposals in public without proper regard for their consequences. A statutory council would prevent this from happening and could point the way forward.

In the book, he says a move towards equity in public spending must bear some results before political transition, because existing differentials and inequalities between constituencies will intensify ideological tensions during negotiations. He believes social stability, investor confidence and economic growth under a new dispensation will be eroded by the actions of a new government obliged to rapidly redress backlogs.

Careful analysis had shown that racial parity in state expenditure could not be achieved before 2000, and then only with government expenditure rising to 31% of GDP and the economy growing an average of 5% in real terms over the period. Virtually all the tax returns of increased economic growth would have to be channelled to social spending.

"One of the greatest challenges to government in this period of transition is how to pro-actively eliminate discrimination and redress inequity of opportunity without creating a culture of what in the US is referred to as 'entitlement'."

In a referendum at least seven of every 10 white voters were likely to reject a negotiated settlement which did not reserve substantial power for whites in an organised constituency. This was likely to make majority-based parties antagonistic.

More subtle minority safeguards not aimed at any particular group were required, but these were more difficult to sell to the white constituency.

"Government has the invidious task of identifying the soundest long-run methods of minority protection and of convincing its constituents of their effectiveness," says Schlemmer.

ANC to have economic policy soon, says Sisulu

CITIZEN 30/10/91

The African National Congress will have an official economic policy by December or January, according to the head of the ANC's economics department, Mr Max Sisulu.

The organisation has come under fire for sending out contradictory views on a future economy, particularly on nationalisation.

However, in an interview with Work In Progress magazine, Mr Sisulu says the ANC, being a democratic organisation,

continues to seek the active involvement of the people in drawing up the official policy.

He says the process of drawing up the policy has been an ongoing one, including workshops and the discussion of a draft policy document in the branches.

Mr Sisulu says the December/January policy conference will look at macro-economic and sec-

toral policy. Despite not having an official economic policy, Mr Sisulu says the ANC does have views on the economy and he spelled out a future based on a mixed economy.

According to Mr Sisulu the three basic ingredients for a mixed economy are: A democratic political framework, economic growth and redistribution.

He talks of a slogan: "Growth through distribution", which he says means redistribution of wealth, income and opportunity.

Mr Sisulu emphasises that without growth it was impossible to address poverty.

He talks of 90 percent of the wealth being concentrated in White hands and one seventh of the

population (Whites) consuming 60 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

Some of the basic needs he talks about meeting are housing and electricity. He says developing these sectors could have a multiplier effect, opening up opportunities for job creation, welfare and pensions through doing away with duplication and triplication in government

departments and cutting the defence budget.

He says the manufacturing sector needs to be turned into "an engine for growth" with emphasis placed on industrial research.

Addressing the role of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, Mr Sisulu is sceptical of these organisations and says, "we need to manage our economy so that we don't go cap in hand to borrow money on their terms". — Sapa.

16/1/11

Wat weet Buthelezi van democratie?

door Sietse Bosgra

In Zuid-Afrika zijn tienduizenden gezinnen in diepe ellende gestort door politiek gemotiveerde moorden. Vaak waren voorvechters van mensenrechten het slachtoffer, in andere gevallen ging het om volledig willekeurige personen. Het geweld vormt een ernstige bedreiging voor het prille vredesproces.

De verantwoordelijkheid voor deze wanhopige situatie berust in sterke mate bij chieft Buthelezi, leider van de Inkatha-beweging. Deze betrokkenheid bij de wrede terreur leidde tot een internationale afkeer, een toenemend isolement voor de Zoeloeleider. Maar uitgerekend de christen-democratische fractie in het Europese parlement nodigt deze Buthelezi uit als gastspreker op haar congres op 14 november. Buthelezi spreekt daar nota bene over democratie in Afrika.

Afrika kent helaas vele voorbeelden van autoritaire leiders, die geen oppositie dulden en die alle regels van democratie aan hun laars lappen. Buthelezi heeft als hoofd van de regering van het thuisland Kwazulu laten zien hoe hij denkt over democratie. Eerst wilde hij alle oppositiepartijen in zijn 'staat' verbieden, maar het apartheids-regime in Pretoria weigerde hiervoor in 1975 toestemming te geven.

Absolute trouw

Echter, Buthelezi had andere middelen om absolute gehoorzaamheid van zijn onderdanen af te dwingen. Hij eiste dat iedereen die een functie bekleedt in zijn 'staat', zoals onderwijzers, artsen, politiemensen, ambtenaren, maar ook studenten, een 'loyaliteitsverklaring' ondertekent waarin absolute trouw aan de heerser van Kwazulu wordt beloofd. De bevolking werd onder grote druk gezet om lid te worden van de Inkatha beweging. Zelfs kinderen kunnen alleen naar school als ze toetreden tot de para-militaire Inkatha Jeugdbrigades. Zo bereikte Buthelezi zijn doel: Kwazulu werd een feitelijke één-partij-staat, waar alle zetels in het parlement in handen zijn van Inkatha.

Terwijl het ANC een collectief leiderschap kent, en een democratische organisatie waar vrij wordt gesproken en gestemd, kent Inkatha maar één leider, die op congressen telkens weer met 99 procent van de stemmen wordt herkozen. Deze leider duldt geen kritiek of tegen-

spraak. Toen leden van een Nederlandse parlementaire delegatie hem een aantal kritische vragen stelden over de situatie van de mensenrechten in Kwazulu ontstak de autoritaire leider in toorn. Moet deze man de christen-democraten vertellen wat democratie is?

Geweld

Het ergste verwijt aan Buthelezi is echter zijn verantwoordelijkheid voor het geweld. Aanvankelijk beperkte de terreur zich tot het thuisland Kwazulu, waar duizenden Zoeloe's om het leven kwamen omdat zij kozen voor Mandela en niet voor Buthelezi. Daarna sloeg het geweld over naar andere gebieden.

Op 24 oktober kwam het onafhankelijke Zuidafrikaanse onderzoeksbureau Community Agency for Social Enquiry met de meest recente cijfers over het geweld. In 257 gevallen van geweld werden 370 aanvallers geïdentificeerd: 190 behoorden tot Inkatha, 84 tot de politie, en 13 waren lid van het ANC. Het rapport toont aan dat in 50 procent van de gevallen Inkatha verantwoordelijk is voor het geweld, in een kwart van de gevallen de politie, en zowel ANC als het leger in minder dan 5 procent.

Het internationale vertrouwen in Buthelezi werd sterk aangetast toen bleek dat zijn Inkatha-beweging werd gefinancierd uit heimelijke fondsen van het apartheidsregime. Maar veel ernstiger is, dat bij de recente rechtszaken tegen politiemensen duidelijk naar voren komt, hoe Inkatha en de politie hand in hand samenwerken bij het moorden en het opstoken van het geweld. Op 24 oktober verklaarde een agent onder ede hoe hij samen met eenheden van Inkatha het stamhoofd Maphumulo uit Kwazulu

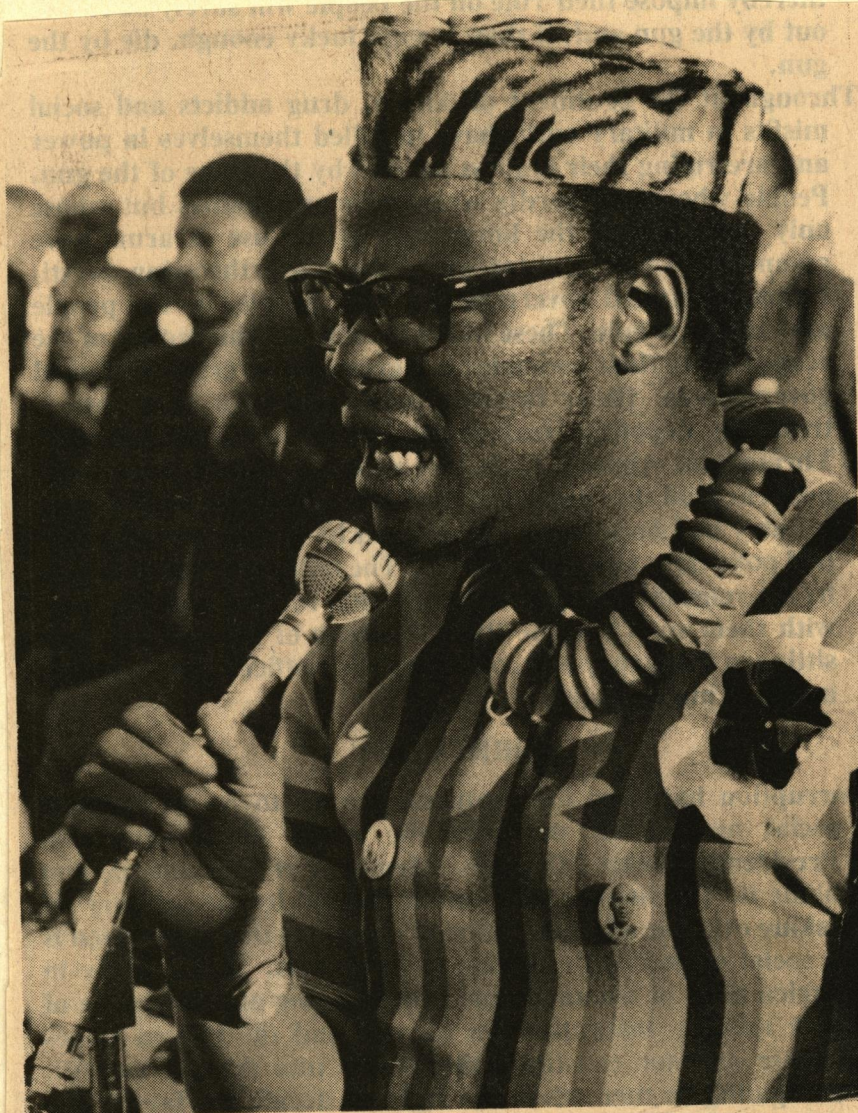
vermoord heeft. Dit stamhoofd is een bekend tegenstander van Buthelezi. Toen de agent details wilde geven over 15 andere moorden die hij in opdracht van de politie had uitgevoerd, legde de rechter hem het zwijgen op. „Allemaal mensen van het ANC“, zei hij tegen het Britse dagblad *The Independent*. Terloops meldde hij dat de politie de vuurwapens aan Inkatha had verstrekt.

Bij een andere rechtszaak die in Pietermaritzburg wordt gehouden, en waarbij zeven politiemensen terecht staan wegens de moord op elf mensen gaf een Inkatha-leider onder ede details over de nauwe samenwerking tussen de politie en zijn beweging bij het volvoeren van de moord. De massamoord werd voorbereid op bijeenkomsten van hoge politie-functionarissen met de rechterhand van Buthelezi, David Ntombela, in het hoofdkwartier van Inkatha in Edendale.

Het lijkt onwaarschijnlijk dat de christen-democratische fractie stamhoofd Buthelezi naar Brussel haalt vanwege zijn grote bijdrage aan de democratie in Afrika. Maar dat men deze man wil eren vanwege zijn grote bijdrage aan de mensenrechten in Afrika lijkt even onwaarschijnlijk. Of moeten we de grote verdienste van de man zoeken in het feit dat hij het Zoeloe-nationalisme aanwakkert ten koste van het principe van het ANC dat alle Zuidafrikanen gelijkwaardig zijn, blank en zwart en onafhankelijk van stam?

De Europese christen-democraten zijn een verklaring verschuldigd voor deze uiterst curieuze uitnodiging.

De auteur is medewerker van het Komitee Zuidelijk Afrika.



IFP President M. Buthelezi

ANC questions Inkatha's legitimacy

By Bob Mkhwanazi in Durban

African News 30/10/81

THE African National Congress (ANC) has questioned the Inkatha Freedom Party's "legitimacy as an independent force".

In the light of recent revelations that Inkatha had received covert funds from the South African government, the ANC is reviewing its relationship with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party.

The ANC's decision means the peace accord between it and the IFP signed in January this year, is now in jeopardy.

Claiming that the ANC has been the principal victim of Inkatha's slush funds, having regard to the overwhelming evidence to that

effect, the ANC views Chief Buthelezi's attempt to distance himself from the covert funds as "tantamount to palpable falsehood and dishonesty in the name of the Lord God".

In a related development, Mr Nelson Mandela, the president of the ANC has called for an interim government of national unity, warning that if President de Klerk's government does not hand over to an interim government, "they must learn there can be no future discussion between them and ourselves", to which the ANC deputy president, Walter Sissulu rejoined: "the government has become an obstacle to negotiations. It must resign".

16/1/14

*Winnie's trial resumes as
13 held for disruption* 30/10/91

Daily Dispatch
Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG —
Thirteen people were
arrested for disrupting
traffic after the trial of
Mrs Winnie Mandela
and 15 other African
National Congress
Women's League mem-
bers — who are facing
charges of traffic ob-
struction — resumed in

the Johannesburg Mag-
istrate's Court yester-
day.

A Witwatersrand
police spokesman said
the group would be
charged with either dis-
rupting traffic or dem-
onstrating within the
area of a court building.

The spokesman said it
was not clear whether
those arrested included

any of the people pre-
viously charged.

Magistrate J.P. My-
burgh agreed to post-
pone the trial to January
29 after prosecutor Jac-
ques Theron advised
that the state had made
representations to the
Attorney-General and
Justice Minister Hernus
Kriel and was awaiting
an answer.

10/1/11

16/1/11

ANC may lose money says Oscar Dhlomo

X Saw 6/1/11
BY JOE MDHLELA 30/10/9

THE African National Congress may lose financial support if it transforms itself into a political party.

This observation was made by the executive chairman of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, at the launch of the book, Policy Options For A new South Africa, in Johannesburg yesterday.

The book is co-edited by Fanie Cloete, Lawrence Schlemmer and Daan van Vuuren.

In his talk, "Liberation Movements versus Political Parties", Dhlomo noted that the possibility of the organisation losing financial support from its overseas donors should it become a political party weighed against the ANC abandoning its role as a liberation movement.

"As a liberation movement, the ANC claims to represent the majority of the oppressed, including its own members as well as the general supporters and sympathisers who are not necessarily its members," Dhlomo said.

He said the donors would in turn claim they are supporting the oppressed people whom the ANC as a liberation movement claim to represent.

However, if the ANC gave up its role as a liberation movement and chose to become a political party, it would lose its status to claim to speak for most of the oppressed people of South Africa.

"Many donors would think twice before supporting one political party in the country to the exclusion of others," he said.

Dhlomo said this would ensure that the ANC will continue to call itself a liberation movement "even when it has begun to walk and talk like a political party."

It was also difficult for a political party to take in supporters of various persuasions.

Another speaker at the launch, Mr Bobby Godsell, said advocacy journalism, which was on the rise, should be deplored as it had a negative impact on the political debate.

He said the survey that portrayed Inkatha Freedom Party as responsible for violence was irresponsible.

16/1/11

ANC to have economic policy soon, says Sisulu

CITIZEN 30-10-91

The African National Congress will have an official economic policy by December or January, according to the head of the ANC's economics department, Mr Max Sisulu.

The organisation has come under fire for sending out contradictory views on a future economy, particularly on nationalisation.

However, in an interview with *Work In Progress* magazine, Mr Sisulu says the ANC, being a democratic organisation,

continues to seek the active involvement of the people in drawing up the official policy.

He says the process of drawing up the policy has been an ongoing one, including workshops and the discussion of a draft policy document in the branches.

Mr Sisulu says the December/January policy conference will look at macro-economic and sec-

toral policy. Despite not having an official economic policy, Mr Sisulu says the ANC does have views on the economy and he spelled out a future based on a mixed economy.

According to Mr Sisulu the three basic ingredients for a mixed economy are: A democratic political framework, economic growth and redistribution.

He talks of a slogan: "Growth through distribution", which he says means redistribution of wealth, income and opportunity.

Mr Sisulu emphasises that without growth it was impossible to address poverty.

He talks of 90 percent of the wealth being concentrated in White hands and one seventh of the

population (Whites) consuming 60 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

Some of the basic needs he talks about meeting are housing and electricity. He says developing these sectors could have a multiplier effect, opening up opportunities for job creation, welfare and pensions through doing away with duplication and triplication in government

departments and cutting the defence budget.

He says the manufacturing sector needs to be turned into "an engine for growth" with emphasis placed on industrial research.

Addressing the role of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, Mr Sisulu is sceptical of these organisations and says, "we need to manage our economy so that we don't go cap in hand to borrow money on their terms". — Sapa.

CP warns against Blacks in govt

Citizen

Oct 30

By Fred de Lange and Brian Stuart

IF the government should, as a temporary measure, allow the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party to govern the country jointly with it, it could expect the biggest resistance ever in the history of the Afrikaner nation, the Conservative Party warned yesterday.

The general secretary of the CP, Mr Andries Beyers, said it appeared from newspaper reports that the government was now prepared to change the constitution in such a way that the ANC, PAC and Inkatha would have co-responsibility in governing South Africa.

Not only was it totally unacceptable to the CP, but if such changes were made, it would be met by the CP and other Right-wing organisations with the biggest resistance ever.

In the history of the Afrikaner nation,

"Such actions would be the enslavement of the Afrikaner nation, and those who support it in its struggle, to a majority rule system within which the Afrikaner nation would be a small minority. In such a system there can be no protection of minorities," Mr Beyers said.

The government's intentions in this regard were a recipe for a catastrophe and would lead to violence and the spilling of blood.

Despite clear indications from a growing number of NP supporters, including newspaper editors and journalists, that they were becoming disillusioned by the unitary state idea which only caused violence, the gov-

TO PAGE 2

Blacks in govt: CP warns

FROM PAGE 1

ernment was continuing with its plans.

Throughout South Africa there was growing support for the CP's system of self-determination.

A possible early date for a referendum on interim arrangements to bring other political players into the Cabinet or government has been hinted at by Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Development.

Until now the government has undertaken to hold a referendum or election prior to the introduction of a new constitution.

But Dr Viljoen has said a referendum may be necessary before establishing a multi-party Cabinet, if this is agreed in the negotiation process.

In an article in RSA Policy Review, a monthly organ of SA Communication Service, Dr Viljoen said President De Klerk was prepared to extend the Cabinet by appointing competent South Africans, if this was the outcome of a multi-party conference.

"Such a proposal can only be put into effect if it is negotiated in an appropriate way and if an

agreement is reached on it, and if the constitution is then amended, and not abolished, to make provision for such a measure.

"Seeing that this constitutes a dramatic change in the Constitution, it would probably also be necessary to get a mandate for such a step from the population by way of a referendum."

Dr Viljoen said existing legislation allowed a referendum to be held among any sections of the population. The results had no binding power, but naturally had "tremendous moral authority".

However, the government rejected the ANC proposal which implied handing over authority to an interim government which had no constitutional restraints on what it did and for how long it retained power.

"If the constitution is suspended or abolished, it means there is no constitution in the country, no legitimate authority to which the government's discretion is subjected. It would be able to issue decrees at its own discretion.

"This may to a large extent be in line with the position in certain African countries, but this is

not the kind of constitutional government which we regard as acceptable for South Africa."

The present constitution was unacceptable in omitting Blacks, and a new constitution had to be negotiated and be acceptable to the negotiation parties. But there should be no interim authority which had unbounded authority.

South Africa should move from one form of government with constitutional restraints to another, also bound by a constitution.

"The government has consistently put the view that a constitutional change, whether interim or final, must be the result of negotiation.

"If it is a radical change, it must also be sanctioned by way of a referendum of the electorate, and in particular also of the voters of the present support base of the ruling party," said Dr Viljoen.

On final proposals for a new constitution, the government's view was that all citizens should participate, and not only the present voters.

Dr Viljoen was critical of the Patriotic Front meeting. It was "presumptuous" of the ANC

and others to regard it as "a Parliament in the making". Parliament was an elected body.

"I would furthermore describe it as ganging-up of political parties that are eager to unite their strength against the ruling party.

"To my mind, the intention of this Patriotic Front is more negative than positive. It is rather an attempt to muster people against the current government, allegedly against the apartheid system. This has already been rejected by the government of the day and has already been scrapped."

His objection to the Patriotic Front was based on the principle that it was an unnecessary organisation which might build rigidity and inflexibility into the negotiation process.

"If, as a result, more parties can be involved in the multi-party conference, it certainly has an advantage.

"However, it remains an open question whether this is sufficient advantage to balance out the disadvantages of the false impression created by a Patriotic Front."

Citizen Oct 30

C'wealth visit to SA today

THE secretary-general of the Commonwealth, Chief Emeka Anyaoku, and a delegation of five senior Commonwealth members is expected to arrive in South Africa today on an exploratory visit aimed at defining ways the organisation could lend momentum to the negotiation process.

It is the first official visit to this country by a

Commonwealth secretary-general.

The Commonwealth said in a Press statement released in London the visit came in the wake of the recently concluded Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Harare where Chief Anyaoku was requested to visit South Africa.

At the meeting, Commonwealth leaders expressed their concern at the escalating violence

and its adverse impact on the prospects for negotiations.

Chief Anyaoku was asked to consult with the principal parties concerned and explore ways in which the Commonwealth could assist in lending momentum to the negotiating process.

Chief Anyaoku will meet State President De Klerk and Foreign Minis-

TO PAGE 2

C'wealth visit

FROM PAGE 1

ter Pik Botha tomorrow. It is also expected that he will meet senior members of the ANC.

The statement quoted Chief Anyaoku as saying the Commonwealth leaders welcomed the important changes that had taken place in South Africa.

However, he expressed concern that recent developments, including continuing violence, could undermine the negotiating process.

"Of course the constitutional future of South Africa is for South Africans themselves to determine, but I have been given the task of exploring with the parties concerned ways in which the Commonwealth could be supportive of the pro-

cess."

He was coming to South Africa eager to listen and learn from his discussions.

The statement said Chief Anyaoku was expected to be in South Africa for about a week.

On his return, he will report his conclusions to a group of 11 heads of government composed of Australia, the Bahamas, Britain, Canada, India, Jamaica, Malaysia, Nigeria, Singapore, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The group will consider his report and decide on the necessary action that should follow. — Sapa.

Doctors intimidated to strike: Claim

By Keith Abendroth,
Vivian Warby and
Sapa

INTIMIDATION of doctors to take part in the two-day "down stethoscopes" action promoted by the Anti-VAT co-ordinating Committee, was alleged yesterday as the "strike" limped to a close.

Medical sources nationwide described the efforts as "largely unsuccessful" except in Johannesburg's Indian, Coloured and Black areas and those of Pretoria — where the "most blatant and worst examples of intimidation and threats of harsh action if they did not co-operate," were allegedly made against some doctors.

However, efforts yesterday afternoon to get comment on the allegations from the African National Congress and Cosatu-backed action were fruitless. Nor could Dr David Green, leading

proponent of the strike and leading light in the ANC-backed National Medical and Dental Association, be reached.

From Bloemfontein and Kimberley, it was learnt that no reports were made of intimidation, and a leading doctor among Blacks in Bloemfontein said that "the whole thing appears to have become something of a political power struggle between a handful of people" on the Reef.

From the Transvaal two White doctors — who refused to identify themselves — said it had been "made very clear" to them that they would "suffer" if they did not take part in the action.

In Johannesburg and Pretoria many surgeries were open for patients as usual, and sources said that the main aim of the action — to have patients swamp State hospitals and clinics and make

them in-effective — had not been achieved.

It is believed that in the run-up to the action, the central Society of Dispensing practitioners — whose chairman, Dr Mohammed Adam, has outspokenly criticised the action — made clear its opposition to the plan at various stages.

But, it is believed, it also pleaded that if "strike" action was taken, it should be a voluntary one by individual doctors and that there should be no intimidation.

In Pretoria a leading figure in one of the townships said that considerable harm had been done to the image of the profession by the action.

A group of about 200 Johannesburg Sowetan and Lenasia doctors marched through Johannesburg's city centre yesterday afternoon as part of the "strike" action.

The group was led by executive member of the

Organisation for Appropriate Social Services in South Africa, Ms Maryke Savenille: director of the national Medical and Dental Association, Dr David Green: chairman of the South African Dispensing Practitioners, Dr Joe Maelane, and executive member of the South African Health Workers' Association, Dr Aslam Dazoo.

A memorandum addressed to President De Klerk: Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, the Minister of National Health and Population Development, Dr Rina Venter; and the Receiver of Revenue in Johannesburg, Mr Jacobus Stone, was presented to Mr Stone at the Receiver of Revenue's building in Rissik Street.

• In Durban, 300 physicians and health professionals yesterday took part in the protest against VAT.

VAT Forum spokesman Dr M Khatree said the response of doctors in the Durban area was better than on Monday.

• Medical services offered by doctors and paramedical services in the Pietersburg Hospital was continuing normally yesterday, SABC radio news reports.

According to the hospital's medical superintendent, Dr P M Bester, Service was 100 percent normal.

• The threatened closure of private surgeries yesterday did not have any reported affect on Cape provincial hospitals and clinics, according to a CPA spokeswoman.

• In Port Elizabeth, about 70 doctors joined the anti-VAT protest action.

Citizen Oct 30

Citizen Oct 30

Committee to probe violence in Tokoza

THE Commission of Inquiry investigating violence has taken its first action — the appointment of a committee to inquire into the recent violence and alleged intimidation in Tokoza on the East Rand since September 8.

This was announced in a statement yesterday, following the inaugural meeting of the Commission in Pretoria on Monday and yesterday.

The body, headed by

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, is formally titled the Commission of Inquiry Regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation.

The inquiry into the Tokoza unrest is to be chaired by Advocate S Sithole, a member of the Commission. It will commence hearings on November 18 at a venue still to be announced.

Any member of the public who has informa-

tion relevant to the subject matter of the inquiry is requested to provide a written statement to the Secretary of the Commission, Private Bag X858, Pretoria, 0001.

The statement also said the inaugural meeting of the Commission decided to "emphasise the independence of the Commission and in particular its independence of Government, the Legislature and any political party".

The Commission would try not to "become involved in hearings concerning local or regional incidents or issues". This function would be left to regional and local dispute resolution committees.

The Commission intends to investigate "violence or intimidation being conducted or alleged to be conducted on a national level".

Persons and bodies with knowledge of violence and intimidation would be contacted by the Commission, and members of the public would also be invited to write to the Commission with "any factual matters relating to its terms of reference". Sapa.

Citizen Oct 30

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

What accord?

THE Peace Accord is not only not working, considering the terrible violence that has been going on, both on the Witwatersrand and in Natal, but some of the signatories are treating its provisions with contempt.

Political parties and organisations, according to the accord, are prohibited from killing, injuring, intimidating or threatening any person about his political beliefs.

Yet the killing goes on — and don't tell us that it is all the fault of the government and that neither supporters of the ANC nor of the Inkatha Freedom Party have a hand in it.

The accord says political parties and organisations must not force anyone to boycott any commercial activity or withhold his or her labour, or fail to perform a lawful obligation.

Yet boycotts of White businesses go on — and the Congress of South African Trade Unions has called a two-day general strike for next week.

We have already received reports of workers being threatened that their houses will be burned down if they go to work.

The organisers of stayaways and strikes always insist there is no intimidation, but there is.

And it is serious enough to keep many thousands of workers at home when they want to go to work.

The police always say they will protect workers, but they may do so at railway stations but they cannot protect them in their own homes afterwards.

The Peace Accord also bars political parties and organisations from inciting violence and hatred.

Yet the Patriotic Front, consisting mainly of the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress, accuses "the De Klerk regime" of being "illegal, illegitimate and

totally discredited". It does not "enjoy the trust of our people".

The Patriotic Front also claims violence has been "initiated and sponsored by the State".

Mr Nelson Mandela, president of the African National Congress, has alleged that some elements of the police have turned themselves into a "killing machine" which is acting in accordance with State President De Klerk's wishes.

Hardly a day goes by without some spokesman of the ANC accusing the government of involvement in the violence through a mysterious "third force" which is never clearly identified, nor is evidence produced to justify the allegation.

All these attacks incite hatred against the government and State President De Klerk himself.

The ANC and Cosatu have also been making threats that are certainly not calculated to advance the peace process.

Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC's secretary-general, has stated publicly that the ANC has a battle plan to ensure that Mr De Klerk is "buried with his government".

This week Cosatu's secretary-general, Mr Jay Naidoo, who has been made a member of the accord's National Peace Secretariat, repeated the ANC's threats by saying: "We vow we will close this government down".

Such extreme threats are not furthering peace.

There are other attitudes towards the Peace Accord that make us wonder whether peace must come from everyone except the organisations we have mentioned.

The police must sign a code of conduct and a similar code is being worked out for the South African Defence Force, but the restrictions on political parties and organisations are not being observed and nobody else is being called upon to sign a code.

While Zulus are expected to abandon their traditional weapons, the ANC maintains its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and refuses to hand over its arms caches.

If the Peace Accord cannot stop incitement and intimidation, if it can't stop one of the signatories, the ANC, from keeping a private army, if it can't curb the violence, never mind halt it, why have the accord?

It is something the organisers of the accord and the Peace Committee should earnestly consider.

Citizen Oct 30

Trust 'desperate' for resources for housing

Citizen Reporter

THE Chairman of the Independent Development Trust, Mr Jan Steyn, last night said South Africans would have to learn to accept the housing of at least some of the country's "very poor" closer to city centres and industrial areas.

Meanwhile, he said, the IDT desperately needed more financial resources — including access to foreign loan funds, credit and development aid — to be able to tackle the massive low-cost housing shortage in the country.

At present, he said, about seven million people were living in informal or squatter housing in urban areas and there was a desperate need for approved, stable

housing.

Delivering the annual Dirk de Vos memorial lecture at the University of South Africa in Pretoria, Mr Steyn sketched the problems facing the country — and described much of them as part of "a vicious circle."

Mr Steyn said the present scenario was that the government would have to find an extra five to seven billion rands a year, increasing yearly, if it shouldered sole responsibility for subsidies and land acquisition.

But given the competing priorities of education, health services and fighting inflation by reducing fiscal expenditure, this was not likely.

"And even if it were possible and if the State were to invest so extraor-

dinarily in housing to stimulate the economy, we would very soon run into balance of payments constraints as our economy picked up," said Mr Steyn.

Therefore, one had to balance the need for housing against the need for the stimulation of production for export.

In the process of finding the necessary housing to break this particular "vicious circle," people would have to face the challenge of housing "at least some of the very poor" closer to the city centres and industrial areas, to cut down on transport costs.

Thus the country would not be able forever to avoid the need for multiple unit and multiple storey housing — housing which at present was very expensive.

On a more optimistic note he said that past policies now belonged to a past which stressed ideology rather than making economic sense, and which neglected the needs and aspirations of the people involved in the location of development nodes.

"But we have many examples of the impracticability of these ventures, especially associated with the cost and massive inconvenience of providing transport," said Mr Steyn.

Peace accord swings into action

Team probes violence in Thokoza

Business Day

Oct 30

BILLY PADDOCK

THE peace commission chaired by Mr Justice Goldstone acted swiftly yesterday and appointed a committee to investigate the violence in Thokoza — the first probe into violence since the accord was signed.

The committee, made up of two members of the commission and an attorney, will begin its public inquiry on November 18 to investigate the seven weeks of violence in Thokoza that started when gunmen killed 23 Inkatha supporters on September 8.

The incident threatened to derail the peace process.

Following the signing of the accord, isolated incidents of violence erupted in the township on the East Rand, including the assassination of Civics Association of Southern Transvaal leader Sam Ntuli. At his funeral gunmen again fired at mourners, killing at least eight people.

Last week further violence flared and for the first time since the accord was signed there were revenge killings between Inkatha and ANC supporters, taking the number of people killed on the East Rand since the signing of the accord to more than 200.

In a statement yesterday, Mr Justice Goldstone said the Commission of Inquiry into Violence and Intimidation had held its inaugural meeting on Monday and yesterday — just days after the members of the commission had been announced — and discussed its mandate.

The commission had decided it would not normally become involved in hearings of local or regional incidents or issues. This

should be left to the local or regional dispute resolution committees to be set up by the peace secretariat.

But because these had not yet been formulated and it had become necessary to hold a public inquiry into the Thokoza violence, this committee had been set up in concurrence with Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee.

"Inquiries will be held by the commission itself only in respect of public violence or intimidation being conducted or alleged to be conducted on a national level," the judge said.

He said that in order to fulfil the wide mandate given it, the commission as a whole would generally make "appropriate requests to the regional or local dispute resolution committees when they have been established".

He wanted to emphasise the independence of the commission "and in particular its independence of government, the legislature and any political party".

The commission's task would be to direct and co-ordinate the gathering of facts relating to public violence and intimidation "committed to achieve any particular political aims", he said.

Contact would be made with people and organisations that might have factual knowledge of incidents and they would be invited to make the information available to the commission. Once the peace accord was fully implemented and the local and regional monitoring mechanisms were in

□ To Page 2

Thokoza

place, these bodies would also be a primary source for the commission.

Mr Justice Goldstone stressed that no member of the commission would be allowed to have any contact with the media. Where appropriate, decisions taken by the commission would be conveyed by the chairman or vice-chairman.

All commission hearings would be in public with usual court rules applying to the media. The commission would, however, hold hearings in camera if it considered

this to be in the public interest or for the safety of a witness.

The judge said the Thokoza inquiry would be chaired by commission member and Pretoria advocate Msakazi Sithole, who would be assisted by fellow commissioner Newcastle attorney Lillian Gugu Baqwa and Johannesburg attorney Raymond Tucker.

Relevant information may be submitted in writing to the Secretary of the Commission, Private Bag x858, Pretoria.

□ From Page 1

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Business Day

Oct 30

**Accused
'was armed'**

A FORMER Inkatha member yesterday told the Rand Supreme Court he saw a group of men armed with assegais on the night 13 mourners were murdered at a funeral vigil in Alexandra township.

Among the group was one of the five men being tried on 13 counts of murder, 17 of attempted murder and one of house-breaking. The witness, who gave evidence in camera, was being cross-examined by defence lawyer Vick Botha.

The five men allegedly shot at mourners at a funeral vigil on March 27.

"I saw Mr Gibson Mbatha in the company of other people on the night in question. He was carrying a big object," the witness said.

He said he had resigned from Inkatha as he believed the party was responsible for killings in Alexandra.

Gibson Mbatha, 31, Derrick Majozi, 21, Christopher Mbatha, 31, Petros Buthelezi, 31, and John Zwake, 56, have pleaded not guilty to all charges.

The case continues today.
— Sapa.

Business Day Oct 30

'Runaway inflation looms'

RUNAWAY inflation could become a reality if government persisted in failing to exercise fiscal discipline, Absa warned in its quarterly economic monitor released yesterday.

The group's economics department has predicted a budget deficit of 4% (R11,9bn) of gross domestic product for the year — the third major bank to forecast a deficit in that region so far. It compares with the budgeted 3,8%.

Moreover, extra-budgetary spending was taking place on a grand scale and despite Reserve Bank attempts to stem the inflationary tide by means of a restrictive monetary policy, it was unable to discipline the Treasury.

"Given the public sector overspending, a restrictive monetary policy will depress private sector activity while the public sector will increasingly appropriate the productive resources in the economy."

However, it said, if the Reserve Bank

ANDREW GILL

abandoned its restrictive policy under these circumstances, substantially higher inflation rates might result.

A proper base still had to be created for the next upswing in the business cycle considering the constraints on growth like low fixed investments, a low level of foreign exchange reserves and an overly large budget deficit.

The Reserve Bank found itself in no position to relax its restrictive monetary policy with inflationary pressures still very real.

A reduction in Bank rate, not expected until the first quarter of 1992, should be considered only if international interest rates, real wages, money supply growth and long-term bond yields were all lower. The rand was bound to depreciate in due course. A rand/dollar exchange rate of R3,20 has been forecast for the end of 1992.

Umbuso waseCiskei unxuse

uMongameli we-ANC ukuba

awazise uma ezowuvakashela

EBISHO:-UMkhandlu wamaSotsha obusa eCiskei unxuse uMongameli we-African National Congress (ANC) uDr

Nelson Mandela, ukuba awazise ngqo ngokusemthethweni uHulumeni waseCiskei uma efisa ukuvakashela kulendawo.



UDR Nelson Mandela.

Esitatimendeni esikhishwe yiloMkhandlu ngemuva komhlangano namakhosi akulesisifunda, uthe kufanele uDr Mandela alandele uhlelo nokuhlonipha ngokuba azise uHulumeni waseCiskei ngemigudu efanelekile mayelana nenhloso yokuvakashela iCiskei. Wathi uHulumeni uzwe nje amahemuhemu okuthi uzimisele ukuvakashela kulendawo.

Isitatimende siqhube sathi uHulumeni uzwe ngezinhlelo zokusakaza izindaba ukuthi uDr Mandela uhlele ukuvakashela kulesisabelo ngenhloso. yokuzobonana nabaholi bendabuko. Sathi akukho

lutho olusemthethweni olwenziweyo ekuxhumaneni nombuso.

Lesisititimende siqhube sithi bekuzokuba kule futhi kube yinto efanelekile ukuba uDr Mandela ahambele kulendawo ukuzokhuza abalandeli be-ANC ukuba bayeke ukushisa, ukushaya ngamabhomu, ukhulakumeza kanye nokwesabisa abantu abasekela uHulumeni waseCiskei.

Kuthiwe umhlangano bewubizwe ngenhloso yokuzobhunga ngodaba lokwanda kobugebengu eCiskei phakathi kwakho okukhona ukushisa nokucekela phansi izindlu, ukwesatshiswa kwamakhosi nezinduna kanye nalabo abahambisana nokuvuselelwa kohlelo lokuqokwa kwezinduna.

Abanye okubikwe ukuthi bahlaselwa kakhulu kulobubugebengu ngabalandeli be-African Democratic Movement (ADM) eholwa nguBrig. Oupa Gqozo.

Kwenzeka lokhu nje ngeSonto eledlule kuhlaselwe, kwashiswa umuzi

womgqugquzeli we-ADM endaweni ebizwa ngokuthi yiZeli Village ngaseKing Williams Town. Kuthiwe lokhu kwenzeke ngemuva kokuba izakhamizi zakulandawo ziphoqe uMnu N. Mevana ukuba acacise ukuthi unasikhundla sini eqenjini le-ADM okuphethe ngokuba adubule kulesisixuku sabantu okuthiwa besithunyelwe ukuba sizomlanda size naye emhlanganweni.

Kulesisehlakalo kuthiwa lesisixuku sishise izimoto zakhe ezine indlu kanye nebhodlelasitolo ngophethiloli. Kuthiwa kusize ukuba kufike amalungu ombutho wamaphoyisa aseCiskei kanye nowezokuvikela okuyiwo acishe umlilo.

Kuthiwe lesisehlakalo singesinye sezehlakalo ezikhombisa ukungahambisani nesinyathelo sikaHulumeni kaBrig. Gqozo sokuba kuvuselelwe uhlelo lokuqokwa kwezinduna ezindaweni ezahlukeneyo abanye bomphakathi abathi kufanele kumiswe ososesheni bemiphakathi esikhundleni salo.



UBRIGADIER Oupa Gqozo.

Kwenzeka lokhu nje ngesonto eledlule kuboshwe izakhamizi ezingu 8 kulendawo ngokuba nesandla ekuvumeleni usosesheni womphakathi ukuba abe iziza endaweni ethile evulekile kulesisifunda.

Ababuya ekudingisweni bakhungethwe lusizi

ETHEKWINI. - Isimo senhlalo asisihle neze kwababuya ekudingisweni ikakhulukazi laba abangazange balithole ithuba lokuqhuba imfundo yabo besekudingisweni ngoba babesempini.

Ngokombiko welinye iphephabhuku laseGoli eliphuma nyangazonke, cishe bangu 30% kuphela kwababuya ekudingisweni abafundile, ikakhulukazi laba abashiya leli emuva kuka 1976 ekuqubukeni kwezinhlushunxushu zaseSoweto.

Kuleliphephabhuku

abanye ababuya ekudingisweni iningi labo okungamalunga e-African National Congress (ANC), bakhala ngokuthi lenhlangano ayisigcinanga isethembiso semali engu-R2 225 ababethenjise ukunikwa yona uma befika kuleli. Bathi babethenjise nemali engu-R800 ngenyanga yokuziphilisa uma befika kuleli.

Omunye othi wayithola lemali engu-R2 225, uthi wavele wayokhokhele ingane yakhe esikoleni esixube izinhlanga esise-

dolobheni eGoli ngoba engeke ayifake ezikoleni zasemalokishini ezinezinxushunxushu. Uthe ingane yakhe yayikade ifunda esikoleni esixube izinhlanga eLusaka.

Abanye abaxoxe naleliphephabhuku bathe nokuba bayaphila sebesizwa yimali engu-R400 abayithola ekomitini elibheke ne nababuya ekudingisweni. Uthe lelikomiti mhla befika labanika imali engu-R300. Bathe nokho lemali ayisizi ngalutho kumuntu onomndeneni.

Ingqinamba enkulu kwababuya ekudingisweni wukungayitholi indawo yokuhlala nemisebenzi. Abanye bafica abazali babo sebashona. Abanye babuya sebenezingane nomakoti eLusaka, kwathi noma amakubo, bewafica esekhona, kodwa kwalukhuni ukugwalisa indlu ngomunye umndeneni. Abanye bahlala emafulethini edolobheni, nawo amba eqolo.

Ababuya ekudingisweni okuthiwa base-
thubeni lempilo engcono kuleli, yilaba abaqhubeka

nemfundo yabo besekudingisweni. Ababengamalunga ezempi basabhekene nengwadla okwamanje.

Kuzokhumbuleka ukuthi nalapha eThekwini ababuya ekudingisweni sebeke banikela emahhovisi e-ANC aseThekwini bekhala ngakho ukunganikwa imali ababeyethenjisiwe besuka emazweni angaphandle. Bakhala nangokuthi iNatal iyabandlululwa ngoba abanye bakwezinye izifundazwe bayayithola lemali.

16/1/14

Boesak not allowed to become minister again

N/mercury 31/10/91

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—The General Synodal Commission (GSC) of the NG Sendingkerk has turned down an application by Dr Allan Boesak to be reinstated as a minister.

He resigned as a minister and the Moderator of the NG Sendingkerk on July 8 last year following a storm over his extramarital relationship with television producer Elna Botha, to whom he is now married.

A spokesman for the NG



Television producer Elna Botha and Dr Allan Boesak.

Sendingkerk confirmed yesterday that Dr Boesak's application was turned down last week by the GSC.

The most significant reason for the rejection of Dr Boe-

sak's application is a church article which states that ministers lose their status if they stand for election for, or become members of, a political organisation.

Dr Boesak was recently elected as the Western Cape leader of the ANC.

Asked whether Dr Boesak's affair with Ms Botha played a role in the rejection of his application, the spokesman said GSC discussions are confidential.

However, it "wasn't even necessary" to discuss other reasons than those given, he said.

A spokeswoman at the Foundation for Peace and Justice, of which Dr Boesak is the director, said yesterday he was "not contactable" and had "no comment" on his failed application.

PF delegates played into Government's hands: Azapo

Political Reporter

DELEGATES to the Patriotic Front conference last weekend had played right into the Government's hands by declaring their willingness to enter into negotiations and by making those negotiations easier for the Government because the PF was not fully inclusive of all black liberation organisations, says the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

In its official reaction to the PF deliberations in Durban, Azapo said: "To Azapo a front has always been a front to oppose and force the regime to relinquish power, and not a front to negotiate."

Azapo said in a statement that it found it disturbing that the front that was formed in Durban would be entering negotiations with the "regime" within three weeks.

Although the idea of forming a PF was in line with Azapo's longstanding policies and principles on the matter, the statement said, Azapo believed it was the overall strategy of the Government to divide the liberation movements.

"In this context the regime would find it convenient and advantageous to deal with a section of the liberation movement excluding Azapo and the BCMA (Black Consciousness Movement)."

The only kind of negotiations Azapo and the BCMA would be amenable to, the statement said, was to discuss the transfer of power from the minority to the majority through a Constituent Assembly.

Azapo said while it welcomed the decision of the PF meeting on the question of the transfer of power, it was however surprised that a neutral venue had not been part of the PF declaration.

It said the idea of a consultative forum as spelt out in the PF declaration fell short of the consultation needed between the liberation movement and working class organisations.

"The consultative forum (mooted by the PF) will include even the owners of capital and those who come from the structures that are oppressing the working class — a contradiction indeed."

The organisation said it considered a "fighting front" of true patriots as the only legitimate vehicle towards the creation of a Constituent Assembly

16/1/14

The Patriotic Front Declaration

NEW AFRICAN 31-10-91

Pledging ourselves to ensure that these designs shall be defeated, we demand that the regime ceases such action forthwith and acknowledges it has no right to unilaterally take such measures;

Commit ourselves to create the necessary mechanism to harmonize our approach to socio-economic transformation;

Condemn the introduction of Value Added Tax (VAT) and call upon all our people to support and participate fully in the national strike on the 4th and 5th November 1991 and all other forms of united action on this and other issues;

Noting that de Klerk's constitutional proposals are intended to entrench minority privilege and the current power structure and represent nothing else but a dying order which seeks to give itself a veto power over the future of our country.

Noting further that the violence raging

throughout our country to day has been initiated and sponsored by the apartheid state, including the use of foreign mercenaries, and that it has the power to stop it, we demand that it does so forthwith; further that there should be the immediate and verifiable expulsion of all foreign mercenaries from our soil;

Call upon our people to refuse to become tools of the regime, assert our inherent desire for peace and take all measures to contain and eliminate the violence which constitutes a prime obstacle to the establishment of a genuine democratic order;

Accordingly pledge to ensure that all peace initiatives, including the Peace Accord, aimed at assisting in securing peace among our people are fully exploited at every level of our community;

Sharing the agony of those in sorrow over their dead and injured and searching

for their lost ones and concerned that the violence has rendered our women and children the main victims of the carnage;

Call for the normalisation of the relations between our people and our traditional chiefs;

Commit ourselves, side by side with our people, to bring peace by all means at our disposal including helping in the creation of self defence units and embarking upon programmes to assist the victims of violence.

NOW THEREFORE

In order to ensure that elections to the constituent assembly are free and fair we insist upon the establishment of an interim Government/Transitional Authority to ensure that the de Klerk regime does not preside over or manipulate the transition through the misuse of its de facto control over state power and resources;

Commit ourselves to a sovereign Interim Government/Transitional Authority that shall at the very least control security forces and related matters, the electoral process, state media and defined areas of budget and finance, as well as secure international participation;

DEMAND the holding as soon as possible of a All Party Congress/Pre-Constituent Assembly Meeting (APC/PCAM) which shall be brought together by independent and neutral convenors as a necessary mechanism to set into motion the process leading to a democratically elected Constituent Assembly which shall effect the transfer of power;

Confirm our common understanding that the APC/PCAM shall underwrite the constitutional Principles, find the modalities for drawing up the constitution through the Constituent Assembly, realise the es-

establishment of the IG/TA, ensure the re-incorporation of the bantustans, define the role of the international community and agree upon the time to bring about a democratic order.

Resolve further that the joint liaison committee established by the co-convenors of this conference be maintained to facilitate post-Conference follow up as well as look into ways and means, including the establishment of a Consultative Forum and the convening of a further Patriotic/United Front Conference within six months in order to involve all the organisations gathered here today into closer consultation, joint action and the drawing in of formations still outside this process.

Outraged at the failure of the regime to fully comply with the demand, endorsed by the whole international community for the unconditional release of all political prisoners and for general amnesty for all exiles;

DEMAND that the regime complies with these requirements forthwith; AND

PLEDGE to campaign for the immediate realisation of these aims.

United by these common positions, maintaining our separate identities in independence, we assembled at this Patriotic/United Front Conference now, therefore, separately and collectively, dedicate ourselves to intensify the struggle on every front and every terrain to realise, within the immediate future, a truly democratic order in which every individual is assured place and a say as an equal and in which non-sexism, non-racialism and democracy by majority rule shall be non-negotiable and be realised in practice.

To this end, and acknowledging that there remain areas where consensus among us still needs to be reached, we pledge ourselves to continue our search for unity of action and widening the areas of common understanding;

And call upon our people wherever they are to join and engage in this process emanating from our Conference to create a nation that will be at peace with itself.

16/1/94

On the road . . . Nelson Ma

WHEN Nelson Mandela was granted the freedom of the City of Dublin in September 1988, he was still prisoner 446/64 in Paarl's Victor Verster jail.

A space was left on the distinguished Roll of Honour at city hall to await his signature.

When he finally added his name on his visit to Dublin, he joined a select band who have been similarly honoured with the freedom of the Irish capital. They include the emperor of Japan, the late US President John F Kennedy, playwright George Bernard Shaw and Pope John Paul.

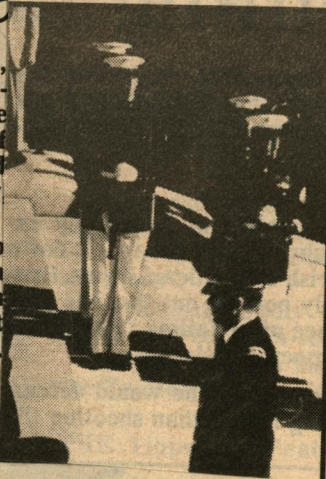
But Mandela must have been astonished at the size of the turn-out on the way to the city

hall — an estimated 500 000 lined the streets, most of them wearing green jerseys and waving green-and-white flags — he had arrived the same day as the triumphant homecoming of the Irish national soccer team, which reached the quarter finals of the World Cup in Italy creating football hysteria across the country.

In his speech Mandela paid special tribute to "your wonderful soccer team" . . . and won a cheer that was almost as loud as that which greeted Kevin Sheedy's equalising goal against England in Ireland's opening World Cup game.

HE could hardly be blamed for being was somewhat confused by the use of Gaelic during

OWN SOLDIER



take place the next day, but President De Klerk had several immediate engagements, among them a church service, lunch at an 18th century tavern in nearby Virginia and later an evening braai at the South African Embassy.

But the De Klerks skipped eating at the braai as they and the Bothas were dining with vice-president Dan Quayle and his wife at their official residence, the Naval Observatory.

Dinner guests included former secretary of state Henry Kissinger and Chester Crocker, a previous assistant secretary of state for Africa.

An important opportunity presented itself during the evening when Quayle asked Pik Botha what the South African government sought and what gesture the US administration could, at that stage, make to encourage reform.

Tough Bargaining

NEW AFRICAN 31/10/91

Statesmanship by ANC and PAC leaders saved PF Conference

By Fraser Mtshali

TOUGH bargaining and statesmanship by the top brass of the ANC and the PAC saved the historic Patriotic Front (PF) conference in Durban from collapse when differences on the all-party talks with the government arose.

As the conference progressed on Saturday, about 500 delegates and observers representing 92 organisations were unaware of the involved talking taking place when the leadership of the two main conveners retreated to caucus. Frene Ginwala of the ANC took over as chairperson while the urgent talks were in progress.

A top PAC official, based in Europe who asked not to be named, said: 'Some of our guys were ready to walk out on the issue of all-party talks with the government. It took a bit of talking from both sides to iron out matters and I'm glad that at the end we were able to emerge united. If we did not achieve unity the enemy would have rejoiced.'

The New African was told that hardliners within the PAC did not feel comfortable with talking to the government even under the auspices of the Patriotic Front and threatened that the

PAC would 'go it alone if need be'.

Interviewed at the end of the conference, Cyril Ramaphosa said the conference was 'never near collapse'.

Ramaphosa added: 'You see, you must not look at the dark side of things. The most important aspect is that both of us (PAC and ANC) succeeded in getting the biggest number of organisations to unite and be part of a common political melting pot. It is a first in our country.'

Second deputy president of the PAC, Dikgang Moseneke agreed there were difficulties.

'But no one threatened a walkout. Our members just needed to clarify, and satisfy themselves on, certain aspects related to our overall policy.'

Benney Alexander was quoted by a Sunday newspaper as saying the leadership found it necessary to take time out of the conference to arrive at some agreement on the all-party talks because, unless it was resolved, it would make further discussion in the conference futile.

The New African was given to understand the shift of the PAC towards a harder line than that adopted in the build-up to the conference took the ANC by surprise.

16/1/11

Mother asks MK to look for missing son

The mother of an African National Congress (ANC) member who went missing in Lesotho more than three years ago has appealed to the movement's military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe (MK), to help find her son.

Nancy Ngono said she approached MK chief of staff, Chris Hani, to assist in tracing her son, Mbulelo.

Ngono was among three ANC members rounded up by the Royal Lesotho Defence Force while travelling through Lesotho in 1988.

According to reports,

one of his companions, Thandwefika Radebe, was killed instantly when soldiers lined them up and shot at them. His other companion, Mazizi

Maqokeza, survived but was later shot dead by an unknown assailant in his bed at Maseru's Queen Elizabeth II hospital.

Escaped

Ngono managed to escape, but was later picked up by four men in police uniforms in Roma Village. He was taken to the local prison and has not been seen since.

Ngono's girlfriend, Lindelwa Mabece, was also taken into custody and

interrogated. She was released two days later.

In an affidavit she described how Ngono was taken away, and said she had not seen him since.

Nancy Ngono believes her son is being held in a Lesotho prison. She has repeatedly pleaded for his release, but prison officials have denied they are holding him prisoner. There are also unconfirmed claims that he was handed over to South African authorities.

Ngono was linked to ANC guerrillas working in Transkei and was associated with Mzwandile Vena, who later became the Western Cape commander of MK.

16/1/11

X Umbhikisho

obuhlelwe

yiCosatu

ne-Sacp

ubhuntshile

ECAPE TOWN. - Umhlangano nombhikisho obekuhlelwe yiCongress of South African Trade Union (Cosatu) neSouth African Communist Party (SACP) eWestern Cape, ugcine ubhuntshile ngesikhathi ungakutholi ukwesekelwa emphakathini wakulendawo.

Ngokombiko okhishwe yinhlangano yezi-daba iSapa, umhlangano weCosatu obekufanele ubengeSonto eledlule bewuhlelwe ukuzwakalisa ukuchithwa kwentela entsha iVAT kanti owe-SACP bewuhlelwe ukuzwakalisa ukukhalaza

mayelana neziboshwa zombusazwe.

Kuthiwa iCosatu yehlulekile ukudonsa izisebenzi ukuba ziwesekelwe naphezu kokuba bekulindleleke ukuba kukhulume umholi we-African National Congress (ANC) kulendawo, uDr Alan Boesak, unobhala weSACP, uMnu Joe Slovo kanye nomsizi kano-bhala weCosatu uMnu Sam Shilowa.

Unobhala wesifunda ngaphansi kweCosatu kulendawo, uMnu Allan Roberts, uveze ukuthi okuyikhona okwenze ukuba lomhlangano ungabinampumelelo ngokuthi kawusakazwanga kahle emphakathini futhi nentlasipoti yokuya kuwo ihlelwe sekuhambe isikhathi. Uthe ngaphandle kwalokhu inkundla obuhlelwe ukuba ubekuyo, iVygieskraal Stadium, kayidumile.

Kuthiwa abantu abafike kulomhlangano bebebalelwa ekhulwini kuphela.

Ebuzwa mayelana nezikhulumi obekuhlelwe ukuba zikhulume kulomhlangano uMnu Roberts uthe uMnu Joe Slovo ubesemhlanganweni wobambiswano iPatriotic Front eThekwini kanti uDr Boesak kanye noMnu Shilowa bebekhona.

Kuthiwa umhlangano bewuhlelwe ukudonsa amehlo omphakathi mayelana nomkhankaso weCosatu wokuba kubhikishelwe intela entsha iVAT, ukuhlelwa kabusha kohlelo lomnotho okwenziwa ngaphandle kokuxhumana nabantu kanye nokunye iCosatu engahambisani nakho.

Okunye obekulindleleke ukuba kukhulunywe kulomhlangano wudaba lwesiVumelwano sokuThula sikaZwelonke, udlame olukhungele lelizwe kanye nemibhikisho ehlelwe umhlaka November 4 no 5.

Mayelana nombhikisho obuhlelwe yiSACP wesekelwe futhi yi-ANC wokukhumbula abafazitokisini beyiziboshwa zombusazwe, kuvezwe ukuthi kawubange usaqhubeka ngenxa yokuthi abalandeli baleliqembu nabe-ANC bakhombise ukukhononda bekhala ngokuthi kabazimisele ukuba benze into ezobabophisa.

Kanti kwenzeka lokhu-nje, abagqogquzeli balombhikisho bebethole imvume emkhandlwini wedolobha kodwa bengayitholanga emantshini yesifunda. - (Sapa)