

DEC. 15, 1989

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

★ The challenge

TOMORROW, the Day of the Vow, finds Afrikanerdom never more divided, never more uncertain, never more conscious of the dangers facing it.

Many Afrikaners believe that for Whites to survive it is necessary to maintain apartheid, partition the country between Whites and other races, or create a Boerestaat for Afrikaners only.

They threaten to resist the government's abandonment of separate amenities and the last trappings of apartheid and they demand that White sovereignty be maintained at all costs.

There are many others who accept there is no longer any hope of maintaining White control over South Africa, who believe the time has come to bring Blacks into the decision-making process at the highest level, who are convinced that racial discrimination in all its forms must end, and who support Mr FW de Klerk's vision of a new South Africa.

South Africa has already changed dramatically.

The Black man, no longer a servant, an inferior, a second-class person, walks tall.

He has multiplied, he has prospered (though great numbers remain poverty-stricken) and without his labour and his growing skills South Africa would not be able to exist.

By sheer numbers, if by nothing else, he dominates South African life.

He cannot be ignored, he cannot be spurned, he cannot be denied his rightful place in the government of this country.

Moreover, he grows more militant on a wave of Black nationalism that matches the nationalism that brought the Afrikaner to the dominant position he now holds.

What we have been seeing for several decades has been a growing clash between the two nationalisms, with radicalised Blacks determined to take over the government by revolution or by one man, one vote majority rule.

Sharpeville . . . the Soweto '76 uprising . . . the 1984-1986 unrest . . . the situation became progressively more dangerous and more difficult; the loss of life and the extent of the property destroyed more alarming.

The state of emergency and the government's massive security forces successfully put down the insurrection in the townships.

They could have continued to do so in similar upheavals at ever-growing cost.

But in the end, the government could not continue to deny Blacks their aspirations, nor would the world allow it to do so.

The government wisely decided that a new constitution, a new dispensation, a new South Africa was imperative if South Africa's economy was not to bleed to death through sanctions, disinvestment and lack of foreign capital and if the country was not to suffer more and more violence leading to a racial conflict of dire proportions.

The Afrikaners of the Right, however, will not accept the changes the government is making or contemplates and there is the dangerous threat that they will resist the government's moves.

We hope that no extremist movement will use guns and bombs in White against Black terrorism.

We hope that the anger of the Right will be tempered by the knowledge that violence cannot achieve anything.

There is no way that the growing tide of Black nationalism can be stemmed; there is no way in which Blacks can be held in subservience; there is no way in which apartheid can be maintained or re-established.

We are a mixed country, and people of colour cannot be placed once more in racial hoks.

The message of tomorrow's Day of the Vow is not that there can or should be any more Blood Rivers, but that Blacks and Whites have to live together, and share power together, in one country, in peace.

Put another way: The issue is not whether Blacks should be given political rights. They will be. What has to be decided is how they will share power and what kind of South Africa will emerge from the negotiations that will inevitably take place.

The achievement of a just settlement is the challenge that faces South Africa on this Day of the Vow.

Buthelezi rejects petition to sack police chief

ULUNDI. — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday rejected "with total and utter contempt" a petition demanding the sacking of KwaZulu Police Chief Brigadier Jac Buchner.

He accused the petition's organisers of fanning the flames of violence in KwaZulu/Natal by their action, of justifying killings and of creating more human targets.

Some activists have accused KwaZulu police of siding with Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha movement in ongoing conflict between Inkatha/UDF/Cosatu elements in Natal/KwaZulu.

Chief Buthelezi — the Inkatha president — was speaking in his capacity of Minister of Police at the passing out parade of 226 police trainees, the first batch to have undergone full training at Ulundi.

Chief Buthelezi said the petition, which matches handed in at the KwaMashu police station last month, was a "hideous" document formulated by KwaZulu's and Inkatha's political enemies.

He was proud of the majority of Zulu youth who had nothing to do with the killing tactics of some among them and he was proud of Inkatha's youth. He was not condemning a whole generation, he said.

"I am condemning a gang who would grab another youth from a bus, slit his throat in front of everybody and go off simply because they wanted to leave a warning behind them," he said.

"I charge the KwaZulu police force to be powerfully strong and to increase their strength by acting gently, reasonably and with a very minimal amount of force wherever necessary," he added.

Chief Buthelezi said the force had made great strides since Brigadier Buchner had been appointed Commissioner, notably in the improvement of morale. This was because of his personal involvement and his ideal of getting to know its members.

A man was shot dead, in Inanda, near Durban, after he attacked a policeman who arrived at the scene of an arson attempt, according to yesterday's official police unrest report.

And violence continues on the country's rail links with two railway coaches set alight at Brakpan and another train extensively damaged by fire at Katlehong on the East Rand.

In Kwathema, also on the East Rand, a coach

was extensively damaged and a man arrested.

Further incidents of arson at Inanda resulted in nine huts and a number of houses being damaged, and at Kwamakutha near Amanzimtoti a shack was burnt to the ground. No injuries were reported.

Two houses were badly damaged in petrol bomb attacks at Daveyton on the East Rand and one man injured, the report said. — Sapa.

More police move in

DURBAN. — With tension in the townships around Durban at new heights yesterday, more police reinforcements are being rushed in to bolster the strong contingent of security forces trying to contain the bloody violence that has raged for almost 10 days.

Residents have welcomed the latest reinforcements which will bring police numbers to

more than 700. Members of the South African Defence Force and KwaZulu Police are also involved in the peace-keeping operation.

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Several other houses built by the Urban Foundation were also torched.

The bodies of three more men were found in the Inanda area.

More violence was reported at Ntuzuma, KwaMashu, Inanda and nearby areas on Wednesday.

In major door-to-door operations on Wednesday, 24 people were arrested in a blitz at Inanda and police confiscated a variety of guns and stolen vehicles. — Sapa.

Nofomela says he and others killed Durban lawyer

CITIZEN DEC. 15, 1989

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During a brief appearance, Nofomela pleaded guilty to Mr Mxenge's murder and named three others who allegedly took part in the killing on instructions from retired police Brigadier Willem Schoon and former police Captain Dirk Coetzee,

who is now in hiding after making allegations about a police hit squad to the Afrikaans weekly newspaper, Vrye Weekblad.

He admitted taking Mr Mxenge to Durban's Umlazi stadium where he and the other members of his team hit and kicked the lawyer before finally stabbing him to death.

Nofomela, who appeared in green prison overalls and slippers, read the following statement to the court:

"I have pleaded guilty to the charge and I am tending this statement with full understanding.

"At the time of the murder I was member of the (Police) Special Branch assassination squad.

"I was instructed by Brig Schoon and Capt Coetzee to proceed to Durban and there to kill one Griffiths Mlungisi Mxenge.

"I and three colleagues, Brian Justice Nqulunga, David ("Spyker") Tshikalange and Joseph Mamaselala, proceeded to the vicinity of Umlazi where we apprehended Mxenge and took him to the Umlazi stadium where we proceeded kicking him and punching him and finally stabbing him to death," Nofomela said.

Nofomela was represented by Mr Des Kuny (QC), who was appointed to defend him by Lawyers for Human Rights.

Nofomela was first to allege the existence of a police hit squad which allegedly assassinated Mr Mxenge, a Durban civil rights lawyer.

The case was adjourned for the attorney-general's consideration and is to be resumed on February 28 next year. — Sapa.

MAGGIE MAY ASK FOR MANDELA'S RELEASE

CITIZEN
15 DECEMBER 1989

THE British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher said yesterday she would consider sending a message to the State President, Mr FW de Klerk, calling for the immediate release of jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela.

Mrs Thatcher was answering a question in

By Sapa and Tony Stirling

parliament which called on her to send an urgent message to Mr De Klerk "asking for the immediate release of Nelson Mandela before Christmas" following the first meeting between the two men in Cape Town on Wednesday.

"I hope Nelson Mande-

la will be released as soon as possible," Mrs Thatcher replied.

"It would be a very great advance and help bring an end to violence.

Mandela, leader of the African National Congress was jailed for life 26 years ago for plotting to

overthrow the South African Government.

A Pretoria Government spokesman said the Mandela De Klerk meeting to discuss ways to hold a meaningful dialogue between Blacks and Whites, was at Mandela's request. Further talks were envisaged in the New Year.

In Johannesburg Mr

TO PAGE 2

Mandela: Maggie may act

FROM PAGE 1

Walter Sisulu, the released ANC leader, who saw Mandela this week shortly before his meeting with the State President, said last night that he did not believe any announcement on Mandela's release was "imminent".

Mr Sisulu said he would be surprised if any announcement was made in this regard at this stage.

It was his impression, not based on any tangible information, that Mandela's release was unlikely at this stage and could only be expected next year.

Mr Sisulu did not directly comment on reports that certain activists within the Mass Democratic Movement feared that Mandela may "compromise their struggle" by making too many concessions to the government.

He had seen notes made by Mandela to the effect that as a prisoner, he was in no position to negotiate with the government. His only role could be that of a facilitator and contact between the government and the ANC.

Mandela was guided

by certain principles", and was unlikely to do anything that was not in line with the interests of "the movement".

Speaking about how the meeting between Mandela and Mr De Klerk might have come about, Mr Sisulu said that Mandela might have at some time expressed the wish to meet Mr De Klerk.

A meeting had then probably been arranged at short notice if it had been on the cards when he and his wife, UDF President, Mrs Albertina Sisulu met Mandela the day before Mandela would have informed him of it.

At their own meeting, they had discussed the general situation, events in Natal (where there has been a sharp increase in unrest-related deaths) and the pending visit of himself and other recently released ANC leaders to Lusaka for meetings with the ANC leadership.

The weekend Conference for a Democratic Future might have been mentioned, but there had not been time to discuss it. A source which accurately forecast the release

of Mr Sisulu and his ANC colleagues said that Mandela's release by Christmas was possible.

There could be certain advantages to releasing Mandela over the holiday period as opposed to late January or early February.

With the closure of many factories and the absence of big numbers of people on holiday, it would prevent the organisation of mass rallies over the initial few weeks of his release.

But most sources remained of the opinion that Mandela's release next year was the most likely option, particularly as the announcement of the meeting between Mandela and Mr De Klerk indicated that a further meeting would take place early in the New Year.

Wednesday's talks between Mr De Klerk and Mandela were welcomed by Mr Tom Boya, President of the United Municipalities of SA.

Mr Boya said he hoped follow-up talks in the New Year would "give a clear indication and direction to follow".

He would be happy if the talks took place when

Mandela was already a free man.

Cosatu announced yesterday that Mandela has invited 10 members of Cosatu's Central Executive Committee to meet him next week.

They will do in groups of five.

On Tuesday, the group will be made up of Chris Dlamini, John Gomomo, Cyril Ramaphosa, Sydney Mufamadi and Moses Mayekiso.

On Friday the group will consist of Elijah Barayi, Ronald Mofokeng, James Mutlatsi, John Ehrentzen and Jay Naidoo.

The agenda will be open-ended.

When will leaders speak out for the environment?

Deafening silence comes from Church

DAILY NEWS

15 DEC 1989

THE frogs were calling when I walked — or should I say plodded — back from our St Mark's Church, with a heaviness of heart because our beloved pastor Vic Shaw has gone to the next world.

I will miss him. He was my idea of a true Christian, compassionate, understanding and with a feeling for the natural world that he always expressed in his prayers for our country.

As chaplain to the Royal Natal Carbineers in their long campaigns in Eritrea, the Western Desert and the plains and mountains of Italy in World War 2, Vic Shaw learnt to understand the human soul.

I think he understood me too when I spoke to him about my deep disappointment in the failure of the Christian Church to appreciate the horrible destruction of our world by mankind.

Along the edge of the road clear water was flowing towards the Karkloof stream. Heavy rains have swept over our valley and every stream roars down the mountain slopes. Wet rocks glittered in the sunlight and the leaves of trees sparkled with flashing colour.

The few surviving pans not swallowed up by afforestation are alive with water birds, Egyptian geese, blacksmith plovers and waders beyond my powers to identify, besides the

VOICE FROM THE WILDERNESS

Ian Player



call of the greenshanks.

From the forests the liquid notes of the blackheaded oriole and the mournful call of the black cuckoo drifted across the valley and high above the line of Karkloof hills the insistent call of the crowned eagle rose and fell, whistling, high pitched and penetrating. Then like a chorus to this music were the croaking frogs.



Walking became easier when I was caught up by the vibrance of the earth on this summer day. My body was particularly forgotten, but my mind worked fast.

I thought about the Church and how it is quick to criticise the Government and frequently the criticisms are justified, but not always. The Church's encouragement, particularly by Archbishop Tutu, to the world to impose sanctions is, I strongly

believe, wrong, because it has hurt the very people it is purporting to help.

The Church has not hesitated to become embroiled in social and political matters, but it has been consistently quiet on the most important issue facing all humanity: the state of the environment. Mankind now seems hell bent on destroying everything within reach, forgetting that our own species is part of and not something separate from the earth.

Everyone is beginning to realise this. Even the scientists who in the past were reticent to speak have become alarmed. Yet we hear nothing from the Church.

Why is it the Church is not out in front leading its flock to a better understanding of humankind and our relationship to the earth? What is it that keeps it hanging back as though afraid to speak on this, yet so vocal on other issues?

One of the most-publicised environmental battles is the current St Lucia dune-mining proposal. It has aroused passions of deep concern in South Africa which is beginning to spread worldwide because the importance of St Lucia Lake to the biotic community is internationally known.

It has become a symbol of the resistance to the modern exploitative trend of sensitive areas by multinational companies.

The recent statement by the Minister of Environment Affairs that he is not opposed to the mining was the ideal opportunity for the Church to speak. Yet it continues to remain strangely silent.

Where are the voices of Archbishop Hurley, Archbishop Tutu and Alan Boesak? Surely their priests are waiting for leadership so that they can speak freely from the pulpit. Do the bishops suffer from some sort of schizophrenia arising from the first chapter of Genesis "...let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air..." Did whoever wrote that envisage what we saw on television the other day when dolphins and whales were being "drowned" by drift nets,

their dying choking sounds echoing in the ocean.

It is a most-terrifying experience watching another creature that means us no harm slowly suffocating to death. Can the bishops not even speak out about the litter that threatens to engulf us?

Unlike St Francis of Assisi there seems no compassion in the modern church leadership for the other beasts that share the world with us. Did you see that baby turtle flapping around because one flipper had been severed by a floating plastic bag discarded from a passing ship? The seagulls and terns with amputated limbs?

I do not believe that it is by accident that the dune mining at St Lucia has become such a disturbing issue. Santa Lucia is the patron saint of those who are troubled with their sight: we may pray to her to open the eyes and hearts of our bishops so that they can speak out against those people who will tear the guts out of our land.

The frogs were silent by the time I got home.

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Apartheid on Natal beaches now over officially

15 DEC 1989

DURBAN. — The last vestiges of beach apartheid in Natal have been legally removed following Exco approval for the opening of Durban's last three beaches reserved for Whites.

Mr Peter Miller, MEC for local government, announced provincial approval for the City of Durban's application to repeal its beach by-laws relating to Addington, Anstey and Brighton Beach when he officially opened the water-based resort facility at Reunion Park yesterday.

The repeal will be published in a provincial gazette extraordinary today.

Mr Miller said all credit must go to the Durban City Council which, by a two-thirds majority, overturned an earlier decision not to repeal the by-laws.

"The administrator-in-executive committee merely gave legal sanction to the City Council decision because where objections are received to the advertised intention then the executive committee have the final say," he said.

Mr Miller stressed that the province of Natal and successive administrations had, over the years, stood firm on the racial zoning of beaches along the entire Natal coast outside Durban and Richards Bay.

"It needs to be stated again that Natal's beaches have never been zoned for the exclusive use of any particular race group. They have always been

open to all population groups," Mr Miller said.

By withdrawing the 1974 proclamation which gave legal sanction to the zoning of the one and only closed beach in Richards Bay, Exco have also made sure that the recent Richards Bay Town Council decision to open the closed beach, cannot be overturned by reactionary town councils of the future.

Mr Miller said that white fears against the opening of the beaches were fuelled almost exclusively by a fear that standards would deteriorate.

He appealed to leadership cadres at every level in every community to prove beyond all doubt that Right-wing White fears were baseless.

"I particularly direct my plea to those who for the first time have legal access to what were the last all-White beaches. You no longer have a point to prove. Don't by your actions fuel the fires that are determined to reimpose beach segregation by giving them hard factual evidence that it is not possible for all to use the beach according to civilised norms and standards," he said.

Mr Miller said that by the end of the current financial year an amount of R46 million would have been spent on beach amenities and facilities along Natal's coast.

He wished to place on record the Province's

deep disappointment and concern that Central Government had not been able to meet even half its 1987 financial commitment to the provision of open air recreation amenities and facilities.

"I must point out that

the NPA's most recent analysis shows that we urgently require at least another R50 million to come remotely near fulfilling the need for adequate amenities and facilities at coastal and inland resorts," Mr Miller said. — Sapa

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CITIZEN

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LETTERS

The Citizen PO Box 7712
Johannesburg 2000

Good morning, South Azania

15 DEC 1989
WHY call our once progressive country the new South Africa? Why not call it Azania? Yes!

GMSA — Good Morning South Azania! FW de Klerk, on a leash from Pik Botha and his friends in the US State Department and British Foreign Office, have ensured there will be a transition from a First World to a Third World order in our country.

One hopes that FW de Klerk will have the courage to be honest enough to tell his people that they will be sold out as they are expendable in this new age.

The new Nats have been conditioned to help establish a universal

socialism for the New World Order. The government, liberal businessmen, academics, clergy and politicians are appeasing the internationalists at every turn.

FW de Klerk and the Nats are on a popularity drive — to compromise at all costs in the name of "peace".

This liberal approach has created a society of rebellion and lawlessness symptoms of what the liberals call "progress". Stone-throwing, murder, rape, armed robbery, muggings, violent assault, hi-jackings, burglary and

so on is the new order in South Azania.

The other cornerstone of new Nat thinking is to tax its own people to the point of despair while propping up one party dictatorships in Malawi, Mozambique, Lesotho, Comores and other countries.

This government and its libera allies are committing national suicide whether they realise it or not. When you compromise with the Devil, it is to hell that you will go.

G.E. FIELD

Edenvale

Unbanning of ANC mooted

Govt sets up negotiation framework

BUSINESS DAY
15 DEC 1989

GOVERNMENT is planning a series of meetings early next year with political, labour, church and cultural groups to establish a framework for negotiations.

It has also accepted that during this process it will have to unban the ANC and other political organisations if its stated aim of getting genuine negotiations off the ground is to stand any chance of success.

Former ANC secretary-general Walter Sisulu yesterday gave a cautious indication that the ANC and its allies might be prepared to meet government before all preconditions for negotiation had been met.

Sisulu said he believed once government had shown its good faith by going some way towards meeting the ANC's six preconditions for negotiation, "it would not be unreasonable" for government to want to discuss particular problems it might have with meeting others.

● Comment: Page 10

Informed sources said government was committed to having a negotiating mechanism in place next year.

At its meetings with the various interest groups it wanted to discuss preconditions for negotiation, the nature of the agenda, who should take part, how a chairman should be elected, whether a time limit should be placed on the process, and whether there should be a role for a facilitator.

It had also been accepted that President F W de Klerk and his team of negotiators should sit at the negotiation table as members of the NP rather than as government representatives.

The role of government in the process would be limited to climate-building and facilitating. This would encompass taking steps to unban organisations; freeing those people seen by various interest groups as

ALAN FINE and
MIKE ROBERTSON

leaders; and the lifting of the emergency, the sources said.

NP representatives at any negotiations were expected to be those members serving on the Cabinet negotiation committee.

Sisulu said any decision to meet government would be a major policy decision from the point of view of the ANC, and would have to be discussed in depth with its external and internal leadership.

He and other recently released political prisoners are scheduled to meet the ANC executive committee in mid-January.

The organisation's six preconditions are:

- ☐ unbanning of political organisations;
- ☐ release of political prisoners;
- ☐ lifting of the state of emergency;
- ☐ repeal of all security legislation;
- ☐ removal of troops from the townships; and
- ☐ an end to political trials and executions.

Sisulu said a meeting with NP leaders "would not easily be welcomed by our people".

"The fundamental differences between ourselves and the NP remain. We are not closer at all. We do not believe government really means business."

He was, however, confident that "in due course we will be able to understand each other".

He said a time could come when the ANC alliance would be prepared to discuss with government aspects of the preconditions, such as possible NP fears that the lifting of the emergency could lead to another period of intense and violent conflict.

Sisulu disputed reports that the ANC was unhappy about Nelson Mandela's meeting on Wednesday with De Klerk.

□ To Page 2

ANC man guilty of terrorism

CAPE TOWN — A self-confessed member of the ANC was yesterday convicted of terrorism in the Wynberg Regional Court.

Danisile Nokhatywa (33) appeared with Agnes Yoyo (26) who was also convicted of terrorism, and Buyiswa Jack (34) a Western Province Council of Churches field worker, who was convicted of assisting a terrorist.

Nokhatywa had earlier said he had received a cache of arms at the Cape Point nature reserve. He had joined the ANC in 1985.

Sentence will be passed on Friday. — Sapa.

STAR 15 DEC 1989

ESKOM and the Soweto People's Delegation are in the advanced stages of a negotiation process which could see an end to the four-year boycott of electricity bills and an upgrading of the township's electrical service.

If negotiations succeed, a new independent company established by Eskom with community participation and support would take over the supply of electricity from the Soweto City Council — if the council agreed to grant it the rights of supply.

A permanent consumer structure and direct representation to give consumers a say in the quality and cost of their electricity supply would be part of the deal. In the interim, a phase is envisaged whereby the service would be restored while a suitable permanent supply authority is organised.

Consumers are also expected to have an input in this phase.

A technical committee comprising SPD and Eskom Soweto Project representatives has been meeting regularly since August, following talks between senior Eskom officials, including chief executive Ian Macrae, and an SPD delegation which included leaders such as Reverend Frank Chikane, National Union of Mineworkers general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa and Fedtraw president Albertina Sisulu. This round of talks has now ended and the SPD is considering Eskom's proposals.

Eskom has set up a subsidiary, Econolec, as the interim vehicle to establish the new system. For the project to be established, Econolec has to negotiate with many community groups and leaders and the city council. But the company has made it clear that it views the SPD as representing the interests of a broad sector of the community and, among others, an important negotiating partner in establishing a new electricity supply service.

An Eskom spokesman says they estimate R100-million will have to be invested over a two-year period to upgrade Soweto's electricity infrastructure and the administrative support system, in addition to the R25-million a year which the Central Witwatersrand Regional Services Council has committed to capital maintenance and upgrading of the system.

It is intended that the additional funds would come from the Development Bank of South Africa as "soft" (low interest) loans, on a "subordinated" basis — in other words, interest has to be paid only

Soweto people negotiate over power — and end the boycott

There's a bright light on Soweto's horizon — Eskom and the city's representatives are negotiating a deal to improve the electricity supply. By HILARY JOFFE and ELAINE COSSER

once the company starts making operating profits.

Eskom projections put the company as breaking even only after 10 years, since it will take seven years to cover the debts incurred in the first three years.

Soweto is South Africa's fifth largest domestic user of electricity, with 125 000 supply points — so that the vast majority of formal households are electrified. But electricity in the township is costly and subject to frequent blackouts.

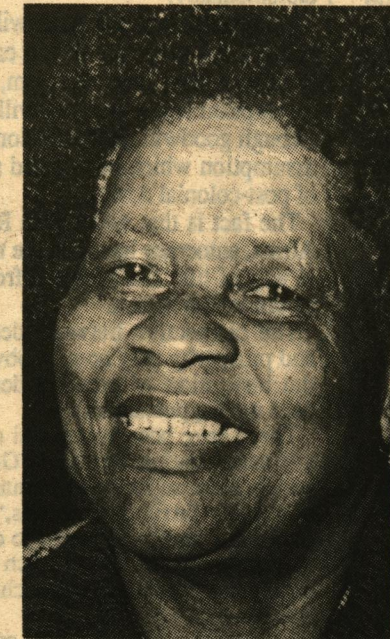
In a position paper presented to Eskom earlier this year, the SPD outlined a series of criteria which would have to be met by the new scheme for it to gain the support of Soweto residents. These included:

- Non-racialism
- Exclusion of the Greater Soweto local authorities
- Efficient supply of electricity
- Establishment of a new entity
- Non-profit basis
- Grant finance
- Arrears must be written off
- New tariff structure.

The two sides are likely to agree on many of these principles, although some, an Eskom representative stresses, touch on areas in which the electricity corporation is "not a player". He also said Eskom must *ipso facto* recognise the position and functions of the local authority.

A key issue is the SPD's demand that electricity arrears be written off. Eskom has agreed with the delegation that the new company will not take responsibility for Soweto's historical debt. Thus there is no question of it trying to recover past arrears through higher tariffs once residents start paying. But Eskom has stressed writing off the debt is a government decision.

State and provincial officials publicly reject writing off all the arrears, arguing this would be unfair to town-



Albertina Sisulu



Cyril Ramaphosa

ship residents, in other townships as well as Soweto, who have paid rent and service charges.

The SPD's historic recent meeting with the TPA, and the beginnings of a process of SPD-province negotiation, may therefore be the essential backdrop for the success of the electricity project.

Eskom and the SPD have also agreed that the new scheme must involve community participation, although the nature of this has not yet been decided.

It could take the form of community representation on the board of the new company, but it is more likely that in the short term it would take the form of a some sort of consumer board with which the new company would liaise.

Another important area of agreement is tariffs. Eskom has agreed that tariffs in Soweto will be no higher than those in Johannesburg.

At this level tariffs will initially not cover the costs of the project. The sides have jointly identified a number of ways in which costs can be reduced to make it viable.

But the affordable tariffs issue touches on a key SPD proposal: non-racialism. The delegation has called for Soweto and Johannesburg to be

one city, with a unified tax base.

This is a national constitutional issue — and in Eskom's view it cannot be a player in the political debate that will determine this.

But it is also an economic issue, one which may be vital to the success of the new project in ensuring affordable electricity tariffs.

Eskom can't change the constitution — but it acknowledges that there may be considerable economic advantages for Soweto in having its electricity network linked to Johannesburg's.

Electricity experts say if it were to link the Johannesburg and Soweto systems, electricity costs would drop in both areas because the usage pattern would change. Eskom supplies electricity in bulk to the Johannesburg and Soweto councils, charging on the basis of the relative pattern of peak-load and base-load usage. If the two grids were linked, this pattern would change such that the total bill would be cut by several million a year.

There appears to be broad agreement between Eskom and the SPD about the quality of service which consumers would find acceptable.

This covers such issues as reliability of supply, responses to customer queries or problems, frequency of meter reading and audit meter read-

ings. Around five percent of electricity bills are wrong because of human error or damaged meters; a big problem in Soweto at the moment is that the council insists people pay their accounts and does not do audit readings if they complain.

One issue which Eskom and the SPD still have to sort out is tariffs for the poorest consumers.

The Soweto delegation called for "a new tariff structure involving subsidisation mechanisms designed to address the issues of affordability, basic needs and differential paying capacities".

It is estimated about 3 000 to 4 000 families (about two percent) have formal incomes of R2 500 a year or less and would be hard-pressed to pay anything for electricity.

Econolec is opposed to direct subsidisation of the poorest, on the grounds that it would be economically unhealthy for the company to run on this basis.

One possible obstacle which has still to be resolved is the role of the black local authorities. For the plan to go ahead, the councils of Dobsonville, Diepmeadow and Soweto will have to transfer their responsibility for electricity supply to the new company. But some members within these councils fear a loss of status and the admission of defeat if they allow another party to take over one of their functions. They may also stand to lose financially because councils are graded and their officials remunerated based on their gross turnover, of which electricity supply comprises a major part.

Provincial officials have assured councillors this issue will be attended to. Legal experts have noted that the provincial administrator does not have the power to over-rule a council should it refuse to transfer authority over electricity to Econolec. But they note that in the current political climate this would damage the credibility of the councils which the province is keen to protect.

One other area on which Eskom and the SPD have yet to agree is the eventual structure of the new project.

Econolec has been registered as a "shell" company awaiting the conclusion of negotiations and is intended by Eskom to be a partnership with the community and with private business. Under Eskom's control, the company will arrange the physical upgrading of infrastructure, implement a large scale customer service system and reorganise the accounting system, which is in disarray.

The company will act in an interim capacity as it is not clear what shape the final supply entity will take.

Possible options are electricity supplies could be administered by a non-profit company or by local community-based co-operatives. Eskom would like to see responsibility for the project eventually handed over to the Soweto community.

Eskom's involvement in the Soweto talks is in line with its mission of Electricity for All — in terms of which it wants to see affordable electricity made available to the estimated 60 percent of black South Africans who currently have no access to this. At present many other initiatives are underway around the country.

But it is also an attempt to pre-empt a situation in which Soweto finally runs out of money and Eskom has to cut off the "juice".

The four-year boycott of rent and service charges by Soweto residents has so far not affected Eskom, despite the fact that the township's arrears on electricity are running at between R5-million and R7-million a month. The Transvaal Provincial Administration has been providing bridging finance to cover the debts of the Soweto City Council, which in terms of the Black Local Government Act of 1982 has sole right to supply electricity in the township.

But Soweto's debts are vast — up to R1-billion in total — and the TPA admitted in talks last week with the SPD that it had run out of bridging finance for the Transvaal's townships and this month is drawing from a special fund to cover township debts.

16/1/11

In the townships rival groups marshal forces

STAR DEC. 15, 1989

The first phase in the most ambitious attempt to unite South Africa's extra-parliamentary forces is over.

The Conference for a Democratic Future (CDF), held last weekend after months of planning, brought together activists from two major anti-apartheid blocs. They were killing one another in a gruesome internecine feud only a few years ago. To that extent the conference was immensely successful.

But at the same time the CDF revealed that major political cleavages still divide the black community and seriously hamper its long quest to end minority rule.

Excluding the outlawed African National Congress and the proscribed Pan-Africanist Congress, four competing alliances can be identified: the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), the Pan-Africanist Movement (PAM) and Inkatha.

The MDM and the BCM, were co-conveners of, and therefore major participants in, the conference; debate there served to highlight differences as well as identify points of agreement.

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These divisions are no less important to the future of South Africa than the differences crystallising in the white community in the terminal stage of apartheid. It is thus pertinent to look more closely at the black organisations marshalling

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their forces for what they hope will be the coup de grace to the apartheid order.

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The MDM has two major components: the United Democratic Front, a nationwide alliance of hundreds of organisations, and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the largest federation of SA trade unions.

Able to mobilise

It is a relative newcomer to the political arena: the MDM per se surfaced in February; the United Democratic Front was formed in 1983; and the Congress of SA Trade Unions in 1985. Its ideological roots go back a long way with those of the ANC.

Taking account of its ideological links with the ANC and thus with the jailed Mr Nelson Mandela, it is better able to mobilise on a nationwide basis than any of its rivals. Its defiance campaign — launched in August but inspired by hunger striking detainees several months before — helped it to re-assert its presence after being shackled under the state of emergency.

The BCM traces its origins to the late 1960s when resistance to apartheid was at a low ebb. After the ANC and PAC were crushed in the

wake of the Sharpeville massacre of March 1960, black consciousness emerged as an independent and unifying force.

It inspired a young generation of black people; they, in turn, through their refusal to bow before apartheid, inspired their often demoralised parents. Under the genius of Steve Biko, Black Consciousness nourished a black renaissance of resistance. It insisted that blacks should control their own destiny, under the slogan: "Black man, you are on your own."

After the death in detention of Biko, the BCM faced four separate crises: it was twice shackled by a State crack-down, once in 1977 and



again in February 1988; it suffered two "exoduses" from its ranks after the Soweto student revolt of 1976-77, first with the revival of the ANC and its allied Charterist organisations and then, more recently, with the resurgence of the Africanists.

These crises led some observers to conclude that the BCM had been marginalised and that it had been "co-opted" by the Charterists. During last weekend's conference, however, the BCM exhibited a vibrant independence; its delegates refused to be "rail-roaded" into endorsing Charterist positions.

BCM leaders are confident that the BCM has a major role to play in the 1990s.

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clude some of the great names in the history of African nationalism: A P Mda, Anton Lembede and Robert Sobukwe. Several contemporary ANC leaders were once Africanists, not least Mr Mandela and Mr Walter Sisulu.

The regrouping Africanists are mobilising in the townships; their primary emphasis is on the return of the land to the indigenous people or, as they often put it, "sons and daughters of the soil". Africanists have much in common ideologically with the BCM, including the belief that black people — rather than white liberals or leftists — should control the liberation forces.

Inkatha, in alliance with the United Workers Union of SA, remains a major player in the political arena. Its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, is tough and resilient. He has proved over and over again that it is perilous to ignore him.

Typically combative

Chief Buthelezi's response to Inkatha's exclusion from the CDF is typically combative: he will hold a rally in Soweto, an area where Inkatha support is presumed to have dwindled to minuscule proportions.

It is reminiscent of his reaction to the MDM rally in Soweto at the end of October to welcome back eight released ANC prisoners; he organised a mammoth counter-rally at King's Park in Durban.

Inkatha once enjoyed cordial and even fraternal relations with the ANC, indicating an ideological overlap which ANC men are now loath to admit. In the last decade, however, relations have deteriorated; today Inkatha loyalists and Charterists are locked in a murderous struggle for supremacy in Natal.

Overall, the strife and rivalry in the black community recalls Mr Mandela's comments in a letter to Chief Buthelezi: "The most challenging task facing the leadership today is that of national unity. At no other time in our history has it become so crucial for our people to speak with one voice and to pool their efforts."

To Pg 2



IN THE TOWNSHIPS RIVAL GROUPS MARSHAL FORCES
FROM PG. 1

Holomisa's stance queried

Sir - When it comes to South Africa "let the people decide", but when it comes to the Transkei "let the soldiers decide."

This transpired when General Bantu Holomisa was interviewed by SABC on November 21. But one has to know who

this man is before one even tries to understand what he says and what he stands for.

Holomisa did not only

welcome independence but also enlisted in the army to protect this very independence. He served in the Transkei Defence Force with zeal and diligence as evidenced by his rapid promotion to make him probably the youngest general in the world. He then usurped power and he now clings to it like a dying squirrel to a branch.

When asked if he was prepared to let the Transkei go back to civilian rule, he mumbled and when asked his view of a new South Africa he fumbled. The guy even had the arrogance of calling himself a leader when he is in fact an imposter. His military council has celebrated the Transkei independence day since he usurped power.

Perhaps what scores political points for him is the fact that he has been accepted by Oliver Tambo and praised by the likes of Mrs Mandela and Elijah Barayi. Must we therefore draw any political parallels between Transkei and the ANC? Not at all. The two are politically miles apart. But what is it that brings the two together? The only sensible conclusion is that they are all Xhosas and blood is proving to be thicker than politics.

M J Buthelezi

Emondlo.

Mandela to meet Cosatu

SOMETIM 19 DECEMBER 1989

AFRICAN National Congress leader Nelson Mandela has invited ten members of the Cosatu central committee to meet him at his Victor Verster Prison quarters next week.

Cosatu assistant general secretary Mr Sydney Mufamadi yesterday said the agenda would be "open-ended" and that the federation's delega-

By **THEMBA MOLEFE**

tion would brief Mandela on their perspective, the current situation, the Conference for a Democratic Future, the anti-Labour Relations Act campaign and "other burning issues".

The first group which will meet Mandela on December 19 will comprise Mr Chris Dlamini, Mr John Gomo, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, Mufamadi

and Mr Moses Mayekiso.

The second group will meet the ANC leader on December 22. It consists of Cosatu president Mr Elijah Barayi, general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo, Mr James Motlatsi, Mr Ronald Mofokeng and Mr John Erentzen.

The meetings follow discussions between Mandela and the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, at Tuynhuys on Wednesday.

Former ANC general secretary Mr Walter Sisulu met Mandela at Victor Verster on Monday.

ANC leader gave P W Botha plan for peaceful settlement

Secret Mandela document revealed

STAR 15 DEC 1989

Cape Town
Mr Nelson Mandela handed a document outlining the ANC's standpoint on a peaceful settlement in South Africa to the Government when he met former State President Mr P W Botha on July 5.

This emerged yesterday from sources close to the jailed ANC leader.

They had previously kept secret the handing over of the 10-page document.

However, it is being speculated that the contents of the document were discussed at Wednesday's meeting between Mr Mandela and the State President, Mr F W de Klerk.

It is reported from London that British Premier Mrs Margaret Thatcher wants Mr Mandela freed as soon as possible, perhaps before Christmas.

Mrs Thatcher told the House of Commons yesterday that she would consider calling on Mr de Klerk to release the jailed ANC leader within the next 10 days.

She said Mr Mandela's release would be a "very great advance" which would bring violence to an end and see the start of negotiations on a constitution for all the people of South Africa.

Welcome

She welcomed Tuesday's historic meeting between Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk at Tuynhuys.

Sources close to Mr Mandela con-

firmed yesterday that he gave the document to Mr Botha at their meeting in Tuynhuys.

"I do know now that a certain document was presented to Mr P W Botha. It was a document that outlined the policy of the ANC and its stand on the question of negotiations," one source said.

"Mr Mandela drew it up himself and, of course, in consultation with his colleagues inside."

● Sapa reports that Mr Mandela has invited 10 members of the Congress of South African Trade Unions central executive committee to meet him next week, the labour federation said yesterday.

Cosatu members will meet Mr Mandela in two groups, Cosatu said.

On December 19, a group made up of Mr Chris Dlamini, Mr John

Gomomo, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, Mr Sydney Mufamadi and Mr Moses Mayekiso will meet the jailed ANC leader at his prison warder's house at Victor Verster Prison near Paarl in the Cape.

The second group to meet Mr Mandela on December 22 consists of Mr Elijah Barayi, Mr Ronald Mofokeng, Mr James Motlatsi, Mr John Ehrentzen and Mr Jay Naidoo.

Burning issues

The agenda of the meeting will be open-ended, according to Cosatu.

"From our side we will brief Comrade Mandela on our perspective, on the current situation, the CDF, the anti-LRA campaign and other burning issues," a Cosatu statement said. — Own Correspondent-The Star Bureau, London.

The Daily News



FOUNDED IN 1878

Mandela's role

15 DEC 1989

THE Nelson Mandela mystique has long been such that he is believed by statesmen around the world to hold the key to reconciliation between blacks and whites. The Tuynhuys meeting with President de Klerk has sharpened that perception of him. More than that, however, it indicates that Mr Mandela himself has come to understand and accept his vital role, since it was he who requested the meeting.

Significantly, too, the historic meeting came only a day after Mr Mandela had talks with his lieutenant, Mr Walter Sisulu, nurturing the belief that the jailed leader has taken on the mantle of mediator between Pretoria and the ANC, which is a major move towards bringing all parties to the long-awaited

indaba.

Obstacles on the road to that indaba — the timing of Mr Mandela's release, the lifting of the state of emergency, the unbanning of the ANC and other resistance organisations — would all have been topics at Tuynhuys. And as the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, was present, it can be taken that talk turned to the constitutional package which the Government hopes to take to the negotiating table.

President de Klerk has again enhanced his reputation as a leader who has done more for reform in months than his predecessors did in years. It may be that he is limbering up for the boldest step of all: giving Mr Mandela the freedom to play out his role.

Star 15/12/89

In the towns groups mars

The first phase in the most ambitious attempt to unite South Africa's extra-parliamentary forces is over.

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But at the same time the CDF revealed that major political cleavages still divide the black community and seriously hamper its long quest to end minority rule.

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It is a relative newcomer to the political arena: the MDM per se surfaced in February; the United Democratic Front was formed in 1983; and the Congress of SA Trade Unions in 1985. Its ideological roots go back a long way with those of the ANC.

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The BCM traces its origins to the late 1960s when resistance to apartheid was at a low ebb. After the ANC and PAC were crushed in the

Inkatha gangs march to a new Zulu war

From John Carlin in Ntuzuma, Natal

"IF YOU can hear the bullets, it's okay. It means they've gone past. It means you haven't been hit."

Father Martin Moore-Corry, the Irish parish priest at St Paul's church, Ntuzuma, has chosen to make light of the fact that he is living on the frontline of the worst fighting in Natal province, or indeed any part of South Africa, this year.

At least 74 people have died this month, 400 houses have been destroyed, and thousands have fled their homes. Several have sought refuge in Father Martin's church itself or in and around the township, which is set in a mild, uncannily Irish landscape of rolling green hills on the edge of the Indian Ocean, north of Durban.

Yesterday evening, as smoke

billowed from petrol-bombed homes, the families staying at Father Martin's were bracing themselves for a renewed offensive. This weekend, armed gangs from across the nearest hilltop, in Linendani barely 200 yards away, are expected to strike again. The gangs are loyal to Inkatha, a politically moderate, exclusively Zulu tribal organisation engaged in an on-off war in Natal.

All those who do the fighting, and the dying, are black. The police, for the most part, stand ambivalently on the sidelines. When they lean, they do so in favour of Inkatha — Pretoria's favourite black political organisation.

The chances of legal retribution against those who razed to the ground the home of Elizabeth Mthanti last Thursday are remote. She was off on night duty at the time — she is a sister in a local hospital — but her three children told her what happened.

"At about 3am they heard the first gunshots. Then the petrol bombs, the screaming, the stones, the smashed windows and doors. My children hid in the toilet. They could hear the door being smashed down with axes, and then the petrol bombs setting the roof alight."

The children managed to escape, but when Mrs Mthanti re-

turned at dawn, she discovered her whole neighbourhood smashed and smouldering, and the bodies of seven dead youths.

Father Martin's church and his adjoining home are the only intact structures in the neighbourhood, where more than 50 homes have been looted and destroyed. "They took our TV sets, radios, clothes, everything," said Vincenzia Mahlaba. All that remained of the three cars owned by her extended family were three charcoal metallic shells.

They tried to burn Father Martin's car too, and they tried to break down his doors. "But they fled when I told them this was

church ground, this was God's house."

God's house, the air rich with the aroma now not of incense but of stews simmering on a stove, is piled high with mattresses, blankets and heaps of salvaged furniture. Yapping dogs and children, in a scene repeated in churches and community centres all around the area, play at the feet of once-prosperous, bulky women.

Their prosperity, by township standards, was the envy of their Inkatha neighbours at Linendani, a squatter area of tin shacks, no water and no electricity. Father Martin sought to stress that fact, and the territorial power ambitions of the local war lord, over the strictly ideological colouring of the conflict.

The Independent

15/12/89

London.

Star 15/12/89

hips rival hal forces

Star 15/12/89

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DET PROBE

Letting the president know

In 1986, the former deputy minister of the Department of Education & Training (DET), Sam de Beer, felt it necessary to personally inform President P W Botha about a hunting trip he had been on — after it became known that his host was the subject of a top-level police investigation. The investigation centred on allegations of unauthorised use of police equipment on the farm of De Beer's host, Pretoria printer Vink Kloppers. Kloppers is a former associate of Jan van Zyl Alberts, one of the key figures in the Information scandal.

Last week, Judge Leo van den Heever ordered that the involvement of Kloppers' company, Publication Scan, with the DET be referred to the commercial branch for investigation of possible fraud relating to tenders to the DET. The recommendation was contained in the report examining alleged irregularities over printing contracts concluded between the department and publisher Thinus Strydom, son of the now retired DET Deputy Director-General Jaap Strydom.

De Beer wrote a letter to Botha after a former associate of Kloppers, Andries Goosen, made a sworn statement at the Sunnyside police station alleging that a senior police officer had supplied Kloppers' northern Transvaal farm with police equipment (bedding, generators, tents, freezers and so on) and helped set up a weekend camping party attended by Kloppers, various friends and "four pretty girls." The hunting trip which De Beer and Strydom went on is also mentioned in the statement.

At the time, the SAP Directorate of Public Relations confirmed that preliminary investigations had indicated possibly unauthorised use of police equipment.

In his letter to Botha — which the FM learnt of from DET sources — De Beer explained that he had been on a hunting trip at Kloppers's farm, Ou Hoek, on the weekend of July 25-26, 1986. He said he had never met Kloppers before and that Strydom had introduced them.

De Beer was afraid that his visit to the farm could prove an embarrassment to Botha. Botha accepted De Beer's explanation.

In a comment to the FM, De Beer says: "I had no knowledge of any business contacts between the DET and Mr Kloppers."

Dealing with Kloppers's evidence before the commission, Judge Van den Heever noted that "he talks easily and fluently." The report says Kloppers admitted to his signature on various Publication Scan quotations — on one of which the quote had been altered with Tipp-Ex. The judge found that Kloppers had been a friend of Jaap Strydom for many years.

In his sworn statement, Goosen said that Kloppers — whom he claimed was a former security police sergeant — had another farm, Rulgtepan, which had been used for a so-called labour enrichment course (*arbeidsverrykingskursus*) for approximately 34 "black radicals." Since beginning work for Kloppers in 1984, he had frequent contact with a senior police officer, Col Gert Goosen (no relation), at the SAP college in Pretoria,

he said.

Andries Goosen stated that he had also been involved with production and distribution of anti-ANC propaganda material printed by Publication Scan in November 1986. He and another associate of Kloppers, Anton du Toit, had personally taken the material to Jeppe Post Office to be mailed.

Du Toit's name crops up frequently in evidence before the Van den Heever Commission. The commission found that Du Toit had not been a good witness, but his evidence was accepted because "he admitted (against own interest) complicity in fraudulent misrepresentations (*bedrieglike wanvoorstellings*) in that he had helped with the creation of false quotations."

Kloppers and Publication Scan were responsible for the printing of the cover and certain changes in the contents of the controversial publication *ANC: The Inside Story* — later distributed among Australian schoolchildren — Goosen claimed. At the end of 1986, he said, he accompanied Kloppers and a Brigadier Ferdie van Wyk of the SA Defence Force (who travelled under the name of Van Rijswijk) overseas to organise the distribution of the publication in Europe.

Goosen claimed that on various occasions he transported carton boxes containing the publication *Face to Face With The ANC* from a building, Byron Place (on the corner of Visagie and Schubart streets, Pretoria), to Publication Scan for printing changes. At the beginning of 1987, he accompanied Kloppers to Byron Place where R40 000 in R50 notes was paid for the printing of *ANC: The Inside Story*, he claimed.

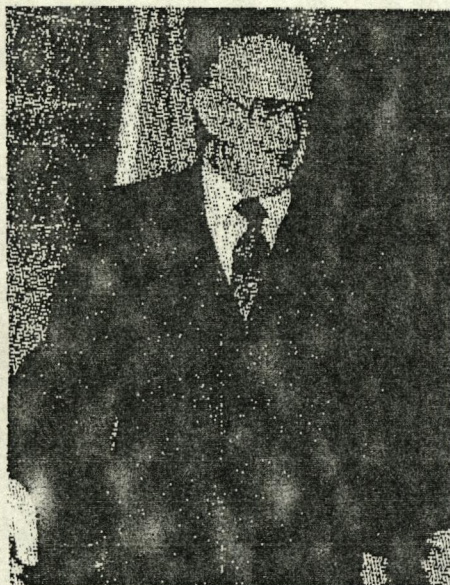
At the time, the Directorate of Public Relations of the SADF confirmed that it was involved in the project — but insisted that the military had a legitimate role in opposing ANC propaganda abroad.

MDM WEEKEND CONFERENCE

Mass rhetoric

The self-styled Mass Democratic Movement's Conference for a Democratic Future held at Wits last weekend was remarkably well-attended. There were 4 600 delegates of all races from 2 100 organisations claiming to represent 15m people. Yet it was something of an anti-climax.

In view of its billing and the expectations created, the event ended up a bit muddled. This is symbolised, perhaps, by the "erroneous" resolution, later retracted, which "rejected capitalism and free markets as a solution to SA economic problems." However,



Botha ... accepted
De Beer's explanation



De Beer ... no knowledge
of DET dealings

that blunder may at least signify the start of a long-overdue re-examination by the MDM of its heritage of loyalty to socialism, which its East Bloc inventors can't jettison fast enough. For the record, though, the conference *did* reject privatisation and deregulation.

To view the conference in the same light as the 1955 Congress of the People, which drew up the Freedom Charter, would be stretching the comparison. Its aim was basically twofold: to assert, and achieve maximum unity around, the MDM position on negotiations as set out in the OAU document drawn up earlier this year by the ANC, UDF and Cosatu; and to expand and extend the programme of mass action to end apartheid.

The latter was done — at least on paper, with the number of *pro forma* resolutions filling a fax no fewer than 9m long. Together they promise to make 1990 a year of mass defiance campaigns against apartheid institutions, though whether this achieves the heights (let alone the results) of eastern European dissidence of recent months remains to be seen.

The conference called for a constituent assembly as its preferred forum for talks on a new constitution.

Whether more unity among organisations was achieved must be doubted. For one thing, Inkatha was absent. The organisers say everyone was invited to apply to attend and Inkatha (due to hold its own rally in Soweto this weekend) didn't. True, the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), which includes Azapo, did attend, thereby appearing to underline the rift between itself and the Africanists. The latter completely spurns the idea of negotiations, preferring, instead, the slogan: One settler, one bullet.

It remains to be seen whether those affiliates of the Africanist labour federation, Nactu, which did attend will be expelled — especially after the resignation of Nactu general secretary Phiroshaw Camay (who attended the conference) the previous week. While Black Consciousness speakers did not actually slam the door on negotiation, they seemed (to quote a Democratic Party observer at the event) to go out of their way to place obstacles in its path.

Keynote speaker Walter Sisulu, on the other hand, went out of his way to call for unity and negotiation — once certain preconditions, like the repeal of apartheid statutes and the release of political prisoners, have been met.

The BCM's Jerry Mosala delivered an address replete with quotations from Marx, Hegel and Malcolm X that must have had the two visiting Soviet academics (guests of Idasa), who were seated on the platform, cringing. Mosala railed against capitalism and imperialism, saying the choice facing Africa was "socialism or barbarism." He effectively put forward an Africanist position by emphasising the "land question" and stating that "no negotiation is possible without the transfer of power." In the end, Black Consciousness delegates withheld their en-

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Recognition of the union, originally an issue, is now also apparently history. It has applied to register — 14 months after Sats got the union to sign an agreement that it would do so, and proposed to recognise the union on a regional level on condition it had more than 40% representation.

"For some reason they don't want to follow the standard path and register like most of the Cosatu unions have done," Lubbe says. He suggests the union wants "a short-cut to recognition."

Sogoni says the union still wants Sats to grant maternity leave for the "lady comrades;" to negotiate a grievance and retrenchment procedure; and provide better safety measures.

All this at a cost of seven deaths, hundreds of injuries, R20m in lost pay, R20m-worth of torched railway coaches, the derailling of two goods trains and the indirect costs of at least three bomb blasts, one of which killed a passer-by.

Sogoni says the union is prepared to return to work immediately but Sats must agree to reinstate strikers and not use its disciplinary procedure against them. Lubbe says Sats has

already proposed arbitration — with the mutually agreed arbitrator's decision as final — but that those who used intimidation and harassment are still to be subjected to investigation.

Sats, meanwhile, says it has felt the effects of the strike but that all main lines and services are operating adequately. It adds this should be maintained over the Christmas holiday period.

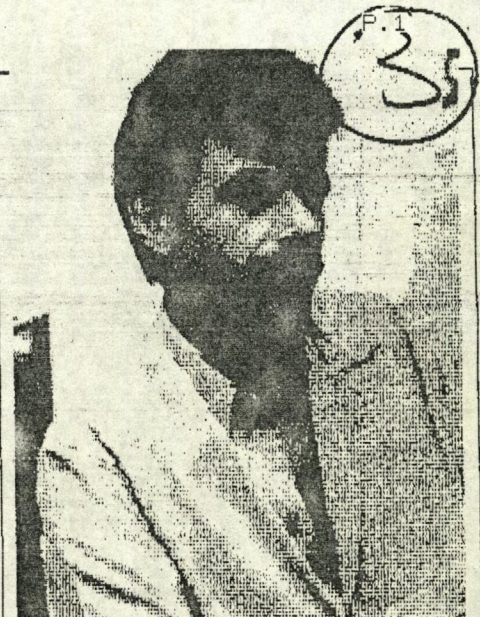
JUSTICE

De Pontes in court

Former Nat MP for East London City, Peet de Pontes, appeared briefly in court in Port Elizabeth this week on eight charges of theft, fraud, bribery and forgery and uttering.

They relate to findings of the Harms Commission into irregularities involving Italian businessman Vito Palazzolo who is now serving a prison sentence in Switzerland for drug-related offences.

The Harms Commission found that De



De Pontes ... facing charges of fraud, bribery and uttering

Pontes played a key role in Palazzolo's illegal entry into SA.

De Pontes was not asked to plead and the hearing was adjourned to February 19.

Zulu split

Ever heard of Contralesa? It's a name very familiar now in Natal's rural areas, once largely sheltered from the violence which swept through black urban townships in the mid-Eighties, but now a very different place (*Current Affairs* December 8).

For a number of years, the KwaZulu-based Inkatha movement led by Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi held sway in rural KwaZulu-Natal. With a network of traditional tribal chiefs and *indunas*, mostly loyal to the Zulu King and Inkatha, the rural areas seemed relatively stable — from the outside.

Inkatha is still the dominant force but just over two years ago the Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa) was formed — and is attracting support.

A measure of its success may be gleaned from the vitriolic verbal attacks on it and, especially, its Zulu members, by Buthelezi.

The most recent tongue-lashing came from Ulundi this week when he accused the organisation of trying to sow discord between KwaZulu and Inkatha officials. The subject of Buthelezi's anger was one of the most senior members of the Zulu royal family, Prince Mwayizeni Zulu, who joined Contralesa this year. This week Buthelezi accused him of using "ANC platforms" to further the ANC-Cosatu-UDF "vendetta" against Inkatha.

Chief Mhlabanzima Maphumulo, a tribal chief from the Maqongqo region near Maritzburg — elected president of Contralesa in June — has also been sharply rebuked.

Always something of a maverick in the strictly disciplined context of KwaZulu politics, Maphumulo was previously known as a chief who walked a tight neutral line and tried to end the violence which has plagued the Maritzburg area for so long. Since becoming Contralesa's head he has been, unofficially, stripped of his chieftainship, isolated by Ulundi and told to "go to hell" by Buthelezi.

Buthelezi has claimed, on at least two occasions, that Contralesa was formed under the guidance of the ANC to be "an ANC spear against KwaZulu's unity and against my leadership."

Not so, says Contralesa executive member Samson Ndou: "I was one of the founder members of this organisation and the ANC had nothing to do with it. Of course we have been to visit the ANC-in-exile since and know they approve of our structure, but they were not responsible for the birth of Contralesa."

According to Ndou, Contralesa had its genesis in KwaNdebele in 1985-1986 when a band of traditional chiefs and "sub-chiefs" were forced to leave the homeland. He says a number of these leaders scattered over the Transvaal, where they began to talk to UDF organisers. "There was dialogue between the displaced traditional leaders and the UDF, and we finally agreed that a structure was needed to represent chiefs and sub-chiefs outside the homelands system." Contralesa was formed in September 1987 and affiliated to the UDF, which is probably the main reason why it is not liked in Ulundi.

Soon after its formation most of Contralesa's executive was detained along with other UDF leaders, but the organisation was revived in April last year. About 500 members are claimed — all tribal chiefs or sub-chiefs. Wider support, Ndou says, is impossible to estimate.

Maphumulo is a second reason for Buthelezi's dislike of Contralesa. He is a KwaZulu chief and should be answerable only to Ulundi.

A third reason could be Contralesa's inclusion in all MDM activities, ranging from October's nationwide political rallies to the welcoming ceremonies for released ANC prisoners. Both Buthelezi and King Zwelithini have made it clear (*Current Affairs* November 24) that they and the Zulu nation have been insulted by being left out of these events.

Ndou says there is no hostility towards Buthelezi from his organisation: "I personally think he approves of the principle of Contralesa, but does not support it because it did not come from his kraal. We are sorry he sees us as a threat to Inkatha. He would be welcome to join. Contralesa is certainly not hostile to him — we hope one day he will reconsider his position."

It is perhaps ironic that an organisation born out of anti-independence feelings should get so much flak — and at the same time so much publicity — from a homeland that refuses to accept independence. But what Contralesa probably most reveals is one more example of the collapsing homeland structure.