

Gwala \_ggvktacks plan  
for leadersâ\200\231 summit:

: Own correspondenï¬\201â\200\234â\200\234e â\200\230ï¬\201ei-?c southern Natal;;f}

DURBAN â\200\224 A bid by the ANC  
in southern Natal to clear the  
way for an early meeting be-  
tween Nelson Mandela and  
Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi  
has run into trouble with the  
more militant Midlands ANC  
region. ' 7

- Midlands ANC leader Harry  
Gwala said on Wednesday  
night that a meeting between  
the two leaders could not hap-  
pen until a number of issues  
were cleared. s  
These included the precon-  
ditions set by the ANC, includ-  
ing the banning of cultural  
weapons and fencing of hos-  
tels.

Gwala said he was unsure  
whether a meeting at this  
stage would achieve anything.

â\200\234I donâ\200\231t know what that  
meeting will achieve. We are

fully behind the decision of the

president (Mandela) that thor-  
ough preparations must be  
. made before such a meeting  
~and that this time, unlike be-  
fore, we must achieve some-  
thing. We donâ\200\231t want to them  
to meet just for the sake of it.â\200\235  
He said the Midlands would  
study the southern Natal docu-  
ment before coming to a final

~ Pposition.

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Vg  
R  
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gion said on Wednesday the  
three sectors of the ANCâ\200\231in  
southern Natal â\200\224 ANC, ANC  
Womenâ\200\231s League and ANC  
Youth League â\200\224 had decided

on the programme after.gf  
e

tensive meetings with all  
ANC branches in the region. .

At a press conference in  
Durban on Wednesday, the or-  
ganisation called on the -ANC  
and IFP to â\200\234preach the right.  
to free political activity and  
an end to the militarisation of  
politicsâ\200\235.

The peace document was  
approved at the weekend: by  
representatives from the or-  
ganisationâ\200\231s 126 branches in  
Southern Natal. 3.2

Regional chairman Jeff Ra-  
debe mooted joint rallies dnd  
said local organisers of both  
groups should â\200\234creatively in-  
volve themselves and their  
supportersâ\200\235 in nurturing toler-  
ance, i 2k

The IFP said the proposglgf  
â\200\234might prove constructiveâ\200\235 -

- but it would â\200\234reserve jud -

ment until we see more -

â\200\230ble signs of the ANCâ\200\231s corm

tment to peaceâ\200\235.: v ik

IFP Natal organiser S i}  
Mfayela said it was strange  
the ANC chose'to announce-its

intentions via the media.

Letters

SAMUEL JAMILE  
Early release

SIR â\200\224 Notwithstanding the untimely

release of convicted murderer Samuel Jamile from prison, and the level of outrage it has so rightly caused, there is, on the other hand, reason to question the position of

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi in this

matter.

This has come about as a result of three diverse news reports â\200\224 and one of which clearly contradicted the others.

The first was Dr Butheleziâ\200\231s stated concern when Jamile was initially released and the fact that he claimed to be very â\200\234worriedâ\200\235 about its implications.

The second (as reported in The Daily News on May 20) reaffirmed that viewpoint when Dr Buthelezi proclaimed that the IFP had never condoned Jamileâ\200\231s criminal actions.

Yet the third (and last) â\200\224 and which was also reported in The

Daily News on May 20 â\200\224 was the

statement by Samuel Jamile himself when, in general expressing his thanks to those who assisted in his release, made special emphasis of Dr Butheleziâ\200\231s part in this regard. As the substance of these pub-

lished statements would hardly

seem to gel, and since Jamileâ\200\231s premature release from a life-time prison sentence has probably been

one of the most contentious yet allowed, it would, for the sake of clarity and veracity, be desirable to ascertain exactly where Dr Buthelezi's sentiments are spread and, as important, to establish if he was (and still is) in sympathy with Jamile or, at worst, did in fact help to obtain that criminal's release. Indeed, suspicion will always cloud this issue until he has made himself clear.

RITA EASTON

Durban

B SIR - The Natal Attorney-General opposed the release of convicted murderer and former KwaZulu Cabinet Minister Samuel Jamile. The Attorney-General, Tim McNally, SC, said he sent a senior State advocate to oppose his release.

Some of the grounds of his opposition were:

Jamile steadfastly maintained his innocence throughout the trial.

There was, therefore, no question of his having claimed to have committed a murder with a political motive.

The court did not find the motive to have been political.

Mr McNally said that the Jamile trial took a full court year to complete.

The cost of preparation and of -

the trial itself must have been enormous.

Dr Buthelezi said on TV that he applied for the release of Jamile the murderer.

In view of the statement of the Attorney-General the public would like to know from Dr Buthelezi on what grounds did he apply for the release of Jamile.

Mr Adriaan Vlok must also explain to the public on what grounds he released Jamile.

Something is terribly rotten in this state.

Samuel Jamile's release has sent

a shiver down the spine of Natalians.

Think a million times, Natalians, before you join Inkatha or Nats.

K. BADAL

Durban

MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

Where does he really stand?

NMandela in E Rand peace bid

YBI'OIIWY! I Wi-\202kâ\200\230nsoll tÂ\$4 ar{efore the East Rang, which haso  
callin laimed

) more than 70 lives

â\200\2311â\200\230he bloodshed on the East (. In last week s violence . since the violence  
ery erupted at

and continyeqd yesterday, squatters from the two an ANC alliance march\_ in

an attack on the Map. â\202& protected each other. Tokoza on May 22,

- \ dela Park Squa camp in The ANC said yesterday In another biq for peace on

- Katlehong Jjust hours before Mandela would unveij] 5 Plan the East Rand, the areaâ\200  
\231s

; the ANC announced that Nej. to end the violence when he IFP Youth Brigade deputy  
Son Mandela woylq address 4 addressed a3 rally at Tokoza chairman, Thap ni Dlamini,  
major peace .. stadium tom ~appealed for local ANC

t 514 un Yguth League officials to

At least one p was meet their IFP coyp j

burnt to death when four b â\200\234s0 that we cap work hand in

cks were set alight. The to

\* attackers algg

" ters, injuring two people

Police believe the at- S mass

e from nearby pted, familjes displa the victims of last weekâ\200\231s

Park squatter urned into widows violence

camp, Peace monitors sajq dren left without par â\200\234Let us show our respect

that if th, for the dead by allowing /

The organisation Con- them to be didgnlty

the â\200\230bloodlettingâ\200\235 on apd peace," Dlamxni

s B B

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Por

ANC's plan to smoke screen  
r\ \A«xm@ \* \A»â\200\231\l; \iâ\200\231(g M

>Ã@or impending offensive

THE ANC's programme for  
peace and political tolerance  
in Natal is a;â\200\230;lmokie,f screensl n  
for an impen offensiveâ\200\235  
by hit squads of its armed  
wing against supporters of ri-  
val organisations, the IFP has  
alleged.

Earlier this week, the ANC's  
southern Natal region called  
on Mr Nelson Mandela and Dr  
Mangosuthu Buthelezi to  
meet as soon as possible to  
put an end to the violence  
and for local and regional  
leaders of both organisations  
to work together for free po-

| the militarisation of politics.  
However, the IFP yesterday  
criticised the fact that it had  
released the proposals  
through the press without  
first consulting the IFP.  
IFP Umlazi leader Reuben  
eka said he found it strange

litical activity and an end to

Political Staff

that the plan was made a  
â\200\234media eventâ\200\235.

â\200\234This suggests a point-scor-  
ing exercise instead of an ear-  
nest endeavour to build  
peace,â\200\235 he said.

Mr Mfeka questioned how  
the ANC could present such a  
plan when it was â\200\234engaged in  
a campaign of serial assassi-  
nation of our lower-ranking  
leadershipâ\200\235.

â\200\230â\200\234â\200\234Moreover, we are con-  
vinced, on the basis of factual  
evidence, that this campaign  
against us is to be stepped up.  
Indeed, we anticipate that  
Umkhonto we Sizwe hit  
squads from Transkei and  
some already deployed in the  
region are about to embark  
on an offensive against us  
shortly,â\200\235 Mr Mfeka said.

Â® See Editorial Opinion

The Natal Mercury Th

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J o . 7H  
AFFIRMATIVE action is inherently  
discriminatory, the %residi¬\201nztig??ghÃ©;  
- Employer Confederation of Zimbab-  
Wwe, Mr Shepherd Shonhiwa, 'to

em) aunity

members of the business co

in Durban yesterday. U  
- He was addressing an NCI seminar  
- on â\200\234The Changing Face of Industrial  
\* Relations: From Conflict of Interest

Towards Community of Interestâ\200\235.  
- He said there was an urgent need

for workers to be depoliticised and

for management to encourage an  
| â\200\230â\200\234apolitical working environmentâ\200\235.  
It was imperative that white man-

t genuine affirmative ac-  
ammes now â\200\224 before a  
vernment imposed laws fore-

implem  
tion  
new goverr

â\200\230ing them to do so.

IF SOUTH Africa

â\200\230 wants to rejoin an  
international ec

onomy, which is  
eÃ©conomic strategies compatible with  
the world economy, Mr Ra'y;;'uipd  
Parsons, director-general of the  
South African Chamber of Business  
- (Sacob), said in Durban yesterday.  
. Delivering the keynote address at  
the Natal Chamber of Industries  
(NCI) seminar on labour and econo-  
ly, Mr Parsons warned that South  
Africa has no room for â\200\234grandiose  
social exp ntsâ\200\235.  
- 'If economic growth in South  
were to be raised to 3,5% per  
or to the minimum rate re-  
- quired to reduce the level of  
unemployment given the rapid pro-

agement in this country started to



SA growth rate

highly competitive, it must pursue i

ursday June 4, 1992 E R 1

-work force

. By Siza Ntshakala

Mr Shonhiwa said business corpo- -  
rations, trade organisations and em-  
ployersâ\200\231 associations should form an  
alliance to play a pro-active role in  
~ â\200\230promoting affirmative action.

: : role of top management is

. critical. Discard the fallacies of a  
~ black being a born loser who cannot  
- manage. Take the risk to effect true  
â\200\230change which may even bring a  
white backlash from those who do

. not want to report to blacks.

" â\200\234Give the appointees enough psy-  
chological and structural support to  
perform to the best of their abilities.

These will be your best allies in man-  
aging change and ensuring the sur-  
vival of the organisation they can

. identify with,â\200\235 he said. . -

â\200\230'â\200\224 investment would have to be sub-  
-stantially increased,â\200\235 he said.

. He said it would not be possible to  
achieve higher growth rates without  
significant foreign investment, ;

â\200\234Without an inflow of long term  
capital, the ceiling on South Africaâ\200\231s  
economic growth rate on the most  
favourable assumptions is likely to  
be about'2% â\200\224 far too low to meet  
the needs of our total population,â\200\235  
he said.

He pointed out

that there was po-  
tential for conflict in South Africa,  
' but suggested that one single factor  
that could contribute to stability  
was to â\200\234widen and deepen the stake

\_ spective growth of the labour force

which people have in societyâ\200\235.

Nalalregiontoclearmeway  
for an early meeting be-

Mangosuthu Buthelezi has run into trou-  
ble Wilh\_die\_â\200\230mp.rg militant Midlands  
ANC region, & va. i50 T  
Midlands ANC leader Mr Harry  
Gwala said on Wednesday night that a  
meeting between the two leaders could

not happen until a number of issues had Â°  
been cleared.

These included the preconditions set  
by the ANC, among them the banning of  
cultural weapons and fencing off of  
hostels. :

Gwala said a document from the

leader says time is

Southern. Natal region outlining itsâ\200\231  
eight-point peace programme had been  
presented to him but he needed time to  
study it. :

He chastised the region for â\200\234rushing  
into peaceâ\200\235 without thorough prepara-  
tions, adding that his region found a  
number of the points â\200\234problematicâ\200\235.

Gwalassaid he was not sure whether a  
meeting between Mandela and  
Buthelezi at this stage would achieve  
anything.

peace was sustained.

fands would study the  
Southern Natal document before takin 4  
a final position on whether it would  
support it or not. :

The ANC Southern Natal region on  
Wednesday pointed out that areport that  
the three Natal ANC regions had com-  
mitted themselves to the programme  
was incorrect. 3

By Themba Molefe'

HERE was tension at the World Trade  
Centre yesterday with negotiators wran-  
gling over a pro-

posals that elec-

tions should

in April next year.  
The parties were expected

to postpone an announce-  
ment in order to consult more

fully. . o

Speculation abounded  
that the 26-party negotiating  
council would announce the  
country's first non-racial elec-

tions for next April 29.

Indications were that the  
ANC and its allies would ta-  
ble the proposal. However,  
the Pan Africanist Congress  
and the Concerned South Af-  
ricans Group indicated they  
would oppose the date.

The PAC objected to April  
29 having been agreed on by  
the Government and ANC.

Cosag would object that the election could not be  
and regional bounda-

held before the form of State  
ries were resolved.

The IFP's National Chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose  
Centre.

Dr Frank Mdlalose

The issue of an election is a non-starter. That's a :

thing that will occur sometime next year," he said  
The meeting started with a strong presence of

armed AWB men at the entrance to the World Trade

Uniformed AWB "gener-  
als" distributed documents  
in which they threatened an

\* open war within six months  
if the negotiation process did

not address the self-determi-  
nation of the Boerevolk.

Apart from the failure to  
reach a decision on announc-  
ing the election date, the ne-  
gotiating council "g  
trated on constitutional prin-  
ciples, which sparked off

lengthy debate, with the

technical committee on constitutional issues being instructed to draft another re-

It is expected a new date for elections could be announced within two weeks.

Meanwhile, the Govern-

ment and PAC met yesterday to resolve differences

over last week's police raids on the organisation. Alexander told negotiators that the matter had

deadlocked because the Government had refused to

return seized documents and was not budging over

yesterday, said he did not think a date, could be set... the release of PAC members... v\ . oo

Chpe mES 4 dune

THE government's handling of the crisis in black education created the impression of a distressingly inept administration that was unable to take its own decisions, said

in a highly critical editorial.

It had been obvious for some time that the demands of black teachers and pupils for the creation of an education forum, the scrapping of examination fees, a moratorium on the rationalisation of teaching staff and bigger salary increases could no longer be

shelved indefinitely, said the newspaper. A decision was urgently necessary. In the end the government had been forced to give in to all the demands.

This latest example of ineptitude created the impression among the government's opponents on both the left and the right that it was nothing more than a bungling administration that yielded readily to pressure. This boded no good for the future.

Beeld was no less outspoken in warning the police that if their very serious accusa-

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Government  
distressingly  
inept, says  
Nationalist

tions against members of the PAC and Apla could not be proved, they would be discredited to such an extent that they would simply not be able to continue as the guardians of law and order.

In the final analysis, added Beeld, it was the government that must take the responsibility for the actions of its security forces.

Watching those  
Freudian slips

NO close watcher of the media could fail to observe how the emphasis has gradually shifted from Parliament in Cape Town to the negotiating council in the World Trade Centre

newspape}{ (

at Kempton Park.

One major sign was the way  
Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel,  
constitutionally responsible to Parliament,

account for his actions.

Then there were the Freudian slips by  
those more accustomed to parliamentary  
formalities than the easier style adopted by  
the negotiators. Among these slips were re-  
ferences to â\200\230â\200\234this Houseâ\200\235, â\200\230â\200\234honourable  
membersâ\200\235 and even â\200\234Mr Speakerâ\200\235.

Chief government negotiator Roelf Meyer  
told Anne-Marie Mischke of Rapport the  
fact was that the negotiations were already  
moving in the direction of a transitional  
council. As Mr Krielâ\200\231s attendance at Kemp-  
ton Park had shown, one of the functions of |  
the new council would be to keep an eye on |

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had to go to the World Trade Centre to

ministers during the pre-election period. â\200\230

â\200\2341 said | didnâ\200\231t want soaps!â\200\235  
â\200\224 By Fred Mouton of Die Burger

Sayings of  
the Week

O If you SogjnAfr'lcans make a mess of  
things, you shoul tha d  
has 5lenty of other things to do: other  
'p"rogiem:s', other vexations â\200\224 and other  
places to invest its money. â\200\224 Dr Chester  
Crocker, former US assistant secretary

| for Africa, interviewed by Die Burger  
B0 !

O If we resort to arms, it will result in a  
great catastrophe. Let us avoid that. â\200\224  
General Constand Viljoen, chairman of  
J the Afrikaner-Volksfront.

ooag

O One of the criticisms of the action  
against PAC leaders is that no action is  
taken against Wit Wolf Barend Strydom,  
who utters death threats left, right and  
Eentc11'e Why not? â\200\224 Beeld columnst :  
00 â\200\230

S E TR B RWN e



NEGOTIATIONS for a new democratic order in South Africa have - reached the point of no return. At least this is what the negotiators - Representing 26 parties at the World Trade Centre ensured this week, albeit unconsciously or involuntarily. : ~ Basically, several factors indicate that indeed ' the solution to the country's political crisis will be reached at Kempton Park or a similar venue eventually. : The Al except a few participants agree the date for the country's first nonracial elections must .

be announced as a matter of urgency. An announcement was thus awaited from the World Trade Centre yesterday. : : ~ And, contrary to expectations, the Multiparty Negotiating Process, as it is called while an agreeable name is being sought, is still on course despite last week's infamous police swoop on \* the leadership of the Pan Africanist Congress (a. -major negotiating partner). ~

Also, compromise from across the left to the - right prevailed when the majority of the parties |

on Tuesday agreed to negotiate a proposal for a two-phased transitional process and an elected constitution-making body bound by certain. - principles.

'On the PAC raid debacle, Benny Alexander, secretary-general of the PAC, said pulling out of the process would be playing into the hands of the Government (and its notorious Military

Intelligence) which wants us out. . And in spite of their seemingly irreconcilable differences, the two parties continue to meet bilaterally until they reach agreement on the instructions of the negotiating council.

The PAC refuses to abandon the bullet before the ballot and the Government says you cannot simultaneously shoot and negotiate.

While these two parties strive agonisingly to reach agreement, negotiations on substantive issues move forward. :

- Who are the major players?

- \_'What are the issues at the negotiating table?

- What do the players want from the process which has replaced the Convention for a Democratic South Africa depending, of course, on which side you are.



@ The major players are: the National Party-South African Government, ANC-South Afri-

\* can Communist Party alliance, Inkatha Freedom Party-KwaZulu government (the NP and Government are separate delegations as are the - ANC and SACP and IFP and KwaZulu); PAC, - 3n '~ < & - Eig!â\200\230"l i~\201â\200\230"â\200\231! ! Râ\200\234l!â\200\230w â\200\230 -

## PLENARY

Themba Molefe, Sowetan Political Reporter, takes a look at the talks in Kempton Park, the topics at the heart of negotiations and what major players expect agreement  
) S -

Composed of leaders of parties + 9 delegates per party [ eg Mandela and De Klerk |

to the Concerned South African Group which is opposed to bilateral decision-taking of FW de Klerk and Nelson Mandela on issues they say are meant for the multiparty table.

The ANC enjoys â\200\234strongâ\200\235 allied support of several homelands and parties around the table such as the Transkei government, the Labour Party as well as the Transvaal Indian Congress and Natal Indian Congress. i

## Human Rights

@ Seventopic sareatthe heart of negotiaâ\200\230tibns:

Constitutional matters; violence; fundamental

human rights in transition; transitional executive council-transitional authority; independent media commission and independent telecom-

munications authority; independent electoral

commission; and amendment or repeal of dis- -  
- criminatory laws. . . . e Ll  
- Other constitutional matters are the form of \*. =

outside the MNP have been appointed. Consisting of between three and nine members each they produce reports for consideration by parties to speed up agreement.

These are the fundamental issues major players expect agreement on at the negotiating table:

NP-Government: Power-sharing. Strong regional government to forego unitary state. Free market system and multiparty democracy.

ANC and allies: Multiparty democracy. Limited interim government of national unity. Equal

~ vote. Bill of Rights. Proportional representation.

PAC: Elected constituent assembly to draw new constitution. Multiparty democracy. Bill of Rights. Proportional representation. International intervention. :

'DP: Democratic election. and constitution.

Proportional representation. Regionalism-fed:

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M HAVE fcit recently that there was  
oot a great deal else in this country .. : ;  
which copld shock nre, which.could Â£ .  
hands and despair for this country. 1 ; Â£  
-Was wrong-â\200\224WhenJHeamed that the

make me want 10 hold my. bead in my

Indemnity Board had decided to  
release former kwaZulu cabinel minis-

sentence for murder, [ experienced a

prieo 10 his conviction for murdez. He  
is the most senior political person in

murder, and he is deeply looted in the  
Inkatha Freedom Party. In his own

from polilics, and he is adamant that he

of this province is spine~chilling,  
Why was he released, having been

temolely: political? Why was he  
released when the applicalion for his  
refease was not accompanied by a  
statement admitting that he had com-  
mitted his crimes for political

2ty

ter Samuel Jamile from prison after.  
serving less than two years of bis life -

profound sense of disbelief and shock. .

This manâ\200\231s sinistez, dangerous and -  
powerful presence dominated commu-

words, he is presenily on a â\200\234holidayâ\200\235.-

will soon be back. The notion of a con- -+  
vicied murderer negotiating the future -

convicled of crimes which were not \*

- THE WEEKLY MAIL, 04 - 10 JUNE 199

M A e R L L I )

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to succeed in putting a docket togeth- -

â\200\234e17 What does il say to the supreme

court prosecutor, who speat more time  
prosecuting the case than Jamile spent  
in jail and what does il say to the inde-  
pendence and authority of the judicia-  
ly as an arm of government? What

" does il say to the attorney general of

Natal, who 'was so opposed to Jamile's ..  
release that he sent a senior advocate  
up to Pretoria to the indemnity Board  
to argue against Jamile's release, in the

. interests of public order and safety? -

But, more importantly, what does it

propose - say to the thousands of South Africans,  
| 's? Why did Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Inkatha negotiator .

at the multi-party talks Frank

BN ST ST e L 1

R â\200\231

;Mdladlani. put pressure on the state to  
â\200\230birelease? 7 U iia  
i 'What does this say to the  
community life in Clermont for many years? }m&mnml'â\201mm%  
- had obstacles put in their way by the

this country to have been jailed for - by police, but who still managed

.  
"o

hat'â\202aw'â\202what'â\201rd'â\200\230if â\200\230  
is released?

who have suffered at the hands of dan-  
gerous and violent men like Jamile,

\_people who are admonished by the

state to abide by the law and to accept

: the law's validity and fairness, people  
who face the full force of the law. if -

they marginally breach its rules?. | -

To them, it contemptuously says

that there is no rule of law in South

Africa, that the law is a thing to be .

manipulated to win friends with, and -  
that the dividing line between crimi- -  
â\200\234nality and political expedience is dis-

appearing. â\200\224 Richard Lyster, Legal  
Resources Centre, Durban !

"M oA - -

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-~ THE WEEKLY MAIL, 04 - 10J ; E 199

TSRO e,

TSR S

EACE has dawned on the tolling â\200\230s

brown hills of rural kwaXimba,

between Durban and

.Pietermaritzburg, and

1 000-strong crowd is celebrating the launch

of a R10-million water project in an areg once  
racked by sectarian strife.

After the traditional dancing and gospel  
singing, the local traditional leader, Zibuse  
Mlaba, addresses his subjects from a  
makeshift podium on a piece of Jand where  
African National Congress and Inkatha  
Freedom Party supporters waged fierce bat-  
tles in 1990, leaving scores of people dead.  
â\200\234We have not come to mourn, but to cele-

â\200\230brate. We have not come to protest, but to see - :

things happen.â\200\235 .

~ With his headmen, Mlata has held negoti-  
ations over the past few years with the  
Umgeni Water Board, the Port  
Natal/Ebhodwe Joint Services Board (JSB),  
Tetkom and the Independent Development  
Trust (IDT), with an eye to the development  
of kwaXimba. ; .

The results have been remarkable: apart  
from the water scheme, other projects under  
way include an electrification scheme â\200\224  
Eskom has alrÃ¢ady provided 6 000 homes  
with electricity; a sanitation project, to be  
financed by the JSB to the tune of Ri-mil-

lion; the extension of the health clinic with.

the help of IDT funding: and the installation  
of telephone lines â\200\224 Telkom has already  
installed 3 000 telephones in the communi-  
tyâ\200\231s homes. ' : :

The 33-year-old chiefâ\200\231s achievements are  
even more extraordinary considering that he  
has received no help from Ulundi.

He is an ANC supporter â\200\224 in fact, the only .

traditional leader serving on the regional

.executive committee of the ANC in the Natal  
Midlands. â\200\234Not having a relationship with  
Ulundi has been good for us. It has taught us

self-reliance,â\200\235 he says. -

During the 1990 violence, Inkatha support- -

- ets from nearby kwaNyavu â\200\224 allegedly with

\_the assistance of the South African Police =~

tried to force Mlaba out of the area.

\* The reason is clear: with a signed-up membership of 5 653, the ANCâ\200\231s kwaXimba

branch is the second largest in the Midlands. -

Despite his ANC links, Mlaba tries to practise tolerance: â\200\234We do not discourage anyone from joining Inkatha, but people here prefer the ANC. The South African Communist Party also launched a branch in kwaXimba about a month ago and has a signed-up membership of 300.â\200\235

Significantly, the youth â\200\224 often portrayed as opposed to the tribal system â\200\224â\200\224

.idolise Mlaba. Says ANC Youth League .

- organiser Jetro Msomi: â\200\234He is my political .

leader and my tribal chief. I fear him and I

. respect him. It comes automatically.â\200\235 .  
\* Mlaba has laid down strict guidelines for the ANC in the area: either he or his headmen must approve the agenda and resolutions adopted at meetings...â\200\202cu&NGmhr'zot raise

LordgM .ty o

4

funds from door to door in the district.

â\200\234Elders object to the youth collecting money. There are bad elements among them. It is only the induna (headmen) who can do that,â\200\235 Mlaba explains. =5

He believes he commands more respect

among his subjects than pro-Inkatha chiefs

do among theirs. â\200\234Their position has been undermined. An Inkatha leader will come to

. an area and call a political meeting without

the permission of the local chief. Such things

-never happen in kwaXimba.â\200\235 - - .

He has set out to woo Inkatha members in

kwaNyavu, some of whom attended the celebrations held last Sunday. â\200\234The past is for-

gotten. We want to live in peace with the people of kwaNyavuy,â\200\235 besays. - ~ v o -

As the ANC attempts to win over traditional leaders in Natal, Mlaba has become an essential cog in the organisation: 8 chief who

is proving to his Inkatha counterparts that-

they can survive â\200\224 and, more importantly, succeed â\200\224 without Ulundiâ\200\231s backing, - "

He spends much of his time visiting fellow chiefs, urging them to throw their weight behind the ANC-aligned Congress of

.Traditional Leaders of South Africa

(Contrslsa). o o SN IR R e

â\200\234â\200\230And he believes he is winning: â\200\234The homeland system is collapsing. The chiefs are realising that their future lies with the ANC, not with (Inkatha president). Mangosuthu Buthelezi,, who is using Zuluness and the; chieftainship for his own interest i 120

He points out that 23 chiefs, most of them

arrs

# afraid.â\200\235 :  
Â¥

% 'chiefs in the area.

031 expected to do. Killing

B A T 2 ) 5 e o

aligned to Inkatha, had agreed to meet ANC president Nelson Mandela in the Natal

. Midiands last weekend, and that the talks

were only called off because Buthelezi had ordered the chiefs to Ulundi. â\200\234It would have been the biggest meeting between the chiefs and Mandela in this regiort. It (Butheleziâ\200\231s summons to the chiefs) is a sign that he is

Mlaba belicves Buthelezi is increasingly

3 antagonising traditional leaders, and that they

are slowly beginning to stand up to him. He cites the unprecedented case involving 14

Â© headmen from Babanango, in the Nquthu 5 district in kwaZuluâ\200\230, who took the Inkatha \*t leader 1 the Durban Supreme Court in 2 bid

to prevent him from installing three foreign



In his recent budget speech, kwaZulu min-

. ister of justice CJ Mthethwa disclosed that

only one tribal court was functioning in the  
homeland. â\200\234They are are admitting that their  
system is collapsing. Chiefs are rejecting the  
bantustan,â\200\235 comments Mlaba. - -~

. The director of the Centre for Adult  
Education at the University of Natal, John  
Aitchison, believes the problem goes deeper.

o â\200\234In spite of all the fuss around traditionalism,

â\200\230tribal structures are bot working,â\200\235 he says.

â\200\234Mthethwa was unwijttingly giving away the  
- fact that real allegiance to the traditionat past - 1

is, in fact, nonsense. It wonâ\200\231t stand up to the  
- changes in South

. tially 3 modern political party, will capitalise  
onthisinanelectionâ\200\235. .. =~ o L  
with Buthelezi, Miaba  
will Zwelithini: â\200\234|

While he is at od  
respects Zulu King â\202~

&  
L 4

ica. The ANC, essen- |

recognise the king as my superior by tradition

and custom. | respect him. He is in a tight cor-  
ner becatse of resourc  
of which happens through Buthelez.â\200\235

~ ln the multi-party negotiating forum, tra-  
ditional leaders from across the country,  
including those aligned to Ulundi, are repre-  
sented. But chiefs aligned to Contralesa in  
Natal are not represented. ~ Â©

â\200\234We have made submissions to the negoti-

- and housing â\200\224 all

ating council. We believe we can make a |

â\200\230contribution,â\200\235 says

says: â\200\234There should be a house in parliameat  
for chiefs. They should have observer status,

but should be consu!

ing them.â\200\235 .

+..2 - Mlaba is following in the footsteps of two  
of his heroes: his brother and predecessor,

|  
Msinga Mlaba; and the former president of  
Contralesa, Mhlabunzima Maphumulo.

- Both were ANC sympathisers, and both  
:"were assassinated by nmer  
" Msinga Mlaba in 19

1â\200\2351' i e 7  
. Ishe

8 and Maphumulo in

- -

; afraid of death'  
\_ anything,â\200\235 Mlaba repl  
Âç of the people, and.4

? â\200\234Fear doesnâ\200\231t solve

impdoing;what ba  
me would only wors-  
en the situation.â\200\235 B T

o4 - R

MlabÃ©, who is Contra- :  
" Jesaâ\200\231sNataalsecretary, - ..o, v  
- "On the future role of traditional leaders, he

O matters concern- j

-~

unknown gunmen â\200\224â\200\224 .

jes. 2. am gply a slave ~

-  
â\200\235

â\202~1:01 â\202~6, 20 HNL

.

.

- THE WEEKLY MALL, 04 - 10 JUNE 199:

ST:81 â\202¬6, 40 NOL .  
11Â°d

ANDERBILPARK police-  
! men assaulted a key state witness in the Boipatong massacre

trial and pushed a gun into his

mouth to force him to implicate fellow hostel dwellers in the massacre, according to a statement by his brother, read out this week in the Deimos Circuit Court.

. - The state witness, who may not be named, has denied the alleged assault, But he admitted earlier this week that some of the accused in the trial had been beaten by the police. - }

\* His brother's statement was to have been a centrepiece of the defence case in the trial of 32 inmates of the kwa-Madala hostel, facing murder and attempted murder charges in relation to the massacre. - st But the statement was not admitted as evidence by the judge because, in a bizarre twist in the case, the court was

Unlawfully destroyed &

.

I effectively destroyed vital

L)

evidence in the Boipatong

" . massacre trial,

JACQUIE GOLDING reports

. brother had been murdered by -'unknown gunmen last week. This

means that his statement cannot be

. verified in court, 3

\* :Nonetheless, extracts from the statement are being used by the defence

to testify for the prosecution.

The witness, a former kwa-Madala-

inmate, has given startling evidence

implicating fellow hostel dwellers.

\*\* the killing of 45 Boipatong residents  
- on the night of June 17 last year. -+

informed on Wednesday that L'he,

;. attorneys to â\200\234testâ\200\235 the state witness, i  
% anattemptio prove that he did notvol- : s S  
' tothe doctorand [ wasleftbehind,â\200\235he  
said. â\200\234I remember transiati gforone : .  
.of the accused. He was b ten,  
up and his lip was broken. It was this  
man who was assaulted, oot me.â\200\235,. .

ZÂ¥.id

.Ness is said to have feared ia certain .

â\200\230his decision to testify for the sta  
.tong was awful and I canâ\200\231t |

He has also implicated senior . i

Inkatha Freedom Party members as =~  
having told hostel dwellers immedi- .  
ately after the massacre t bum their

.bloodied clothes and loo: goods. ;.  
' The defence team argues that he Â¢t  
Was forced to make a false statement .  
at the Vanderbijipark police station  
this that -  
prompted him to turn state witness, - 3  
& rather than standing trial. |- - .. B o  
. Though the witness v hemently  
denied this, he conceded thy

v

after being beaten. It w

the accused had been :

police. = .

â\200\230. â\200\234Those that were beaten wers ke

tsomeof -  
ultedand .~ -  
forced t6 make Statements to the .

y beates.

In his brotherâ\200\231s statemen the wit-

Colonel Griel, who was in harge of -

the interrogation of the a d. He

allegedly told his brother that Griel. .  
had threatened to feedâ\200\2311 bimto .

- African National Congress supporters, -  
who would â\200\234necklaceâ\200\235 bim jf he did roreeece  
knew about Â© -

not reveal everything he k  
the massacre.

The witness admitted know'ing"".â\200\231 .  
saying"-..  
tewas . .

Griel but denied fearing hi  
voluntary. â\200\234What bappened at Boipa- "  
chaims.of coercion. ..\ -

E6. 20

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97 :27

magine -  
-how Fwouldâ\200\231ve felt if one of my chil-  
dren was one of the victims of the .-  
massacte,â\200\235 he said in dismissing the -.;

HNOL .

SAP raid aimed at jI

Crime Reporter

Police confiscated weapons and arrested two people early today in a big anti-crime operation in Tokoza and the Bhola Park squatter camp, on the East Rand, Police swooped on Tokoza hostels 1, 2 and 3 where

last month's bloodbath occurred.

During a residents' march to the Alberton police

station and arrested two hostel-dwellers.

SAP spokesman Colonel Ray Harrauld said police confiscated a Makarov pistol, AK-47 rifle, a shotgun, a .22 revolver and a .22 Luger from the hostels. The crime prevention operation was aimed at ridding the East Rand townships of unlicensed firearms,

Hundreds of security force

members surrounded Phola Park at about 3am before searching shacks. Police confiscated two home-made

pistols, a teargas grenade,

two flashbangs, a .22 pistol and an AK-47. Five illegal immigrants were arrested for

possessing dagga,

Tensions ran high for a while when residents tried to

go to work. They were not allowed to leave, and police

legal guns

gave out letters to their employers stating the reason for their being late. Some residents com-

plained that men claiming to be plainclothes policemen had stolen money and ransacked their shacks. At 10

Yesterday, two people were killed in Mandela Park, Katlehong, when 3 squatters from neighbouring Holorisa

Park attacked them. 2

@



Crisis talkg between -Govt,--,;PAC\.,tq Continue -

By Eather Waagh - Dawle de Vililers, on behalt of .. Government had no Other op. - teturn c  
onfiscated documents - \

Politicat Correspondent -~ the Government, asked that 4 .- tion bist Â¢o request the Negoti  
at. - - 1 He accused the Government |

s "< moltion be tabjeg calling on the: " jng Council tg urge the PAC Â¢, of â\200\234deceit  
â\200\235 agq read out g.joinÂ¢

Crisls talks between the PAC - pao t6 abandon o Suspend it abandon the armed struggle or .  
Statement drafteqd der, -

-anduthe %o:ern;;a&e:rt are set (o . . â\200\234policy of bolitical violenceÂ®, - - 2o plac  
e 3 mo

continue but g

, o \_ raterfum on." " \In terms of this statement,  
SO taoke . apas Opposition from pApc: .armed activitles, - th  
tween the two parties Jast Secretary.generat Ben :

i ed a

e ay. Alex.- At a separegte conference, Mutual cessation of hostiilties X  
night at the Negotiating Fonm.1 ~ ander, f wag dectded that (pe AlÃxander accused the Goye  
ry. by June 1Â\$ and the returp of \

After two meelings yester. - Feport-back would only take ment of non-compliance'with an doc  
timents within 48 hours \i

day, they were expected to be Place af the next meeting of the earlier resojutio )

ready to report back to the Ve council in 10 dags, = .

otiating Council,

. Â¢ll, which ca)leq on the Goyery. deernmen( of kllling a PACH  
i . At a press conference affer " ment to immediatly charge or . member in detention = -  
" Nationa} Party negotiator Dr 4pe Meeting, De Villiers sa[d the . Felease PAC (detaInees a  
ng te The Goverpment denied this, A

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auf

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7 i

| " R K

By Chris Whitfield  
and Esther Waugh

try| have been given fresh  
ihg | proposals from a nego-

>~ The committee proposed: -  
@  
- | peace force or youth corps,  
: .gihi sources sald could effec-  
- | tively replace national service.  
@A recommenda-  
.\$ion on armed forces that could  
sharply reduce 2 main source of

the IFP and, -  
Â© Ways to beef  
A â\200\230accord.

.. The technical committee on  
- viol 8 report was hailed by

u;ithe National

-the Gp  
10 consult on some issues.

.., IFR pegotiator Walter Fel-  
,\_..â\200\230Â\$ate said the report contained  
# ging bout 2 reduction of hosti-  
litiesâ\200\235| and paid tribute to the  
ANCâ\200\231s input to the committee.

: MoLements to address the  
â\200\234violence sweeping the coun-

â\200\230momentum with far-reach- -

flations technical commit-  
.& & ;

creation of a national

32nsion between the ANC ard ..

b 'w  
-both the TFP and the ANC, bat .  
" debate â\200\230on it was curtailed when -  
vernment said.it.wanted-

w}ote host of activities to -

Ramaphosa described it as an

.. â\200\234historic documentâ\200\235  
" The report, tabled yesterday, -

suggests that the independent  
multiparty peacekeeping force  
-should be established before the  
â\200\230run-up to elections. - ;  
Sources said this could turn  
into one of the countryâ\200\231s major  
post-apartheid projects and

eventually become a new form:

of national service. The com-  
mittee said there was an â\200\234ur.  
gent need to constructively  
channel the energies and anger  
of the youthâ\200\235 = . .

The committee proposed tï¬\201at :

all parties submit views on the  
desirability of a peace corps.  
The compromise \_ proposal  
.makes a distinction on the hand-  
- ling of â\200\234statutory and non-stat.  
utory armies. on the one hand  
and police forces on the otherâ\200\235,  
hich would effectively end  
\_calls for-Umkhonto-we Sizwe  
~and the KwaZulu Police (KZP)  
~to be disbanded. ~  
The report suggests a multi-  
party agency should formulate  
policy and oversee all armed  
formations, but this agency  
would be required to handle the  
.armies and police forces se-  
parately. ;

g

. peated breaches,  
@ Prohibiting those guilty of -

Proposals to help  
urb violence in SA

ANC secretary-general Cyril

Another lmplication appears  
to.be a recognition that the KZP  
will form the basis for a future  
Natal/KwaZulu force and that  
MK will not be disbanded be-  
fore it becomes part of SADF.

A major thrust of the report  
is a call for the strengthening of  
the Peace Accord.

Proposals for sanctions  
against -parties trans ing  
the Accordâ\200\231s Code of Conduct  
and put before the committee

- include: o

Â® Ordering the organisation to publicly repudiate the breach.

\* @ Ordering the organisation to apologise to those affected by the breach, ,

Â® Ordering the organisation to

==suspend those guilty of a breach

for a specified period of time,

Â® Ordering an organisation to expel those responsible for re-

" â\200\234breaches â\200\234from appearing on ~--public platforms of theirorgan-isation for a specified time, .

The committee recommend-

- ed that â\200\234appropriate compulsory sanctionsâ\200\235 should be developed by the committee for dealing ~ with organisations which transgress the Code of Conduet, " - :

for electi

\_ IFPand

By Chris Whitfield  
and Esther Waugh

South Africa has a tenta-  
tive date for its first dem-  
ocratic elections â\200\224 April  
271994, : i

But negotiators are still  
some way from agreeing  
that the nation will go to the  
poils on that day. -

A dramatic 2%-hour â\200\230de-  
bate on the issue in the  
Negotiating - Council last  
night ended with the majori-  
ty acceptance of a compro-  
mise resolution. It said the  
council would discuss the

:CP not

cbut 17  
give nod

. ernmeat, the  
" other parties

N  
rnebple" could fot go along

definitely with a-process  
that contlnuanir  
sitions it cou  
with. ; :  
" In sharp contrast, the Gov- |  
NC and 1Â\$  
ere upbeat  
about the pro Constitu-  
tional Development Minister  
Roelf Meyer said it had been  
a long struggle but thought  
â\200\234the resolution is enough  
progress for nowâ\200\231â\200\231. -

IFP negotiator Walter  
Felgate, who rdserved his

position because |he di1 not  
have a mandate to accept a

adopted po-  
pot agree

specific date, said the end of -~ =

April target date should not . .

issue on June 13 and r -  
l s have been adjus

mend to the negotiating

â\200\234â\200\234~ After extended debate and :  
~~objections from most dele-"~ â\200\234The IFP bad & objection =~

forum meeting on-June 25  
that the date .of an election  
should be April 27 next year.

However, the resolution  
left the final decision to the

Negotiating Council meeting.

â\200\234with a view to maximise  
consensusâ\200\235. .

And it left room for an  
even earlier date if a final  
settlement in talks allowed

for it  
SA Communist Party

chairman Joe Slovo bad ta-  
bled a resolution calling for  
the fizing of the April 27  
date after fierce debate on  
â\200\230whether it should even compe  
{ beforethecoupcil. = .,  
He arguveqâ\200\231 that sufficient

progress bad .been made in.

talks to warrant the setting

"of a date. He alsg warned of  
growing expectations across  
the country and â\200\234unpredict-  
able consequencesâ\200\235 if setting  
a date was delayed. '

T ot Â¥

gates of the Concerned South  
Africans Group (Cosag), ANC  
secretary-general Cyril Ra-  
maphosa proposed the com-  
promise,

Most Cosag members con-  
tinued to express opposition  
and Bophuthatswana govern-  
raent negotiator Rowan  
Cronje explained later that  
while he had no oâ\200\230fpos\_itit:u to  
determining tbe date, he felt  
several fundamental issues

\* should be resolved first. - -

- The KwaZulu government  
flatly rejected the resolution  
\* due to what it called â\200\234manip-

-~wlation of the Processâ\200\235â\200\231 y xy. u-i

The Conservative Party .

.-reserved its position and  
must now be perilously close  
to walking out. -

CP negotiator Fanie  
Jacobs. told The Star he  
would have to report back to  
the party leadership, but

warned that "the\_Afnkaner :

"

â\200\230debateon-a technical com--

> tinued at the gext ; ;  
- Other issues not addressed

to any election date, but felt  
this should be set only once  
â\200\234we can properly do so and  
be sure it is attainableâ\200\235.

Both the Deï\201uocratic  
Party and the PAC suggest-  
ed March 31 as their prefer-  
ence but did not get any-  
other support.

They felt important issues  
had been deliberately skip-

â\200\230ped in an attempt to set-

tle an election date. Earlier  
debate op constitutional  
priociples that would be en-  
trenched in a future constitu- :  
tion had been cut short, and :

mitteeâ\200\231report on|violence -  
would also have to be con-  
eeting. -

were the independent media |  
o {on and independent  
electoral commissidn, -

oneuuu-,rrge;, Bl

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H

UK paper sees decision as being politically expedient -â\200\224~ and a threat to SA

Mandelaâ\200\231s sentence â\200\230an ill omenâ\200\231

tutional negotiations and the au- lonely guardians of those tradi- weaken the spine of thes  
e lesser

thority of the AN tions were an embattled press, the guardians of liberty.

the Appellate Division of the Su- leadership, the newspaper Â«t universities and, on occasi  
ons, the â\200\234The maia custodian of freedom

preme Couct i8 â\200\234an il omen for is to be hoped that those f iudiclary." : o remains  
the judiciary â\200\224 and its

South Africaâ\200\235, said The Times of mot similarly exercise the couutt. Although the low  
er courls were role will be even more important

London yesterday in 2 leading wif they did, then 2 much capable of notorious judgments, und  
er a new constitution in which

ticle headlined Â«Expediency Â©OF g should occupy those - the Appellateâ\200\231 Division h  
ad of reedom of the individual will .

Justiceâ\200\235. : 5 bout South Africaâ\200\231s proved itself â\200\230stubbornly jmmouce  
be e arded by 2

Almost all national news aâ\200\230gers : the cule of to political contagion. But'it flow -  
Â\$ of Rights. Chief

in Britain carry reports of. Wed- political expediency whic 50 geemed that â\200\234with a  
few â\200\230honour- g to dissent

pesdayâ\200\231s sentence. with most de- stained its past will similarly cor- able excepti  
ons, the pressâ\200\231and the cution by

scribing lt as soft and 2 political rupt its futuce. universities, which stood dp so va- b  
ty

declsion. . liantly to the illiberal attentions

But The Times, ;:-â\200\230: â\200\234czï~\202:auc:llâ\200\230lz ditions have long been tra  
ditions ot Lo Nationalist, Â£

â\200\234he crime of of style rather than gubstance. yigilance rless Vi

ing more thag : f re â\200\234[f a climate of tolerance'is o

a slap on the wristâ\200\235. grow In the new South Afcica,

Reterring 0 widespread fears t their coatinued rigour is

. among politicians that a tough i

sentence for the estranged wite of ) ;

ANC leader Nelson Mandela could â\200\234puring the dark years of

lead to riots and endanger consti- apartheid, however, the often

â\200\234gouth Africaâ\200\231s democraliÃ© tra-

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THE STAR, FRIDAY 04 JUNE 1993

SA's rulers face an uphill battle to the nonracial elect

Warning lights flash for Na's

For less than a year to go before South Africa's first nonracial election,

warning lights are flashing

ling ominously for President F W de Klerk's ruling National Party.

According to a recent poll conducted

by Research Surveys, support

for the NP in the 5 million-

straw white community is at its lowest ebb ever. The survey of 800 white women and 500 white men in the main urban areas shows that hardly more than 25 percent of whites will vote for the NP.

The findings point to an atypical

drop in white support for the NP since last October, when it

was a relatively low 40 percent,

In the intervening months, many disillusioned male NP supporters have switched allegiance to the right-wing Conservative Party, to give it a slight edge over the NP. Disgruntled female NP supporters have been more circumspect, joining the growing number of undecided voters.

It is, of course, easy to dismiss these findings as either inaccurate or temporary. They are, however, reflected in more than one poll

A Markinor survey shows that De Klerk's rating in the white

community is the lowest of any

Yunus for president for the last

years. Lawrence Schlemmer, of

the Human Science Research.

Council, reports that his researchers are picking up similar, negative indications for De Klerk and the NP.

But it is important to note that

the findings confirm a longer trend of steadily declining support for the NP in the white community, dating back to the 1977 general election â\200\224 a highwater mark for the NP.

The NP's decline is chmln:lcd in lts dwindling percentage of the white vote in general elections from Prime Minister BJ Vorsterâ\200\231s November 1977 victory onwards: 1977 â\200\224 66 percent; 1961 â\200\224 58 percent; 1987 â\200\224 45 percent; 1989 â\200\224 48 percent. .

Seen in broader context, the surge of support for the NP after last yearâ\200\231s pro-reform referendum vote is an interruption, not a reversal, of its long-term decline â\200\224 a slump that has been confirmed in a string of by-election results since De Klerk came to power in September 1989.

Another recent development is distinctly inauspicious for the NP:

In the previous elections it has been able to rely on State television and radio to put its case but, with the selection of a new independent board for the South African Broadcasting Corporation, the

. NP has lost a powerful auxiliary to its propaganda machine.

While there is debate about the extent to which De Klerk â\200\234 mediatedâ\200\235 (in the selection of the new board by a panel of jurists, there is no doubt that the new board will not allow the SABC to become an adjunct to the NP in the pending elections.

There is another factor which will certainly not help the NP. Only a small proportion of its essential MPs are likely to make it

back to Parliament in the upcoming national elections.

The incentive for them to remain loyal is greatly diminished. Already NP MPs are starting to look around for an alternative way back to Parliament.

In retrospect, a remark by Henk Bekker, the NP parliamentarian who defected to Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party, seems to be

prescient.

A white-led party like the NP  
has very little chance of stopping

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SR

the African National Congress

juggernaut In an election| where  
black voters will account for

17 million of the estimated 22 mil-

lion voters, Bekker reckons,

A black-led party, meaning the  
IFP, will have to fulfil that task,  
he concludes.

The thinking of Bekker and his  
co-defector, Jurie Mentz, may be  
influenced by a more cynical cal-  
culation as well. They are likely to  
be placed fairly high up on the  
(FP list of candidates and will  
have a better chance of being re-  
turned.

Part of De Klerk's problem, with  
the white community, is that  
he is now 'perceived as an appeaser  
of Nelson Mandela's ANC rather than  
a bulwark against it. The Record of  
Understanding, which he signed with  
Mandela in September 26 last year,  
is partly to blame because it created the  
impression that De Klerk had lost  
the initiative to the ANC. ' | |

A major factor in the decline of  
the NP has been De Klerk's inability  
to stop the violence, which in-  
creasingly impacts on the lives of  
whites. Instead of being a plague  
confined to the black townships.

Figures quoted by the Institute

of Race Relations show that the  
level of political violence rose last  
year despite the signing of the  
Peace Accord in September 1991:  
the daily average death toll rose  
from seven in 1991 to eight in  
1992,

A similar increase of criminal

violence is reflected. The number.

of murders in South Africa, excluded the 10 black homelands, 235 rose from just under 14700 in 1991 to 20 135 in 1992,

As Ken Amdrew of the Democratic Party has pointed out, the combined effect has been to destroy the NP's image as a protector and patron of its white sup-

3, who increasingly are looking for an alternative defence in the current turbulence.

The right wing has been a major beneficiary so far, as is manifest in the formation of the Afrikaner Volksfront under the leadership of retired security force generals.

The generals as a whole, and General Constand Viljoen in particular, project the strong-tan image that De Klerk has lost.

Some observers think the IFP may gain increased white support. The Research Surveys poll does -

on reports Patrick Laurence is

not reflect a current surge for the IFP but its leader, Mangosuthu Buthe, 13 a slim man and mass defections from the NP to the IFP cannot be ruled out in the months ahead.

The NP's decline in the white

community has serious repercussions for its hopes of garnering

major backing among South African

coloured and Indian

people. . .  
the NP's preference for the NP has

been largely premised on the belief that it will protect them against the threat of black domination. The NP, however, looks

- increasingly bewildered and con-

Apparently unable to win significant black support, it no longer even dares face its white detractors the Ciskei Vacancies Act Parliament. Act was convenient! passed to avoid by-elections the 1994 alone a rampant ANC..

Without the support of a clear  
majority of whites, the NP's hopes

of winning a third of the vote in  
next year's scheduled non-racial

election are remote. Short of a  
major reversal in fortunes, it will  
be unlikely to win a  
vote. i

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JAY 04 JUNE 1993

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| The National Peace Secre- :  
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gent ) <ol ) Nattonal Peace Accord. | disch r broad mag.  
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Â«dangeroyS Situations and need- Natal-Kwazyl, - â\200\230Regional tions Observer Mission h  
ead | asgjst  
| Â«d insurance, Peace Committee chairman Angela King told the Mmecting. - place,â\200\235

Accountabili

iIs Cosatuâ\200\231s a

â\202-osatu, seeking to ensure that the next government will respond to its soclo-economlic proposals, Is lanning a new drlve that could be to reconstruction n the "90s what the United Democratic Front was to resistance In the '80s. Labour Correspondent PAUL BELL Interviewed general secretary Jay Naidoo.

HE Congress of South African Trade Unions, concerned that the progress of polltical change remains too slow, is mooting the establishment of a major new civil soclety forum that =would set a broad agenda for the next government and hold !t dccountable for delivery.

The forum, which Cosatu generalsl secretary Jay Naidoo alternatively describes ag â\200\234a bread soclal movernentâ\200\235 and â\200\2343 mass movement for peace and demecracyâ\200\235, would include representatives of labour, the civic mevement, business, the churches, edueational [nstitu. tions, and Åçven sports bodies.

Such a forum would embrace the work of the other forums that have DeeÅçn established, in housing, local government, electricity and educatlon, for axample.

It-would assist in extending the types of agreements Cosaty has barmmered out with busi-tess, for example. the Charter for Peace and Democracy negotiated with the SA Consultative Committee op Labdour Affairs (Saccola) last July, al-though this remains unsigned,

The forwn would agree on 3 reconstruction programme and Unk it to the natlional peace structures.

â\200\234We can't leave it to police to keep the peace,â\200\235 says Naidoo, â\200\234This is has to be the task of ordinary men and women."â\200\235



The initiative is part of Cosatu's growing awareness of the need to assert its strength and

its independence from the new

government,

Setting an election date is important, it focuses the mind and suggests a break with the past. But this [a] itself is not sufficient ;

"We face the urgent task of rebuilding this country; this is being held up by a lack of political progress. We need to constitute a broad social movement to ensure that the agreements reached at the World Trade Centre are implemented, that a new government delivers the goods."

To this end, Cozaty proposes a Conference of Civil Society within the next few months at

which a set of common political and socio-economic objectives would be agreed.

Appropriate vehicles would then be identified and a programme for delivery determined.

Our notion of democracy does not mean that we cast a ballot every five years," says Naidoo. ~ 4

A democratic government must be accountable to civil society, and civil society must be involved in decision-making. To us, this is a deepening of democracy."

- Cosatu is also considering li-

mits on the number of terms its

senior office-bearers, including

the president and general secretary, can serve. Both offices presently carry three-year terms.

This, says Naidoo, is in line

with a view expressed at its

last Congress, that the political arena of two-term national presidency should be constituted

tiorally prescribed. In other words, what's good for the country is good for Cosatu,

. Even if people are subject

"No recall and popular reelec.

tion, they can come to think they are irreplaceable. I, and a substantial part of Cosata, think there should be limits on the period people can serve. Cosatu and its office bearers will be under more immediate pressure, however, in regard to the drawing up of party electoral lists for the general election.

"Cosatu, says Naidoo, has some of the most experienced people in the country, and some will have to be allowed to enter government. For us, there are two principles: that Cosatu stays strong and independent,

- and that the ANC wins the elec-

tion and has the resources that enable it to govern.

"I regard my office-bearers like myself, or Sam Shilowa (assistant general secretary and a Communist Party delegate at the World Trade Centre) for example, Cosatu has resolved that before a person could accept nomination to either the national or regional

" Lists, there has to be full

discussion inside Cosatu about whether this is appropriate -

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The IPI

AT s recent General As-  
semble in Venice, the In-  
ternational Press Institute  
was paid a heartfelt tribute  
by the celebrated Polish dis-  
sident and editor, Adam  
Michnik. It was the IPI, said

Press freedom in South Africa will come under  
the spotlight when the International Press In-  
stitute (IPI) holds its annual conference here

. Next year, writes RICHARD S

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;..2 to the global nature of  
the struggle for freedom, and  
had sensitised him to the  
struggles of others to defend  
the free flow of information,  
Other editors from behind the  
former Iron Curtain echo  
these sentiments. :

' 'The IPI is a body of more

than 2000 editors and pub-  
lishers who subscribe to the  
belief that world peace de-  
pends on a better understand-  
ing among people. Essential  
Such understanding is the  
free exchange of accurate  
and balanced news and opin-  
ion among nations.

It came into being to pro-

mote the free flow of information, improve standards of Journalism and defend press freedom wherever it is threatened. Membership of the organisation has always been open to individual editors who support the IPI's ideals, no matter how restrictive the environment in which they work.

"~ For many years the IPI

\_ Editor-in-Chief and IPI executive board

TEYN, The Star's member.

was one of the very few international organisations that ~

stood up for the rights of South African members to attend its assemblies, wherever they were held. Under long-

time director Peter Galliner, - a firm principle was laid down that the IPI would meet

in conclave only where all its members were welcome: if

South Africans, Taiwanese or - Israelis were excluded, the

IPI would go elsewhere.

On one famous occasion it cancelled a conference in Nigeria because South Africans were barred, on another, after Egypt changed its mind about admitting Taiwanese and South Africans less than a week before an assembly was due to begin, director Galliner deliberately left press releases scattered around his hotel room announcing "a last-minute switch of the IPI General Assembly from Cairo to Zurich

and predicting a severe loss of prestige and tourist dollars to Egypt. The Egypt

~ and Egyptian security services did the

rest. Hoping at the time for a Joan from the United States, the Egyptian government backed down and President

Mubarak went on to open the full "Assembly a few days later. P

Between its annual assemblies, which tend to be held in countries where press

- freedom has been or is under

sional, the MPI acts as a

. watchdog over media free-

dom and defends the rights and interests of journalists in countries as diverse as Turkey, Colombia, Israel, Kenya, Korea and Hungary.

In recent years it has been particularly active in Latin America, where the drug barons have made life hell for journalists. In Turkey

where many supposedly pro-

Kurdish journalists have been

killed, and in Hungary, whose

-communist government

has reneged on many of its good intentions, .

Other areas of special focus are Russia, where a conference is soon to be held on the role of the media in the transition to democracy, and Asia, where countries such as South Korea and Taiwan are enjoying the new experience of free newspapers.

One of the IPI's proudest achievements has been its principled and effective opposition to UNESCO's New World Information Order and an attempt by the socialist and non-aligned bloc in the UN to counter Western news agencies and control the flow of information from Second and Third World countries.

Thanks in large measure to IPI's resistance, NWICO never came into existence and, following the fall of com-

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comes to South Africa

munism, ought not to be heard of again.

As a country which has hovered between restricting and allowing some freedom (0 its media, South Africa has

always been of 1-inter-

esttotheliP).

Many South African editors have drawn support from the organisation 2nd spoken at lis

" assemblles. So have a few select personalities Including Nelson Mandela, whose ring-

. ing eodorsement of press

. ireedom under an ANC goy-eroment in Kyolo, Japan, two years ago will be ibe benchmark agzinsi which future ANC media policies will always be measured.

Evidence of tbe regard in which the IP} s beld is ihe calibre of speaker attraciied {o its conferences. Its general assemblies are usually opened by the head of state of the host country, aquong them in recent times Mitlerrand ol Fraoce, Ozal of Turkey, Alfonsin of Argentina and Von Welsacker of federal Germany. i

: speakers al ils 1993 conference in Venlce earlier - this month were Nato secretary general Manfred Woerner, who made a strong plich for Natoâ\200\231s continued existence a3 a force for slabilily in an increasingly unsiabile world, and Molocaust survl. vor and Nobel Peace Prize wioner, Elle Wiesel, who made an lmpassioned plea

for a co-operallye effort to

end the suffering in Bosola.

Many nolable editors and publishers from lhe US, Bu-rope and Asla will be coming to Cape Town in mld-February 1894 to see for themselves what South Africa s like and Lo assess pros; in the run op lo the counlryâ\200\231s first dem- -ocralic elections,

For our politlcal parties, as

well as our media and tourist  
industries, it will be an oppor-  
tunity to perform upon a  
truly international stage. D

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- wing. He told the commission he was detained in  
. 1978 on specific orders from Modise and served

~ when Zapu members were repatriated after the

ANC's mission:

MKHONTO WE Sizwe commander Joe Allegations that MK cadres were

Modise's as the ANC's spokesman, 1975,

according to a witness at the Motsuenyane subjected to the personal whims of the

: Commission of Inquiry into human rights of the FICERET :  
abuses in African National Congress detention ANC's prisons architect Joe Modise,  
e,

camps. :

; - were heard in the inquiry into the  
The witness, former MK member Samuel Mngqibisa; organisation ;  
Mngqibisa, made his accusations during an Organisation S camps.

appearance before the commission in which he \_ By WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER

read from a prepared statement.

- The accusations are the most damning indictment of his sight". Mngqibisa said Modise lied

: Mngqibisa told the hearing about a vocational training centre in

Dakawa led to the construction of a prison there.

. He was also behind the conversion of former girls' dormitories in Ruth First Camp, Dakawa, into  
cells, where Mngqibisa was detained.

Mngqibisa also made allegations of sexual  
abuses and, if they refused to obey, they were abused in the camps, claiming that he was part  
of a  
labelled agents and sent to Angola. ~ group which exposed Mbokodo's harassment of  
"Worse still, said the witness, was that cadres young girls fresh from South Africa. He said it

were forced to risk their lives to satisfy Modise's : ANC's

personal whims. Mbokodo's

in South Africa were forced to infiltrate the  
country to buy expensive shoes and clothes in  
Johannesburg for Modise. ;

Mngqibisa said his problems started because of  
his open criticism of the tactics and administration  
of the camps by Mbokodo, MK's security



â\200\234aslavery sentenceâ\200\235 of 14 monthsâ\200\231 hard labour in  
a Zapu prison in Lusaka. He was released in 1980

labelled agents of the government, . |

3 iy

Mngqibisa further told the commission that  
Modiscâ\200\231s son was given preferential treatment.  
He smoked dagga and stole property, but was not  
arrested. Instead, he was sent abroad to a military  
academy to further his training. \* .- |  
- Inaletier (o the International Committee of the  
Red Cross, Mngqibisa accuses former Tanzanian  
president Julius Nyerere, Zambiaâ\200\231s ex-leader -  
Keanth Kaunda and Angolaâ\200\231s Maccellino dos  
Santos of being accomplices to ANC atrocities jn -

â\200\234exile because they authorised ANC kangaroo

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Joe Modise ... Expensive tastes? - -  
R i+ % 1Photo: PATRICK EKLOFF

was tradition in the ANG especially in Mbokodo,

to sexually abuse young girls. The promise of  
scholarships was used to elicit sexual favours and,  
if the girls resisted, they were detained and

courts and prisons in their countries, - -  
Speaking to The Weekly Mail after the hearings,

Mugqibisa said: â\200\234If the commissionâ\200\231s resolutions  
are not implemented, in further steps. i

| Will seek assistance from Judge Goldstone.â\200\231

â\200\234Some ANC leaders in exile thought we  
wouldnâ\200\231t come back. They enslaved us. We thank  
Dr Mandela for negotiating our return. His initia-  
tives caught the exile leadership with their pants -  
down. What Mbokodo did to me has caused me  
much pain and suffering, The hatred and  
are at a high degree. Something has to be done.â\200\235

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" ANC. His unit was catled back to Lusaka in 1983,

House agreement,

The same year, he said, Modise dispatched him  
to Livingstorie in Zambia. He and three other MK  
menwere to cross the crocodile-infested Zambezi  
tivaimoBotswanaandembabwc.Amdingto  
Mnggibisa, this was a test of his loyalty to the

In July 1984, an angry Modise ordered him to  
80 to Tanzania, because he continued â\200\234being a

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- THE WEEKLY MAIL, 04 - 10 JUNE 19

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By CHRIS MaByy,, East  
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er Ggozoâ\200\231s CP)

MAL -

By IDEN WETHERELL. . -

.MAJOR questions have been raised  
. about accountability for donor fund-  
ing in a range of companies be-  
- to the African National Congress's  
business arm, Thebe Investment Cor-  
poration. .

Companies that have been cited as  
less than transparent in their adminis-  
tration of external funding include  
the ANC's tourism wing, Oriole Travel.

This follows disclosures last week  
that Thebe had concluded a deal with  
Macmillan Bolesworth, giving the pub-  
lishing giant privileged access to a

future ANC government in return for

shares in a joint publishing venture.  
That deal, described by Thebe and  
Macmillan as exploratory, has been  
criticised by other publishers and by  
the ANC's education department.  
. In a letter to the press, Thebe man-  
aging director Vusi Khanyile has  
refuted suggestions of corruption or  
potential corruption in the proposed  
Johannesburg venture, while no allegations of  
have been made in regard

to the company's  
m

Irregularities in ANC firms

and sloppy accounting procedures  
appear to be plaguing various Thebe

concerns. "Thebe's business is not

new companies that it is ignoring the  
need to consolidate existing ones. a  
former Thebe executive said. -  
Oriole Travel has been the reci-  
pient of ANC money from European  
and American donors. "It is  
believed that casual bookkeeping and  
record-keeping at Oriole has led a  
tendency to insist on tighter procedures

They were losing money hand over |

first, said one business consultant, \*

Part of the problem at Oriole and  
other Thebe companies is the random  
selection of directors, many with little  
hands-on experience, and a lack of  
accountability.

Thebe appears to have little capital  
of its own and depends upon ANC  
transfers. Although over \$5-million  
(R15-million) raised by Nelson Man-  
delo to the United States mission

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years on behalf of the ANC is multi-

It channelled (through Thebe, the com-

pany says that as an independent concern it is not accountable to the wider ANC membership

"This may explain certain policy inconsistencies. While the ANC has been calling for sanctions to remain in place until the establishment of a transitional government, individuals in the ANC treasury department were negotiating for foreign investors to enter the South African market. Digital Equip-

\* ment Corporation of the US has just

announced a deal whereby Thebe-related company BCS will market its equipment in South Africa.

When Khanyile was head of the ANC finance department auditors Coopers & Lybrand were believed

to have withdrawn from in 1990 saying -

of the ANC's management because they were greedy & needy.  
~ Accumulation of assets & profits

parliamentary committee's findings :

Congress, when Khanyile claimed that,

- because ANC headquarters Shell House was not owned by the ANC, its

ownership was not the concern of members. There has also been controversy surrounding the receipt of gifts by individuals in the ANC leadership.  
Controversy also surrounds Thebe's catering company, Pitseng, which has reached an agreement with established

caterers Feedem Catering Services to enter the mines' canteen business, The

mining houses are anxious to subcontract their catering divisions and Thebe has expressed a keen interest.

Pitseng MD Jeremy Webb believes that structured partnerships leading to black economic empowerment is the way to go in the catering industry.

: Bat National Unioa of Mluwod(-:  
â\200\230Ã@n'qloltman Marcel Golding said

uwion would oppoge any proposl ..  
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and catering, which he regards as prej-  
udicing the welfare of NUM members  
and causing problems in future nego-  
tiations with the mining companies.  
â\200\234Health care, housing, transport and  
catering are managementâ\200\231s respoasi-  
bility,â\200\235 be said. -  
Thereappearsto be some concern in  
the ANC that, as in the Cape fishing-  
contracts saga, white business con-  
cerus see Thebe as a usefus conduit to  
new opporhunities. Black businessimen  
have complained that Thebe employs  
white banks, auditors and other estab-  
lished service-sector -companies

Instead of emergent organisations. .  
One ANC insider familiar with

Thebeâ\200\231s operations said the maost fre-  
quently expressed criticism is that â\200\234in  
promoting black empowerment,  
Thebe rides roughshod over the sensi-  
bititics of locat communities, the  
unions and other futerests with which  
the ANC is closely affiliatedâ\200\235.  
Klunyilemupnmdhhu been

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