

L6 The Star Thursday April 11 1991

hQ Star

Established 1887
South Africaâ\200\231s largest daily newspaper

When is an
= ultimatum?

sition in the run-up to transition. Or-
; dinary people are pretty well inured
to it. But there ought to be a limit â\200\224 and
~ we believe the ANC â\200\234ultimatumâ\200\235 exceeded
it
. South Africa, black and white, is in a
" febrile state. Mood swings alarmingly as
hopes teeter (witness the business confi-
" dence indicator). Extremists come into
their own, feeding on uncertainty and unre-
lenting violence. The vital middle subsides
into dismayed silence.
Into this maelstrom was thrown, last
â\200\230week, a set of demands that precisely fit-
- ted the definition of an ultimatum. The em-
~ phatic nature of the â\200\234open letterâ\200\235 â\200\224 with
â\200\234its explicit threat to break off negotiations
- â\200\224 'was reinforced by Nelson Mandela in
v international TV interviews. This was
+ Showdown at High Noon. It caused predict-
~ able ripples. &
. Suddenly, this week, there was an about-
face. â\200\234Leaksâ\200\235 from a meeting between Mr
. Mandela and foreign diplomats suggested
' _that the ultimatum was not an ultimatum
- at all. Surely that interpretation was owed
â\200\234first to South Africans, who got it only
' later from other ANC spokesmen? Gill
Marcus said yesterday the organisation
was not inflexible. Pallo Jordan insisted
! that many others, too, had called for the
i resignation of Ministers Vlok and Malan.
n': He conveniently overlooked that the 'ANC
b was the only one to set a deadline and a .
e
4,

OME gamesmanship is to be expett- i
\ ed as political groups jockey for po-

clear consequence of non-delivery. -
Naturally, the media got blamed â\200\224
. wrongly. If, indeed, the â\200\234open letterâ\200\235 was
misinterpreted, then that is a reflection on
- the message, not the messenger;; the au-
" thors failed to make their meaning clear.
' ~ A more likely explanation is that the ANC
went too far and is now trying to row back.
~ We welcome this development, of course.
| Peaceful progress demands it.
Â\$ But we would urge the organisation to
_ take more care. Like the Nationalists have
E;.:dqge;so many times before, the ANC risks

% making a tricky situation worse at a time
: when we all can least afford it.

ANC attempts

to heal rift

|

with Buthelezi

N Wikness 1149

JOHANNESBURG â\200\224 The African National Congress has softened its ultimatum to the Government and appeased IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi in a telephone conversation between him and Nelson Mandela.

While the organisationâ\200\231s information secretary, Pallo Jordan, harangued newspaper editors â\200\230for claiming a â\200\234ploody cheekâ\200\235 on the ANCâ\200\231s part, he said Inkatha was placated and foreign diplomats soft-soaped.

Mandela yesterday told Buthelezi that the ANCâ\200\231s â\200\234â\200\230open letterâ\200\235 ultimatum last week was directed at Government inaction and not at the IFP. :)

The two leaders agreed during a lengthy telephone conversation to lend their â\200\234im-mense personal authority to ensuring that relations between the ANC and the IFP are not disturbed by these developmentsâ\200\235, the ANC said.

said last night, however, that

tral committee of the Inkatha

;:ï-\201if%?ï-\201@f!_&ï-\202dâ\200\231;â\200\230 national

â\200\230could takes pstowards rectify- -

i -VÃ@ty~dï-\201ï-\2011,cu,itâ\200\230positionâ\200\235 into which

the ANCâ\200\231s letter to the President had rust the IFP-ANC relationship.

In the open letter the ANC demanded the Government take action to stop the ongoing township violence which has claimed thousands of lives.

The ANC threatened to withdraw from negotiations aimed at establishing a new Âf its demands, which in-:

constitution i

cluded a call for the resignation of De-

fence Minister Magnus alan and Law and Order Minister â\200\230Adriaan Vlok were not

met by May 9. AT

_ The letter also attacked the IFP, accusing it of using violence, with the help of the security forces, to infiltrate areas where it - previously had no support. S

In the letter the ANC referred to the IFP as a "minor" in the political field, a term

Mandela said was not an insult but a fact.

Yesterday's telephone conversation, which the ANC said was initiated by Mandela, concerned Buthe's response that the demands contained in the open letter would lead to civil war.

« . Mandela explained the purpose of the ANC's open letter, pointing out that it was directed at Government inaction and not at the IFP.

Foreign diplomats, meanwhile, are to

_ join forces in a concerted endeavour to extricate the ANC from its deadlock with the Government.

This follows an urgent briefing by Mandela to assembled ambassadors and heads of foreign missions in Cape Town on Tuesday.

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He told them the demands contained in the open letter to President F.W. de Klerk were not an ultimatum and that the ANC would accept a "serious gesture" in return for the Government's agreement to resume negotiations.

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In an article written for several months

newspapers. P. J. Jordan accused the press of failing to grasp the depth of the crisis being faced and defended the isolation against what he said was a consensus among editors. Mefw, at the time, were unreasonable. PRE I The demand for Mandela's sacking was no more than what! MPs, newspapers and other public figures had done. po o

had become a veritable chorus, "The ANC merely added to the

The ANC merely added to the

ours merited the riposte: Blooï¬\202y'ch;Ã©il'!.;giA

â\200\234We find it quite e mfmble,tgrat;;aï¬\201Ã©@

_ year which ended wit â\200\230something of the

order of 2 90 African citizens killed and

it lmoe, 60 deeths A0SRl low

since January 1991, that most ot ir fellow

Southâ\200\231 Africans, who pen the â\200\230editorials

e g

and features in our daily newspapers, do

not seem to realise that what we face is a

â\200\230deep crisis.â\200\235 â\200\224 Sapa.

/Ã©/r i

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Uxwayisal

YUSI SOSIBO
EMPANGENI. - Uno-
bhala wesifunda saseNse-
leni ngaphansi kweNka-
tha Freedom Party (IFP),
uMnuz M.B. Gwala, nge-
sonto elidlule uxwayise
. uphiko Iwentsha ye-Afri-
* can National Congress

olwaziwa ngokuthi yiPro-
visional Regional Youth
- Committee esifundeni
. saseNyakatho ukuba se-

ndawo. Sk R
Ekhuluma emhlanga-
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| hhovisi alenhlango
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Wathi abantu futhi ba-
khathele yindluzula eye-
nzeka ezindaweni abakhe
kuz&.b PGS A
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rade Union (Cosatu)
. ngokuthi idala ughekeko
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_ Uthe ngaso sonke isi-
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ne-ANC kuyaghubeka
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kwini. Uthe kuyaziwa
ukuthi ngemuva kwalom-
hlangano kwabulawa
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- phezu kwalezizehlakalo
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; agu{}ukeleodlgmeni :
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alenhlango ukuba azi-
nikele emigomweni emi-
â\200\230ne yayo yokuzabalazela
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The ANC moves to appe

W. - LA

by Lakela Kaunda

THE African National Congress moved last week to come closer to its members and supporters who were becoming disillusioned with its inaction, and further away from the government and Inkatha Freedom Party who were beginning to be seen as their allies by the extreme left such as Azapo and the PAC.

~ The ANC issued the most militant statement since February 2 to the state President F.W. de Klerk to sort out his security establishment and ensure that perpetrators of violence were brought to book, or face a suspension of the spirit of negotiations by May 9. The move has been endorsed by Cosatu, South African Communist Party and the ANC Youth League. The anti-collaboration line is expected to be furthered after the Harare summit of the Pan-Africanist Congress and the ANC this weekend. The PAC has stated unequivocally that the ANC should choose between the other members of the liberation movement and the National Party government; they cannot have it both ways.

The new ANC position may have shocked the

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international community and the white community in the country, who believed all was well between the ANC and the government, but it has appeased the communities who have been calling for visible tough action from the organisation.

The ANC has admitted that the violence is curtailing their recruitment drive. The youth league has failed to make the one-million mark â\200\230they had intended, and the ANC itself had only 200 000 members in December. The Youth League has 210 605 paid-up members.

In their open letter the ANC says the killings, maimings and beatings in the townships have inflamed feelings of ethnic antagonism among various sections of the African people, have distracted public attention from root causes of poverty, hunger, deprivation in the country, and have â\200\234rendered it more difficult to achieve united action among the African people for generally accepted and commendable goalsâ\200\235.

They said the perpetrators have a clear intention to sow divisions and stoke up a psychosis of fear, inse-

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curity and mutual distrust among the African people. At the same time, they â\200\234hope to prey on the worst fears and prejudices of our white compatriots and thus make them more apprehensive about a democratic transformation.â\200\235

The ANC has been losing the initiative and been

reacting to the government since its unbanning. It has also come under fire from supporters who say it fails to defend them when they are attacked. Most have opted to become apolitical or non-aligned. At the same time, it has failed to convince supporters that the Peace Accord with Inkatha will work, in the light of continuing violence. Most of all, they have been seen to have been co-opted by the government, and the youth in particular fail to reconcile the new col-

_ laborationist ANC with the fighting ANC they hero-worshipped from exile.

The youth have also been brought up to believe that Inkatha is part of the oppressive machinery, hence they challenge Nelson Mandela's contention that there is a 'third force'. They argue that there are two camps, the oppressor and the oppressed and no in-betweeners.

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In a statement issued on Monday the ANCYL said they ruled out the notion of a third force.

The reluctance of government and its security forces to act to stop violence, even when notified of imminent attacks, left us with no illusion that there could be any other force that is responsible for this violence other than the government and its surrogate forces.

isillusioned supporters

Mandela and the rest of the NEC have been under pressure mainly from the Youth League not to 'legitimise' Inkatha and elevate it to the rank of a liberation movement which they believe it is not. This has put the January 29 Accord with Inkatha under more stress.

The ANC has demanded:

e That the government take legislative measures during the current session of parliament to outlaw the carrying of weapons, traditional or otherwise, at public assemblies, processions, rallies etc.

e The dismissal of Ministers Adriaan Vlok and General Magnus Malan

from public office and the rustication of all the officers of the SADF and SAP who bear direct responsibility for the setting up, management, the crimes and misdemeanours of the CCB and other hitsquads.

e The visible, public dismantling and disarming of all special counter-insurgency units such as the Askaris, Battalion 32, the CCB, Koevoet, the Z Squad etc and the establishment of a multiparty commission to oversee this process.

e The immediate suspension from duty of all police officers and constables who were implicated in the massacres at Sebokeng on March 22 and the commencement of legal proceedings against them, and the immediate suspension from duty of all the police officers and constables responsible for the shootings in Daveyton and Benoni on March 24 pending a commission of inquiry into that incident.

e Satisfactory assurances that in future the SAP, SADF and other security organs will employ acceptable and civilised methods of crowd control, and that the issuance of live ammunition to the police on such occasions shall be disallowed.

e That effective steps are taken to begin the process of phasing out the hostels and other labour compounds and transforming them into family units and single occupancy flats.

e The establishment of an independent commission of inquiry to receive, investigate and report on all complaints of misconduct by the police and other security services.

If by May 9 these de-
mands have not been met
thae ANC will enenend

_ by Lakela Kaunda

THE president of the Inkatha Freedom Party Mango-

\suthu Buthelezi has called upon the international community to cut funding and support for the ANC

following its ultimatum to the government.

Buthelezi was responding to the ultimatum given to State President F.W. de Klerk by the ANC NEC this week to clear his security establishment of Ministers
| Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok and ensure the ar-
| rest of perpetrators of violence. If that is not done by May 9, they will suspend talks, they said.

The ANC'â\200\231s open letter to De Klerk also blames Inkatha supporting â\200\234rooi-doekeâ\200\235 for the violence on the Reef. It said vigilantes had created â\200\234no-goâ\200\235 areas forthe ANC to weaken and discredit it. :

It said the aim of this was to â\200\234inflate the image of the Inkatha Freedom Party from that of a minor to the
| rank of the third major player on the political arena.

Buthelezi said the ANCâ\200\231s â\200\234totally destructive and ill-conceived and power-grabbingâ\200\235 ultimatum to De Klerk could provoke civil war in the country.

seriousness of the new situation and seek the help of freedom-loving nations in curbing the ANCâ\200\231s â\200\234lust for powerâ\200\235. RER

He said this â\200\234astounding turnabout by the ANC must be roundly condemnedâ\200\235.

No government or semi-government organisation in the world must now â\200\234dare to fund and support this sabotaging ANC into becoming a power monster that succeeds in riding roughshod over negotiating partners the way it is now attempting to do.â\200\235

He said the situation was so serious that the possibility might have to be faced of going on with the negotiations without the ANC, â\200\234leaving them to do their bloody damnest to destroy what we are doingâ\200\235.

He said radical reform in South Africa was already totally unstoppable and there was nothing in current politics that could be regarded as a threat to the emergence of democracy.

Now, however, â\200\234we face the crisis from which the prospects of the proposed negotiations may not recover from one totally destructive, ill-conceived,

ist Party ally to thwart the whole process.â\200\235 .

Buthelezi said the government would not survive if it gave in to ANC demands. It would break up under resultant internal conflict and many members would goto the rightwing parties.. -

â\200\234What the ANC is actually doing is making the kind of demands which would precipitate what would be nothing less than a civil war in South Africa.â\200\235

He said the negotiations which included the IFP, government and the ANC were no longer on track, and the ANC had walked out of the negotiations. He said the ANC might initiate another process in which the government actually started handing over power to it. Those negotiations would exclude the IFP.

Law and order minister Adriaan Vlok said the

He urged De Klerk to inform the world of the;
power-grabbing attempt by the ANC and its Commun-

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.ANC/SACP alliance
were locked in a power
struggle and still re-
garded themselves as a Â°
dictatorial liberation
movement.

He said the ANC/SACP
remained intolerant of
other political parties
and were continuing
their smear campaign
against the government |
and the security forces.

With regard to calls for
his resignation, he said
he would not hesitate to
leave political life if he
stood in the way of South
Africaâ\200\231s future.

<@ The Star Thursday April 11 1991

NEWS

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|3 By EsmarÃ© van der Merwe

' |5 Political Reporter

P et

i171n an effort to patch up
' â\200\234strained relations with Chief
| Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ANC
!Fdeputy president Nelson
n'nâ\200\2311\daï¬\201dela yesterday tele-

v' | explain the purpose of the
' ,ANCâ\200\231s open letter to the
' I=Government, in which In-
3 vkatha was labelled a
& Li#minorâ\200\235 political player and

' ['State action to halt the
â\200\234township violence.

" The ANC said in a statement
-t that Mr Mandela had initiated
the telephone conversation with
Chief Buthelezi to explain that
. L:the open letter had been direct-
â\200\230}i ed at Government â\200\234inactionâ\200\235
Â«and not at the Inkatha Freedom
:ttâ\200\230;ï¬\201Party.

e

I, phoned the Inkatha leader to â\200\230

}swhich demanded drastic.

The ANCâ\200\231s department of in-
formation and publicity de-
scribed the telephone conversa-
tion as lengthy and cordial.

â\200\234Both leaders agreed to lend
their immense personal author-
ity to ensuring that relations
between the ANC and the IFP

are not disturbed by these developments.â\200\235

Chief Buthelezi last night is- !

sued a statement in which he said he told Mr Mandela that only the IFP central committee

and the ANC national executive.

could take any step towards rectifying the â\200\234very difficult position into which the ANC's letter thrust IFP/ANC relation-

shipsâ\200\235. -
â\200\231Ietsne IFPâ\200\231s central committee

would consider the matter on

Sunday.

On Monday, Chief Buthelezi responded heatedly to the ANCâ\200\231s letter and the accusation that perpetrators of the protracted violence aimed to â\200\234in-

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*â\200\234dĩ¬\202ButheleziVQ â\200\230

flatter the image of the IFP from that of a minor to the rank of the third major player in the political arenaâ\200\235.

He warned that negotiations between the Government and the IFP would now proceed without the ANC.

From Cape Town Shaun Johnson reports that the ANC is attempting to make a strong diplomatic comeback after the avalanche of criticism following Fridayâ\200\231s â\200\234ultimatumâ\200\235.

Diplomats and political observers are revising their ear-

lier assessment that the ANC

was being disingenuous in

threatening the negotiation pro-

cess because of the Governmentâ\200\231s failure to halt violence.

After extraordinary briefings to senior diplomats, community representatives and some journalists in Cape Town on Tuesday by Mr Mandela, a variety of sources said they had found the ANCâ\200\231s explanation of its

reasons for issuing the ultimatum â\200\234convincingâ\200\235.

â\200\234T think they have a point when they say no one realises the seriousness with which they regard the violence in which some 6000 people have died, said one source. â\200\230â\200\230I-have no doubt there are internal tensions (within the ANC) but this ultimatum is primarily a genuine attempt to solve the problem of violence.â\200\235

Stalling

AcÃ©ordixig to the sources, Mr

Mandela railed against the |Â« !
" the demands seriously, the ANC

media for interpreting the letter as a stalling tactic and an ultimatum which sought to derail the negotiation process. He argued that the peace process would collapse if the Government was not prompted into dramatic action.

Mr Mandela is reported to

ings: â\200\234We want to create an ideal plxmate conducive to negotiations. But the violence is a

- priority issue. I live in the townships, where people are dying.

â\200\234De Klerk lives in the Union Buildings. ;

â\200\234Black life is cheap in this country ... My attempts (at rectifying this perception) have been fruitless ... We thought we" could persuade the Government

~ of this, but we have failed.â\200\235

Mandela explains ultimatum

It was not Mr de Klerkâ\200\231s supporters who were dying, Mr Mandela is reported to have ' said, and white â\200\234indifference - and insensitivityâ\200\235 was unacceptable. â\200\230 -

Believing that all avenues had been exhausted in trying to prompt the Government to react decisively, the ANC had decided â\200\234the time has come to - say this far and no furtherâ\200\235.

It was not an ultimatum _
which sought to buy time or -
threaten negotiations, he said.

â\200\234We have been making all
these demands ever since I left
prison ... (We have beer com-
pelled) to take action to end the
violence, to ensure peace, and

' that the process remains on

course. ... -

â\200\234If the Government addresses

__will not be found wanting.â\200\235

\$Mr Mandela reportedly dis-
missed suggestions that he had
been pressured by ANC
â\200\234hawksâ\200\235 into supporting the
_hardline stand on the violence.
He had considered this as early

| â\200\234as September last year, he said,
have said in closed-door brief-

a;[d the national executive com-
mittee was now in full agree-

. ment.

â\200\234When we were convinced

. that all possibilities had been

tried, we said, okay, our aim

: gstill) remains to create condi-

ions conducive to peace, and
we appeal to you to support us.â\200\235

Mr Mandela conceded there
was a â\200\234factionalâ\200\235 element to

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THE CITIZEN

Mandela to meet
Major for talks 7

CAPE TOWN. ~â\200\224
ANC Deputy Presi-
. dent, Mr Nelson Man-
~dela, is to visit Japan
and Britain this month.
He is expected to meet
with British Prime

Minister John Major,
an ANC spokesperson,
Ms Gill Marcus, said

yesterday.

Mr Mandela (72),
would leave South Africa
on April 19 for Japan,
then travel to Britain.

She did not know how
long Mr Mandela would
stay in either country, but
said the trip was expected
to last about a week.

- A spokesman for No 10
Downing Street confirm-
ed yesterday that Mr

Mandela and Mr Major
would hold talks towards
the end of the month. -
No specific details or a
date for the meeting were
available yet, he added.
President F W de Klerk
is scheduled to meet Mr
Major on April 22 during
his visit to Britain, Den-
mark and Ireland.
Whitehall officials yes-

terday dismissed the
possibility of Mr De
Klerk and Mr Mandela
holding a unique joint
meeting with the British

. Prime Minister to discuss

latest developments towards constitutional - negotiations in South Africa.

Britain has called for easing sanctions imposed against South Africa to protest the apartheid policy of racial segregation and White dominance.

The ANC has opposed the lifting of sanctions, saying foreign countries should continue pressuring South Africa to change _until - apartheid has been completely eliminated.

Mr De Klerk's government has proposed the elimination of all remaining apartheid laws and held talks with the ANC on setting up negotiations to end White minority rule.

Under apartheid, South- Africa's Whites control the government and economy, while the Blacks have no national voting rights. Sapa- AP.

RamÃ©t Iandlords in the spotlight

. New African Reporter

THE demand for a constituent assembly and an interim government took on a very real flavour at the weekend when thousands of South Africans marched in support of these and other demands.

Memoranda outlining the demands were submitted at police stations, prisons and courthouses around the country by marchers, who used the occasion of Solomon Mahlangu Day to make the demands heard.

In Durban several thousand people gathered at Curries Fountain before marching on CR Swart police station, where a memorandum was handed over to the officer in charge.

The memorandum, apart from outlining the demands on the constituent assembly and interim government, called for the resignation of South Africa's two most controversial cabinet ministers,

Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok.

African National Congress leaders at the head of the march through Durban on Saturday. Plc.

Thousands march in support of

constituent assembly

It also demanded the release of all political prisoners, including those on Death Row; the safe return of exiles; the disbandment of the state's death squads and the lifting of security legislation. Speakers at both the march and the rally emphasised the seriousness of the demands and made it clear that if they were not met by state president FW de Klerk, he would face the withdrawal of the African National Congress (ANC) from the constitutional negotiations

process. Several thousand signatures en-

dorsing the constituent assembly campaign were collected at the Durban rally as ANC members and supporters streamed

into the stadium.

The spirited mood at the rally - which also received a report of the ANC Youth League's national meeting held in Durban last week - continued throughout the march despite the searing heat.

The road leading to CR Swart had to be closed during the march and the subsequent addresses by ANC leadership.

In Pietermaritzburg, the ANC Midlands region held its own march around the same demands and the launch of the 'Hands off Natal Midlands' campaign.

Midlands ANC leader Reggie Hadebe called for the strengthening of the region and for the defence of communities and of Midlands chairperson Harry Gwala. ~ Gwala, Hadebe said, had become a

Slpho Dhiomo /Â¢ /

target for the state/the czlmercw.l press controlled by the ruling classes and Inkatha president and KwaZulu chief minister Gatsha Buthelezi. :

These forces, he said, were attempting to portray Gwala and the Midlands region as a whole as opponents of peace.

'Let us go back and build even stronger defence committees. We should also take this opportunity to reaffirm our commitment to peace. But our commitment to peace does not mean that we want peace of the grave,' Hadebe said.

'We are also not going to sacrifice the lives of our people on the altar of false peace - a peace that means our further subjugation.'

He also called on the state to take | action against warlords including KwaZulu Legislative Assembly member David Ntombela, who he said had been implicated in killings but was snll walking free.

Wl\y no mâ\200\23011â\200\230der
Seven Day War,

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\,J,~ Fen by Nomusa Cembi > \i~\201\
THE Natal Midlands branch of the AN C attacked the
attorney general of Natal
in a statement read to thousands of supporters in the
city on Saturday as part of marches countrywide call-
ing for the release of political prisoners and the re-
turn of exiles. Â£
In a statement read to supporters outside Davies
| Alexander House,-ANC regional executive member
Reggie Hadebe cinallenged Justice Minister Kobie
Kotzee to act on affidavits and dossiers submitted to
~ him in August 1990. ; : :
~ The statement also challenged the Attornery
General of Natal Mike Imber to act on the Mpopho-
meni inquests and asked why no one had been
charged for murders in the Seven Day War.
Supporters were told not to allow the govern-
ment to control the process of the release of prisoners
and return of exiles. , Â¥
â\200\234We must force this government to respond to the
peopleâ\200\231s demands. The only language that apartheid
understands is the force of peopleâ\200\231s power.â\200\235
The statement asked why State President F.W. de
Klerk was â\200\234demanding our exiles to sign ridiculous
forms as to when they left South Africa. How did-they

Lofl))

and the minister of justice

charges after
challenges ANC

Jeave the country? And what activities have they been
involved in? This is rather strange since the regime
itself knows full well what our comrades in exile have
beendoing.â\200\235 3

The statement warned â\200\230people to be aware that
the De Klerk government had a double agenda. â\200\234On
the one hand it is talking to us, but on the other hand
itis trying very hard to weaken and divide the African

â\200\230National Congress.â\200\235

~ â\200\234This double agenda by the De Klerk regime be-
comes more obvious in the war that is being waged in
Natal and the Transvaal on our people. The funda-
mental aim of this war is to weaken the ANC and its
allies, and catapult other forces onto the centre stage
of negotiations.â\200\235 i ;

The statement said the ANC was committed to
talk to Inkatha but was not going to let certain people
be above the law.

It said it believed Inkatha Freedom Party official
David Ntombela was directly involved in the Seven
Day War. â\200\234We are not going to talk to him until his in-
volvement is thoroughly investigated.â\200\235

Chief Minister of KwaZulu Mangosuthu Buthe-
lezi was also attacked for â\200\234using the platform of the -
KwaZulu bantustanâ\200\235 to attack the Midlands region.

NCE bitten, twice shy.
This is the philosophy behind the African National Congress's threat to pull out of constitutional talks unless the Government acts on the reducing violence in the townships. At the organisation's consultative conference in December, the leadership was astounded by the militancy of grassroots supporters. Now, in preparing for its national conference in June at which a new leadership will be elected, the national executive committee has given the Government an ultimatum which is, above all else, an attempt to solidify support among its rank and file. Sceptics may question the tacti-

TAR

cal wisdom of demanding the resignation of Defence Minister Gen-

eral Magnus Malan and Law and

Order - Minister Adriaan Vlok. Critics may regard the ultimatum as the second since December, although on unrelated issues as an unacceptable attempt to shift the goalposts. But in the townships, reeling under the bloody violence which has turned streets into war zones, supporters have welcomed the ANC's firm stand.

Blamed

For ANC supporters, the issue at stake is not whether the violence should be blamed on the security forces, factional in-fighting, gangsters or guerilla-type armed

groups hell-bent on destroying the present or future political order. They simply argue that they have the right to protection by the State. And the State has failed to fulfil that obligation.

Furthermore, township residents have become disillusioned with the ANC, arguing that they have not benefited from the Gov-

ernment/ANC peace talks, and

. criticising the ANC for giving up

more than it has gained in pre-negotiations talks with the Government.

Township and regional ANC leaders, recognising the real threat of losing support from disgruntled supporters, have put immense pressure on the National

- Executive Committee to throw

down the gauntlet to the Government and demand drastic action to curb, the violence. ANC insiders

. maintain that the NEC was unanimous in its decision to do just

that. J

While it is unrealistic for the ;

ANC to blame the violence solely on the Government, the ultimatum may come close to an admission that the leadership has lost control over its supporters.

And despite media speculation that the hawks have won another round in the power contest with the doves, for once the militants - and the moderates seem to have agreed that they needed to flex some muscle. This is not a

Esmare van der Merwe suggests what motivated the ANC ultimatum

4 W\ R?RIL e
Getting down to grassroots

case of the hawks winning another battle; For there simply was no battle to be fought.

Agreeing

Nevertheless, while agreeing to

. with the ultimatum in principle,

some moderates within the ANC leadership obviously feel uncomfortable about the consequences of imposing impractical demands on the Government. If the Government fails to respond, ANC negotiators will face the difficult task of getting the process back on track. // i

- But with grassroots opinion running against the moderates,

and amid speculation that some of them risk losing key positions to the hardliners at the June conference, their support for the ultimatum could bolster their position. If nothing else, the ANC has succeeded in highlighting the protracted violence â\200\224 to which many white South Africans, it is argued, and the Government have become insensitive.

At the risk of losing international credibility and putting negotiations in jeopardy, at least temporarily, the ANC has installed renewed confidence in its rank and file. And come June, the NEC hopes to garner praise from its membership for its actions, rather than the harsh criticism it faced in December. 0

A new role f

43 by Lakela Kaunda
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FTER being the most prominent international spokesperson for the oppressed during the pre-February 29 era, Archbishop Desmond Tutu faded from the scene after the unbannings of the liberation movement, and has re-emerged as a conscience of the liberation movement.

Attentive members of the public had been asking what had happened to the Archbishop. Some observers had thought he had political ambitions and would immediately join a political organisation after unbannings. However, he seemed to have retired from active politics.

Tutu had said in 1981 that he had no intentions of being in a future government. He said he was merely â\200\234doing Mandelaâ\200\231s jobâ\200\235 because the man was not around at that time, and when Mandela returned he would disappear.

However, last week, Tutu showed the world his new role â\200\224 that of an above-politics conscience of the liberation movement and the future government, a role that would be expected of a church leader.

His Easter sermon in which he unveiled six points which

make up his peace
plan gave hopes that
there is a trusted
voice that the
liberation movement
may listen to.

The only grouping that
seems to be anti-Tutu
so far is the Inkatha
Freedom Party,
because of historical
differences over
sanctions, and also
because they see him
as being aligned to
the tripartite
alliance
(ANC/SACP/Cosatu).
They have not
attended his peace
summits at
Bishopscourt.

Tutu's widely-
publicised peace
plan consists of the

plâ\200\230

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following points:

e A call on the police
to disarm all armed
people no matter
which political

groupings they j; /,
belong to. / Ã@â\200\231? /

e A call on all to help
develop the culture
of tolerance, to
practice the motto â\200\234I
disagree with what
you say but I will
defend to the death
your right to say it. â\200\235

Â® Political
organisations need to

put their houses in
order, to instill
discipline in their
members, to adopt at
least a minimum
â\200\230 code of conduct that

parameters beyond
which we will not
stray in conducting
our political
activity. â\200\235

e Let the police
become a
professional peace-
keeping force that
upholds the rule of

law and order
without fear or
favour.

e That all political
leaders stop their
killing talk, stop their
belligerent, bellicose

utterances that incite
others to violence
whatever the
intention of the
speaker might have
been. He said there
was legislation
available and urged
the government to
use it.

Archbishop Tutu

e He suggested that
municipalities, city
councils, local
councils, the
churches, community
organisations and
political groupings
participate in a
campaign with the
police to clean up
these townships.
Perhaps our people
may then begin to
regain the self-
esteem, self-respect
and pride that they -
are losing.

Last week Tutu said
leaders of the
liberation movement
should discuss
whether the time had
not come to review
sanctions. Tutu has
been the most vocal
exponent of
sanctions against
South Africa, and has
travelled the world
extensively
canvassing. In the
process he incurred
the wrath of the
business community,
Inkatha and the
government.

Tutu last week said
South African blacks,
not foreign
governments should
decide when
sanctions should be

- lifted.

He said the promise of
F.W.deKlerk to
repeal bedrock
apartheid laws by
June and his
agreement to free
political prisoners
and allow exiles
home went a long way
towards meeting his
own conditions for
ending sanctions.

But, Tutu said, an end
to sanctions would -
have little effect
without peace.

â\200\234We can call for
reinvestment until
we are blue in our
faces, if the situation
on the ground is such
as to scare people
away then
investment will not
come. Consequently
it is important that
we do something and
that we do it pretty
quickly about the
violence. We have to
turn the spotlight on
ourselves and ask
what is in fact
happening to our
people, as a black
community. One has
to say that clearly
we are beginning to
be the victims of a
culture of violence.â\200\235

[NEWS e es: Co o

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- EIGHT DIE IN VIOLENCE IN THE NATAL MIDLANDS

: by Nomusa Cembali

- EIGHT people were killed in separate violent incidents in the Natal Midlands over the weekend.

- Seven people were shot and killed in Matimato, Mbuba near Greytown on Friday after an attack on the home of Richard Ngubane.

According to the chairman of the ANC in Greytown, Alfred Mzolo, the people who were killed were ANC members. He alleged that they had been killed by Inkatha supporters while watching television.

Mzolo said that this was another incident which showed that Inkatha people were not sincere when they called for peace.

Police have confirmed four of the seven deaths in

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the Matimatolo incident.

Police shot and killed a suspect who was be-

lieved to have been involved.in an attack on an In-
katha Freedom Party memberâ\200\231s home near Rich-
mond on Saturday morning. Police said his name
was Thulani Phungula.

According to police spokesman Major Pieter Kitching, the suspect was part of a group of ten people who had attacked a kraal belonging to Khehlo Mtolo with rifles and hand grenades.

Shots were fired and an RPG42 hand grenade

was thrown at Mtolo's house. Kitching said that-

when the police arrived, the attackers directed

their fire at them.

He said in Table Mountain, six Inkatha sup-

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porters were attacked in their car after it was ambushed by a group of men armed with rifles on Friday afternoon. =

Two passengers, Alfred Mbatha and Eric Ndlovu, were shot in the right arm and left shoulder respectively but the attackers fled when a member of the KwaZulu Police, a Constable Zuma returned fire.

The occupants then drove to the South African Defence Force camp and reported the matter. A pursuit was launched which resulted in the shooting of an SADF member, a Sergeant Klepper who was shot from dense undergrowth. He was hit in the left leg. Kitching said that no one had been arrested in connection with these incidents.

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tlons;Iâ\200\230h)Ã@re 3aâ\200\231\re many angles from which we

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e Conference which is now also under threat b : E |
re all gravely concerned and disap woul Âç e
g;?ntid that tghre current exchanges between â\200\234I prefer to address the angle tui-
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the process of political transition. We arlsI gv 4 look ahead in an attempt to ernment that
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more concerned that not only did the A d g - S ss of ance of the majority of our citizens,
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ernment is supposed to act on these prec : provide us with such a government in the near Â@
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elves with a view to passing judgmen .
wsnhether or not they are reasonable or whether
or not the Government will be able to accept
them without hurting itself. It would perhaps

be a useful political or acaderpic gxercise. to
adopt this angle; the problem is t.hxs exercise
would not bring us closer to a solution. ; |

The other angle would be to question the

motives of the ANC and the manner in which it -

presented its grievances when there are
already alternative channels of communica-
tion between itself and the Government. Once
again, this would perhaps be a useful.exercxse
except that it would amount to nothing more
than a â\200\234postmortemâ\200\235. I prefer to address the
angle which accepts and regrets what has hap-
pened and then look ahead in an attempt to sal-
vage the process of transition that is now
clearly under serious threat. What can be done
in this regard?

; First%y, I think both Mr de Klerk and Mr

Mandela must exercise control not qnly over -

themselves but also over their colleagues who have seemingly embarked upon the undesirable public practice of trading accusations and counter-accusations over this matter. The only contribution this practice can make to the debate is to deepen the hurt on both sides and in the process generate more heat and less light.

Secondly, the two leaders must keep the channels of communication they have so painstakingly opened over the past twelve months open. If these channels are already closed, they must be urgently assisted to re-open them as quickly as possible. On the other hand, if the channels are kept open there is always hope that these issues, difficult and sensitive as they might be, can still be tabled somewhere and discussed rationally away from the glare of publicity.: -

Thirdly, the two leaders must accept that processes of political transition, even under the most favourable conditions, are always accompanied by ups and downs as well as setbacks. Our own process could not have been different. In Namibia, there were very serious ups and downs in spite of the fact that Namibians had UN Resolution 435 which more or less mapped out the constitutional route for them. We have no such resolution and we are virtually on our own. The proposed Multi-Party future.

Finally, judging by statements emanating from Ulpdl, there is no doubt that the Inkatha leadership has also been seriously offended by what has been said about their party in the

. ANC's open letter to Mr de Klerk. When Dr Bu-

thelezi alludes to a possibility of civil war, all peace-lovers must take his analysis seriously and examine it instead of simply laughing it off as hyperbolic. He too has a constituency whose feelings must be taken into consideration. It appears that Inkatha believes the Inkatha-ANC peace talks are now virtually off,

It need not be so. During the last 96 hours, the ANC leadership has already repeated twice that as far as they are concerned they are still talking to Inkatha. This provides a ray of hope which Dr Frank Mdlalose, Mr John Nkandeng and Mr Jacob Zuma must quickly grab.

Their immediate task now is to arrange another meeting between their two leaders

- and clear misunderstandings, seek clarification, and, where necessary, pour oil on troubled waters. As in the case of Mandela and De Klerk, channels of communication between

Mandela and Buthelezi must remain open at all costs.

o Dr Oscar Dhlomo is the Executive Chairman of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy.

JOHANNESBURG â\200\224 A future South African economy had to relate to the southern African region and the rest of the world, and

had to be able to compete in international

tor Thabo Mbeki said in Johannesburg yesterday.

â\200\234What we need is a developed region of southern Africa. It is not in the interest of a liberated South Africa that other countries _ in the region be undeveloped,â\200\235 Mbeki told delegates to the National African Federated Transport Organisation conference.

â\200\230He said South Africa had to have the ability to compete in international markets, especially in manufacturing,

â\200\234This country continues to be an exporter of raw materials.

â\200\234This is an old colonial relationship that has to change,â\200\235 he said.

Part of the process of managing South Africaâ\200\231s economy had resulted in a decline of manufactured products from 16% in 1960

erials had increased from 29% to 42%. These figures reflected poorly on the countryâ\200\231s economy, he said. i

â\200\234South Africa has been going backwards in terms of its relationship with the more developed parts of the world,â\200\235 Mbeki added.

~ South Africa had inherited a society that was divided, in conflict and prone to violence with intolerable levels of poverty.

One of the biggest problems, however, - was the economic situation and whites had to accept that this had to be addressed.

â\200\234We need a reduction in the levels of inequality,â\200\235 he said.

Referring to the land question, Mbeki said the African National Congress welcomed the repeal of the land acts, but this did not solve the land problem.

The National Party had not consulted widely enough before it passed new legisla-

Future econo

gy
â\2027 competitive

markets, ANC International Affairs direc- -

to five percent now. Production of raw mat-

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tion around land as it wanted to soften the impact on whites of making land available to the landless.

White South Africa had to understand that it had to be affected by the problems that had to be redressed.

South Africa needed an economic programme that was elaborate and developed, Mbeki added.

Mbeki had just completed a visit with Frontline States foreign ministers in Gaborone, Botswana, and was due to fly to Brussels later yesterday to meet European foreign ministers.

The former chief executive of Reebok and prominent financial advisor, Joseph La Bonte told the conference sanctions against South Africa should be maintained until the majority of the country's people wanted them lifted. "â

He said it would be political suicide for the U.S. Government to lift sanctions now.

"I do not believe it is for us to say sanctions must end," it's for you. They should be maintained as long as the majority want them," La Bonte said.

He said it was important for South African businessmen to realise what foreign investors were thinking about the country. He said the international image of South Africa was not positive and focused on violence and disruption.

National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry president Sam Motsuenyane said 30% of all board members of companies listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange must be black within the next 10 years.

He said that within the next 10 years, at least 60% of top management in these companies should be black.

Motsuenyane also said at least 40% of total shareholdings on the JSE should be controlled by black businessmen by that time. Sapa.

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Mbeki

-African common

market carrot plan

LUSAKA â\200\224 The Preferential Trade Area for

* eastern and southern Africa is to embark on a

four-point programme to accelerate the economic blocâ\200\231s achievement of a common market and to improve goods and services,

Reports from Lusaka yesterday said that the regional body would focus on industrialising PTA countries through the small-scale industry sector.

At a meeting for small entrepreneurs in Lusaka, PTA secretary general Mbingu wa Mutharika said the organisation would investigate the possibilities of enabling businessmen to set up economic ventures in PTA countries other than their own.

In its four-point plan of action, the PTA would pay particular attention to the least-developed countries in the region.

These countries would be encouraged to produce new brands of products and services for-export within the region and to the rest of the world.

Wa Mutharika said his organisation would â\200\234prefer private sector collaboration and involvement in its programmes to start at the earliest phase possibleâ\200\235.

â\200\234The desired goal is for wider private sector participation on the implementation of various projects during the 1990s.â\200\235

To realise this objective, the PTA Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry, along with member states and donor agencies, would help create the necessary â\200\234enabling environmentâ\200\235 for private sector participation in the regional bodyâ\200\231s quest to develop a common market,

In the past, according to Wa Mutharika â\200\234the few large industries that were established failed to be viable principally because they did not utilise local raw materialsâ\200\235.

There was an urgent need to change this approach. â\200\224 Sapa.

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n a state where the usual channels
Ifor political expression are still
closed to most citizens, alternative
means for making a point have to be
found. On the surface, a consumer
boycott seems to offer a non-violent
but salutary way of communicating
popular displeasure, and, where indi-
vidual municipalities have latterly
applied racialâ\200\230)y discriminatory by-
laws, consumer boycotts seem to have
had some effect. A :

On the other hand, large-scale b(R/-
cotts are unselective weapons that do
not necessarily hurt the intended tar-
gets. Very often, indeed, it is the low-
income consumer who has to endure
the most suffering, and who under-
goes real hardship for the sake of a
relatively small particular gain.

While the specific objectives of a
widespread boycott are not readily
achieved, the countryâ\200\231s economy is
sufficiently brittle for every negative
blow to do damage which will dis-
advantage everyone for years to come.
Moreover, the presumption that con-
sumer boycotts are peaceable has
proved false in the past, and in the
present volatile atmosphere there is

reason to fear that pressure could
again turn toviolent intimidation,

It is welcome news, therefore, that
the midlands and southern Natal
regions of the ANC have decided not
to participate in a nationwide con-
sumer boycott that would otherwise
be in force at this moment. Their deci-
sion not to go ahead without thorough
consultation with all the involved
organisations is wise. Perhaps the
exercise . of similar discretion in
future may do much to contribute to
the stabilisation of the region.

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â\200\234Itseems to us that â\200\234Itis this money that
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the townships,â\200\235 he
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'ANCYL member stabbed

by Nomusa Cembali
AFRICAN National Congress Youth League mem-

bers in Nkumba, Bulwer, say they live in fear of their lives after the recent stabbing of one of their colleagues.

Zenzele Sokhela was stabbed in the stomach and at the back, allegedly by Inkatha supporters led by a local leader whose name he supplied to Echo. He had to spend seven days at Edendale hospital.

Speaking to Echo after being discharged from hospital, Sokhela said the youth had for quite some time been threatened him for not attending Inkatha meetings and for wearing ANC T-shirts.

He said the attack happened after his friend Mku Mdlangala had visited his aunt, MaMdlangala Ngcobo who is staying at St Catherine which he described as an Inkatha stronghold. He said Inkatha people attacked them and threw stones at the house, breaking windows.

Mku fled with his aunt and had to spend a night at anearby clinic.

The following morning Mku, Zenzele and other youths went to the house to collect furniture.

Inkatha supporters approached and stabbed Zenzele in the back and in the stomach, he said.

Eight youths who were in the house were allegedly taken to a local chief's house where they were beaten.

Zenzele was taken to the clinic and later transferred to Edendale hospital.

He said the youths who had beaten him were arrested by the police and later released.

Member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in . Hlanganani which falls under Bulwer, Chief N.J.

Ngubane could not confirm the incident. However he said that he was aware of clashes among the youths from Nkumba and Bhidla but added they did not stem from forcing people to join Inkatha.

He said that he went to the area on Sunday and addressed a meeting at the local chief's house where he called for peace. "I hope this will not happen again after Sunday's meeting," he said.

rnment refuses

Blacks want sanctions

e Mandelay\ Khaba Mkhize report

from San Francisco
DEPUTY ANC president

Nelson Mandela scorned results of surveys suggesting that the majority of black people in South Africa wanted sanctions lifted.

In an interview with

the CBS television sta-

tion in its Face the National programme, it was suggested to Mandela that 82% of blacks favoured the lifting of sanctions.

Before answering he laughed, then said: If the things that were desired by my people were taken into consideration I would be sitting in the Union Buildings in Pretoria right now.

The interview was beamed on Sunday on Channel Five and was linked to South Africa: via satellite.

Mandela pointed out that some people in the USA think we are now free because of State President F.W. de Klerk's reforms. He said that some of the reforms are commendable.

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March 30. I cannot therefore zesoot- vy o
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Poor economic growth will make country ungovernable

' am.uro 1f SA's poor economic
formance continued, the coun
ungovernable by ms. erv

Chris Stals yesterday :
Spoke at an economic conference
organised by Institute for Democratic Al-
ternatives for SA (Idasa), Stals put the blame
- for the poor economic performance on the poli-
tical situation.

He said there were three reasons for SA's
economic stagnation - political uncertainties
that inhibited business confidence both locally
and abroad, social unrest and industrial action,
and sanctions,

would become
nk Governor

As managers of the economy, must
situation truly be beyond our °

GRETA STEYN

control, It will be impossible to develop SA's
economic potential before these problems are
solved, he said,

Many economic factors were cited as rea-
sons for the poor growth of the economy, but
these were often symptoms, rather than
causes, of a problem that was fundamentally
political. They included the low savings pro-

ty, weakening productivity of capital and
labour, and rising government deficits,

The Third to by ANC

once referred to
delegates discussing violence in the townshi;
could be the low economic growth rate,

must not overlook the influence of the low

growth rate on the prevailing violence, he
said.

While it was not the role of the Reserve Bank
to foster growth, he did not want to just wash
my hands in the interim before a new govern-
ment takes over.

He believed more ambitious employment

creation schemes could be very important,
Stals said.

In discussion time, University of the Western

Cape academic Pieter le Roux said Stals's in-

terpretation of SA's economic problems as be-
ing mainly political raised the question as to
why the Bank's officials had criticised the Bud-
get as too expansionary when social pensions

@ STALS

R0

to purchase goods. At the same time, the >. /

had not even been equalised.

The ANC's head of economic planning M
Sisulu said the economic performance: wail

erated by providing people with the m

need for mass production.

At the conference is Sindiso Mfeny:
member of the ANC national executive
committee who is still based in Lusaka, -

Mfenyane briefed foreign leaders and
Italian government on the ANC's call for. 4]
resignations of Defence Minister Magnus
lan and Law and Order Minister AdriaanV:
before coming to Bellagio S B

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exports â\200\224 Mbekl

ANC international affairs direc-
tor Thabo Mbeki appealed yes-
terday for increased manufactur-
ing exports and warned that it
was not in SAâ\200\231s interests for
neighbouring states to remain
underdeveloped to ensure
markets for its goods.

Mbeki said a future SA economy
would have to relate effectively to
the southern African region and to
the rest of the world. ;

Speaking at a National African
~ Federated Transport Organisation

(Nafto) conference in Johannesburg,
Mbeki said: â\200\234We need to develop the
view that other countries should also
be developed. It is not in the interest
of a liberated SA that other countries
in the region be undeveloped and re-
main an appendage of SA where
goods can be sold.â\200\235

Mbeki said.SA had to be able to
compete in international markets,
particularly in manufacturing.

â\200\234This country continues to be an
exporter of raw materials. This is an
old colonial relationship that has to
change.â\200\235

Because of mismanagement of
SAâ\200\231s economy, the value of manufac-
tured products had declined as a per-
centage of exports from 16% in 1960
to 5% in 1989. Exports of raw materi-
als increased from 29% to 42%.

SA had been going backwards in
terms of its relationship with the

- more developed parts of the world,
Mbeki said, and the country would be
in trouble if current economic prob-
lems were not ad ;

The repeal of the Land Acts did not
solve the land problem for govern-
ment.

The NP had not consulted widely enough before it passed new land legislation because it wanted to soften the impact on whites of making land available to the landless. -

â\200\234It's not going to work. Even if the ANC was the government, it could not unilaterally solve the land question.â\200\235

B THEO RAWANA &

White South Africans should understand that they would be affected by the problems needing redressing. â\200\234Redistribution of wealth must make an impact on white SA,â\200\235 Mbeki said.

The economic objectives facing the country, and the closing of the gap between haves and have-nots, should not be only the ANCâ\200\231s objectives. To

_ end poverty should be a national objective.

â\200\234This involves transferring resources from those who have to those who donâ\200\231t have,â\200\235 he said.

" All South Africans had a responsibility to narrow the black-white, income and wealth gaps.

SA was a society that was divided, in conflict and prone to violence and with intolerable levels of poverty.

Sanctions
#

â\200\234Itâ\200\231s-an explosive mixture which spells conflict and instability.â\200\235
Former Reebok International CEO Joseph la Bonte told the conference sanctions should be maintained until the majority of the people â\200\224 the alfa:gs â\200\224 said they wanted them ted.

South Africans needed to improve their image internationally. â\200\234All the outside world gets from TV and the Press is bad news â\200\224 violence, disruption and lack of priorities.â\200\235

He said: â\200\234Capital flows to attractive investments and South Africans need to define guidelines for investors â\200\224 and to make incentives attractive.â\200\235

La Bonte said these guidelines could take the form of what was being done in the areas of housing, education, job creation, health and social services and the advancement of black business.

But, the outside world should maintain sanctions until blacks said they wanted them lifted. -

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At the National A
CEO Joseph la Bon
centre, and Small

_ Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

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Jolill

gu By Lechesa Tsenoli }

E African National Congress (ANC) has once more jolted the volatile South African political climate, with its open letter to De Klerk producing a reaction of near hysteria in some circles.

- "It is often necessary to jar your interlocutor in order to demonstrate your seriousness," said Pallo Jordaan, director of publicity for the movement, on SABC TV on Monday night.

The open letter calls for the removal of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan; the return of all exiles and the release of

death squads.

De Klerk has until May 9 to meet the ultimatum of face the ANC's withdrawal

| Hysteria after

all political prisoners; an end to security trials and the disbanding of the state's.

er ANC's.

from constitutional negoti

Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) president and KwaZulu chief minister Gatsha Buthelezi replied by literally advising De Klerk not to meet the ANC's demands. In turn, he made his own demands that he claims must be met before negotiations can start.

"The situation we now face is that with or without, or because of or in spite of Dr Mandela's leadership, the ANC has forced a crisis onto the South African Government and broken with its January 29 Durban accord with the Inkatha Freedom Party," he said.

"Before negotiations can proceed, reparation must be done to severed IFP-ANC links. There can be no negotiation unless there are normalised politics."

"The ANC action in issuing this ulti-

open letter

matum and in destroying the new accord between the IFP and the ANC has, for the

moment, scuttled negotiations,â\200\235 he main- -
tained. However, nowhere in its open
letter does the ANC mention calling off
talks with the IFP.

Tronically it is precisely because the -

| ANC felt â\200\230there can be no negotiations
~ unless there are normalised politics,â\200\231 that

it decided to issue the ultimatum.
Replying to De Klerk, the ANC said:
â\200\234To make so petty aresponse and say the |
ANC is trying to draw political gain, or
that our endeavours to protect the lives of
our people and keep negotiations on track,
reflect internal problems within our ranks,
underscores precisely why we say the
government has noregard for black life.â\200\231
Please turn to page 3

tanker were safe. The

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JOHANNESBURG: In an effort to patch up strained relations with Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday telephoned the Inkatha leader to explain the purpose of the ANCâ\200\231s open letter to the Government â\200\224 in which Inkatha was labelled a â\200\234minorâ\200\235 political â\200\230player and which demanded drastic state action to halt the township violence.

The ANC said in a statement Mr Mandela had â\200\234initiatedâ\200\235 the telephone conversation with Dr Buthelezi to explain that the open letter had ~ been directed at Government â\200\234inactionâ\200\235 and not .at the IFP.

The ANCâ\200\231s department of information and publicity described the telephone conversation as

â\200\234lengthy and cordialâ\200\235.

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Daily News Correspondent

The conversation dealt with Dr Butheleziâ\200\231s response to the open letter, it said.
~ â\200\234Both leaders agreed to lend their immense personal authority to ensuring that relations between the ANC and the IFP are not disturbed by these developments,â\200\235 the statement said,

In his reaction to the ultimatum this week, Dr Buthelezi said it had â\200\234destroyedâ\200\235 the newly-established accord be-

tween the two organisations.), ol ;

Dr Buthelezi told Mr Mandela the contents of ; the telephone call would be discussed at an IFP central committee meeting at the weekend.

Last night Mr Mandela

- accused the media of

creating a smokescreen of propaganda and at-

tempting to 'destroy his organisation. 3

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ETHEKWINI. - Isikhulu soMkhonto weSizwe (MK), uMnuz. Chris Hani, sesihambeke amazwe amaningi omhlaba kulezizinsukwana sizama ukuthola izindawo okuzogeqeshelwa kuzo amalungu alom-butho, ngokusho kwemibiko ekhishwe ephephabhukwini le-African National Congress (ANC), iMayibuye.

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lulekile yakusasa nebu-
swa ngentando yeningi.

Uthe uma kwenzeka
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Africa entsha.

HE ANC, it seems, is backpedalling somewhat on its ultimatum to the government to meet seven demands by May 9, including the dismissal of the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Viok. ;

Nobody had any doubt when the ANC issued its ultimatum in an open letter to State President De Klerk that if its demands were not met, the ANC would suspend further talks on the all-party congress and a future constitution. :

Now ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has told foreign diplomats that the ANC's demands have been overblown by the media.

They were not an ultimatum but a 'cry from the people for peace'.

He could have fooled us.

We had no doubt whatsoever that it was an ultimatum and since the government had to accept the ANC demands by May 9 or else, it was nothing but an ultimatum.

Dr Pallo Jordan, the ANC Information Secretary, says that judging from the responses to the open letter, the ANC has either not been properly heard or its words are being completely misunderstood.

He refers to the 'deep crisis' over violence and says: 'What the ANC has sought to do is to shake the government and many of our compatriots out of their apparent complacency'

There was nothing new about calls for the resignation of General Magnus Malan.

'The ANC was adding its own voice, rather belatedly one might add, to what had become a veritable chorus, he said.

'But only ours merited the riposte, 'bloody cheek, from one newspaper.'

Since The Citizen used the expression, it is only right to point out that the ANC had not merely demanded the dismissal of both General Malan and Mr Vlok, but had made this one of the conditions that had to be met if the ANC was not to break off talks with the government. '

In other words, it was a 'dismiss or else' ultimatum, and it was in this context that The Citizen regarded the ANC's demand as 'a bloody cheek.'

The change in the ANC's stance may have resulted from the outcry the ultimatum caused, as well as the adverse reaction abroad.

Mr Mandela told the diplomats that the ANC would be more flexible to the government if there was a positive reaction to its demands.

According to the ANC, Mr Mandela said:
â\200\234Every single demand we have made is designed to restore confidence in the peace pro-

cess. It is not too late.

â\200\234If the government shows a reasonable response to our reasonable demands, we, on our side, will not be found wanting.â\200\235

We sense that the ANC would not be averse to a compromise.

And we do not think it will, in the final analysis, make the dismissal of the two Ministers an issue over which it would break off talks.

Mr Vlok, after slating the ANC for its untruths and its hand in the violence, told a media

~ conference, in response to a question, that the ultimatum and demands were not an â\200\234â\200\230in-

_surmountable obstacleâ\200\235â\200\231, and solutions could be found through negotiation between the government and the ANC.

At the same time it is reported that some of the diplomats are going to use their influence to resolve the deadlock.

They will urge the government to react calmly and responsibly and to let the dust settle â\200\234â\200\230before arranging a one-to-one meeting between Mr Mandela and the State Presidentâ\200\235.

We hope, in fact, they will keep their noses out of South Africaâ\200\231s affairs. :

Despite the ultimatum, we believe the ANC wants to keep the negotiations going; similarly, the government wants to maintain the impetus towards a settlement.

We, therefore, smell compromise.

However, we hope the government will not do anything to suggest it is bowing to the ultimatum. -~

It has to stand firm not only on the issue of the two Ministers, but on other matters that have been raised.

It must not give in, or it will be rejected by its own constituency.

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Mamelodi
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Citizen Reporter

THE City Council of Ma-
melodi, near Pretoria, is
to take legal action
against the Mamelodi
Civic Association to stop
it from â\200\234inciting violence
in the township with in-
flammatory allegationsâ\200\235.

The Mayor of Mamelo-
di, Mr S S Mokone said
yesterday the Civic Asso-
ciation was distributing
pamphlets containing al-
legations â\200\230â\200\230calculated to
import into Mamelodi the
endemic violence in Black
townships presently ex-
perienced in areas such as
Katlehong on the East
Randâ\200\235.

He said the allegations
were nothing other than a
recipe for chaos and
bloody violence in the
otherwise peaceful Ma-
melodi.

The Councillors are

do with Askaris,
CCB, or the Inkathaâ\200\231s of
this world. As for coun-
cillors being â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230armed to
deathâ\200\235, it is nothing but a
cheap propaganda ploy,
Mr Mokone said.

The Mamelodi council
has instructed its attor-
neys to stop the attempt
by â\200\230â\200\234wickedâ\200\235 elements
who want to disturb the
peace and promote an-
archy and blood-letting to
reach a selfish -political
end. 3

Mr Mokone also war-

ned that the repeated call
by the Civic Association
for residents to pay a R50
flat rate towards municipi-
pal services would lead to
an_ electricity cut off
which would plunge the
township in darkness and
a resultant orgy of viol-

ence. .

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CCB chief, others sa

FROM PAGE 1 |Â\$

motives would now also turn their attention from the CCB back to the real issues facing the country. â\200\234As I have said, my conscience is clear. I accept political responsibility for my department. â\200\234In the case of the CCB, the position is similar to that of the chairman of a rugby club, who is informed in advance of the tactics and plans, but who cannot be held responsible when one or two players indulge in foul play on the field.â\200\235 General Malan denied there had been unnecessary delay in terminating the CCB, although it was disbanded in February last year. ! There had been the Harms Commission inquiry, resulting in a report on November 13 last year, and the subsequent

inquiry - into CCB funds by the Auditor-General, which reported to. Parliamentâ\200\231s Joint Committee on Public Accounts.

The committee held

that project Goldie (CCB actions within the country) was unauthorised, involving R82 000. In this case; the matter was being investigated by the police, and decisions on prosecution would be made by attorneys-general. : Referring to 10 other projects, involving an amount of R577 000, the committee said there was a â\200\234rebuttableâ\200\235 presumption that they were unauthorised.

Court action

Court action was being taken in the hope of recovering the documentation, which could mean that the unauthorised expenditure would be con-

siderably less] said General Malan.
In an â\200\234open cardsâ\200\235

speech on winding up the

affairs of the CCB, General Malan told Parlia-

ment in the Budget de- .

bate last night that CCB members. had been offered their alternatives: they could resign, could be transferred to the SADF, or could accept retrenchment packages which were individually designed.

Originally, 32 resisted the offers. Three had already gone to. the Supreme Court, but their applications had been rejected with costs. However, one of the three had now acceptÃ©d the package offered, as had a further three of these 32 ex-CCB members.

â\200\234The position is that 95 accepted the packages, eight joined the Permanent Force and one resigned.

â\200\234Altogether 28, including Colonel Joe Verster, at this stage, however, have dug. in their heels and still refuse to accept the severance packages, which were individually designed.

â\200\234For example, they demand pension benefits as though they had retired at the age of 60 as members of the State Pension

Fund, plus fringe benefits, irrespective of their actual period of service. These excessive demands are unacceptable to the SADE.â\200\235

.General Malan said that while the activities of the CCB had been ended last February and it was operationally - disbanded, some of the members who had accepted the severance packages had been retained in the SADF for a few months-to help with

" the administrative winding-up and the audit of CCB records. -

He outlined steps taken by the SADF in the past three weeks since the Joint Committeeâ\200\231s report had been finalised:

@ The services have been terminated of all â\200\230members who did not accept

the severance package they were offered. There is still a possibility that some may resort to the courts.

@ Civil action has been taken against Colonel Verster to demand â\200\234the delivery of those assets, contracts and filesâ\200\235 necessary for the winding up and auditing of the CCB records.

@â® The SADF has laid a complaint with the SAP about the 11 missing operational files referred to by the Parliamentary Joint Committee and

which related to expenditure of R659 000.

@ The SADF has already instructed the State Attorney to summons all

" those who were still in possession of State property and had not returned it.

General Malan said there were in fact, only four instances of unreturned assets, one of which was a fishing vessel in Durban. Other items were office equipment, motor cars and attache cases.

The SADF has also offered its help to former CCB members who wished to apply for indemnity, where this was applicable, similar to that being given to ANC members.

Referring to Operation Samoesa, General Malan said there had been nothing sinister of dishonest about it. After the CCB was disbanded last year, the acting head of Special Forces had authorised advances against their retrenchment packages, to help them in their resettlement.

However, out of ignorance he neglected to get Treasury approval for this step, so that the expenditure is unauthorised. ;

The fact is that R2,2 million of the amount has already been recovered. The remaining R900 000 will be recovered by the

- end of June.

In his speech, General Malan also dealt with some of the issues raised

_interpretation

in the report of the Joint Committee on Public Accounts, one of which was the complaint about ex ante and ex post facto ministerial approvals for the use of Special Defence Funds. Â¢

This type of approval by himself and the Minister of Finance had been based on a long-standing of

Special Defence Account Act. There had been nothing underhand about it, and the current interpretation by the Auditor-General for new approvals- was being implemented.

Secondly, = the Joint Committee referred to â\200\234oral approvalsâ\200\235, and again note had been taken of the committeeâ\200\231s opinion. '

Referring to the CCB issue as a whole, General Malan said that some people on the political Left and the Right had tried to keep it alive artificially in order to use it for political gain. This had been â\200\234the height of political opportunismâ\200\235, including attempts to divide the Cabinet and the National Party.

General Malan said he accepted overall responsi-

bility for the CCB con- ~

cept, which had been to achieve the maximum disruption of the ANC and to gather information outside South Africa, â\200\234at a

the:

time of particular conflictâ\200\235.

He had no feelings of guilt about that. The CCB had done very good work, and with its disappearance South Africa had lost a specific ability.

â\200\234What remains is that, when it was brought to my attention that some individuals, who could be counted on the fingers of one hand, were not abiding by the rules of a particular covert organisation, I acted. That was towards the end of 1989.

â\200\234Since the end of 1989 there had been the creation of a climate around the CCB and criticism which had reached the

wildest imagining,â\200\235 General Malan added.

Led campaign

Leading this campaign had been the ANC, certain Democratic Party members and media people, and especially, â\200\234weekend armchair writersâ\200\235.

â\200\234Many of these DPs, it seems to me, are only trying to find nests for themselves under a future possible government, which they incorrectly assume will be the ANC. And media people have been among those doing it.

â\200\234It seems to me they are buying future policies, and the premiums they are paying is to tackle the â\200\230SADF and myself,â\200\235 said General Malan.

NEWS . Wit Eeren Wl @

Violence will de stroy hĩ¬\201pg
for the future

JOHANNESBURG = â\200\224
The South African Coun-
cil of Churches (SACC)
believes that " violence
threatens - the -negotia-
tion process and will
destroy the hopes people
have for the future, ac-
cording to SACC general
secretary the Reverend
Frank Chikane.

He said in a statement
last week that all efforts
should be made to stop
the violence.

â\200\234Extensive consulta-
tions with leaders of the
affected - - communities,
which have been facing
escalating violence in
the country, have been
held since the beginning
oflastweek. . -

â\200\234In the course of these

consultations Nelson
Mandela and .- Chief
Mangosuthu = Buthelezi

met to address the vio- -
lence.â\200\235.

. Chikane said further
consultations were being
undertaken by church
leaders and it was hoped

that a meeting would be .

made possible in the
near future to â\200\234open the
doors for all South Afri-
cans to contribute in the
efforts to stamp out the
endemic violence in the
countryâ\200\235.

- â\200\234We ... believe as

churches " that the - vio- .

lence threatens the pro-

cess of negotiation in the country and will destroy the hopes people have for the future, and all efforts must be made to stop it," Chikane said.

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AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche (above) and other rightwing

ers were arrested on Saturday for trying to disrupt an African National Congress rally being held in Pretoria. AP

Most violence deaths
it -
are by gun Institute
THE Inkatha Institute claimed on Monday that between 70% and 90% of all violence killings over the two month period from January 29 were as a result of shootings. 3
The institute was responding to what it termed the tribal weapons debate, following an African National Congress call to government to have the carrying of these weapons banned. - 2 :
In a press statement the Inkatha Institute asked:
"The question must therefore be asked why is there no outcry for the banning of guns?"
The statement said January 29 had produced the greatest hope that ANC and IFP would be able to bring about an end of violence in Natal and Transvaal

townships.-Two months later it had become clear

-there had been no such
end to the violence and
this period had recorded
many serious incidents
in which high numbers
of people had been
killed and injured.
It said of the 24 more
serious incidents in
Natal and Transvaal,
84% were regarded as attacks
against Inkatha
supporters.

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Govt willing
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to disc
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By Peter Fabricins
Political Correspondent

The Government is prepared to discuss the ANC's seven demands for action to combat violence and its continuing with plans for negotiations. Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Vioen said today the Government was going ahead with

tion terrain with.

We do not plan to bedevil or jeopardise them. Negotiations are inevitable and are the only way to find lasting solutions.

If negotiations had gone off track they would have to be put back on track, he said at a briefing in Cape Town

He disclosed that there had been continuing contact between the Cabinet and the ANC national executive on matters other than violence since Friday's ultimatum.

The ultimatum has strained the relationship between Pretoria and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela which was so important for negotiations.

One really has the im-

pression that this is not the

sort of action of the Mr Mandela we have known all along in the promotion of negotiation and peace.

But Dr. Viljoen added he was convinced the relationship between Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandelz was strong enough to survive the strain.

Dr Viljoen dodged all-

questions about whether the Government considered any of the ANC's seven demands as reasonable and whether it would meet any of them -

"We've been consistent in not ruling out of the discussion any matters on a bottom-line basis.

"We would be prepared to discuss several of the items in the ultimatum and have in fact been doing so."

That was why the ultimatum had come as quite a shock. It was a real somersault by the ANC in its methods of dealing with matters which were already on the agenda and are still on the agenda.

Dr Viljoen said it was still possible but unlikely that the multi-party congress

(MPC) could take place here.

For the ANC's planned national congress in Johannesburg Viljoen said he accepted-

ed the ANC was genuinely.

concerned about the violence but so were other parties such as the PAC and Azapo, who had been the subject of ANC wrath in the past.

The Government rejected

only the ANC's diagnosis of the causes of the violence, especially its continuous shifting of the blame on to

others.

Dr Viljoen said the Government had not expected the "drastic ultimatum", which had come out of the blue just when President de Klerk had been trying to arrange a meeting with Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthe and Mr Man-

del.

Dr Viljoen asked If Mr
Mandelz was 2 fres agent or
was the Sâ\200\230Lâ\200\230lbject of internal
tensions snd pressure from
radicals in the ANC leader-
ship corps. Those leaders not
in favour of negofiations had
been displeased by the ANC
decision to tzke part In an
MPC

A confidential ARC docu-
-ment, â\200\234Guidelines on Strate-
&y znd Tactiesâ\200\235, had shown
that the ANC acÃ©mowzaiged
that it was losing the tactical
infHiztive to the Government.
The altimatmm seemed o
be an effort to â\200\234regain hold
of the drivers seat, Lo m-
prove the ANC's image znÃ©

. sort ot Internal tensionsâ\200\235.

â\200\230But it was a serious mat-
ter for the ANC ito risk the
whaole peace process to
strengihen its own postHan.

Asked what would happen
if the Government did not
meet the ANC's conditions,
be said it wond be up to the
ANC to decide. He added it
was encouraging that Mr
Mandela and others no
longer â\200\234interpreted Friday's
staierent 35 an olHmatom.

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" The Star Thursday Aprlt 11 1991

NEWS

By Esnard van der Merwo
, Political Reportor

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1 . Inan offort to patch up strained

velabions witl Chiof Mangos-

{ iuthu Buthelezi, ANC depuly

_president Nolson. Mandela yes-
terday telephoned the Inkatha
Teader to explain the purpose of
ltha ANC's open lctter lo the
Government, Jn which Inkatha
wag labelled & â\200\234minorâ\200\235 political
â\200\230player and which demanded
â\200\234drastic State aclion to hait the
' township vidlence. :

had inltiated ihe telephono con-
2 vorsation with Chiel Buthelez
= to.explain that the open letter
. had been directed at Govern-

e e e e wa â\200\224 â\200\224â\200\224 a w â\200\224m

The ANC sntd Mr Mandelu -

.Mandeia tries â\200\230to mend relations

ment "inaclionâ\200\235 and nol nt the
Inkatha IFreedom Party.

The ANC's department of information and publicly described the telephone conversation as lengthy and cordial.

ANC leaders agreed to lend their personal authority to ensuring that relations between the ANC and the IFP are not disturbed by these developments.

Chief Buthelez! said last night he had told Mr Mandela only

that the IFP central committee and the ANC national executive could take any step towards rectifying the "very difficult position into which the ANC's H-

the thrust of IFP-ANC relations-

ship. The IFP's central committee would consider the mat-

ter on Sunday.

On Monday, Chief Buthelez responded heatedly to the ANC's letter and the accusation that perpetrators of the protracted violence aimed to

bring the IFP from that of a minor to the rank of the third major player in the political arena,

[He warned that negotiations between the Government and the IFP would now proceed without the ANC,

From Cape Town Shaun Johanson reports that the ANC is attempting to make a diplomatic comeback after the

series of criticisms following

with Buthelez

"Friday's

Diplomats and political observers are revising their earlier assessment that the ANC was being disingenuous in threatening the negotiation process because of the Government's failure to halt violence,

After extraordinary briefings
for senior diplomats, communi-
ty representatives and senior

journalists in Cape Town on

Tuesday by Mr Mandela, a vari-

ety of sources said they had
found the ANC's explanation of

. Its reasons for joining the anti-

maotun 'convincing'.

"I think they have a point

when they say one realises.

- the seriousness with which they
regard the violence in which

. - all

. some 8000 people have died

Tre

EERT PR RN A Y

said the source,

According to the sources, Mr

- Mandela rallied against the

ANC's decision for interpreting the let-

ter by a stalling tactic and an
ultimatum seeking to derail ne-
gotiations. He argued that the
peace process would collapse if
the Government was not
prompted into dramatic action.
Mr Mandela is reported to
have said in closed-door brief-
ings: "We want to create an
ideal climate conducive to ne-
gotiations. But the violence is a
priority issue. I live in the town-
ships, where people are dying,
and the death toll lives in the Union

buildings.

"Black life is cheap in this
country ... My attempts have

been fruitless ... We thought we
could persuade the Government

of this, but we have failed."

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By Bryan Stuarl

CAPE â\200\234TOWN." â\200\224
of the Civil

.- Members
Co- operatlion ..Bureau
. (CCB) who' dld not ac-
CEPITH trepchment
package
. them;â\200\235 includmg CCBA
â\200\234chief; Colonel Joe Ver-
ster, have. been sacked,

â\200\230 General Magnus Mal-

: [an, Minister::of De-

t-fence; told Parhamem
yesterday i q
â\200\234Civil actionis â\200\230bemg

- taken" against -~ Colonel

â\200\234Verster for the recovery
sof CCB files and records,

1" while the full R3,1 million
3! : pdld out to CCB members

in the so-called Operation
Samoesa â\200\234â\200\230advancesâ\200\235 will
be â\200\230recovered by the end
of June.

Charges have bcen laid
with - the . South African
Police about. the missing

documents to:which the .
â\200\230- Auditor-General, Mr R P
Wronsley, referred in: a:

report to Parliament this .

year on the funds of the
CCB. 11 Â¥ it

â\200\234Action has now been
taken in these ways, and
he will not proceed with

legislation to indemnify
the State against un-

-reasonable .. claims by

CCB members.
General .. Malan said

there had been justifiable
criticism of this proposal.

Real issues

What I have done is to

take the CCB issue off the
table. I hope we can now

devote our attention to. | |

the important issues con-
cerning the future of
South Africa, General
Malan told The Citizen
after his speech.

-He said he had pre-

viously undertaken to re-

port to Parliament on ter-

-minating the CCB. Hav-

ing done that, he trusted
that people with ulterior

TOPAGE2 _ 231

to recover
files

f BACKGROUND TO THE NEWS

iâ\200\230

& THE Atâ\200\230rlcan National Congress moved last week 0
come closer to its:members and supporters who were
_ becomingdisillusioned with its inaction, and further
away from the government and Inkatha Freedom

. Party who were beginning to be seen as their allies by .

" the extreme left such as Azapo and the PAC. . ER
#.The ' ANC: issued.the â\200\230most militant statemen

nce February 2 to the state President F.W. de Klerk !

o sort out his security establishment and ensure that

.. perpetrators of violence were brought to book, or face
* a suspension of the spirit of negotiations by May 9.

The move has been endorsed by Cosatu; South Afri-
can Communist Party and the ANC Youth League. - 4.

i.#.Theanti-collaboration line is expected to be fur- .

thered ziler the Harare summit of the Pan-Africanist
~Congress.and the ANC this.weekend. The PAC has
â\200\230stated unequivocally that the ANC should choose be-

' tween the other members of the liberation movement

and the Natio'-alâ\200\230 Party government they cannot have

g ltbboth ways.

The new ANC posxtron may have shocked the

Â¥ ol i 4 ; ?

International community and the white community in

X @â\200\234 ,
cunity and mutual'dxsÂ«trust among the Afrrcan people

the country, who believed all was well between the .; ,tAt the same time, they â\200\230â
\200\230hope to prey on the; worst

ANC and the government, but it has appeased the

communities who have been calling for visible tough
action from the organisation. A

.= The ANC has admitted that the. violence is cur-

: taxlmg their recruitment drive. The youth league has,
. failed to make the one-million' mark-they had in-
â\200\230tended;and the ANC itself had only.200 000 members . *
â\200\234lin December. The Youth League has 210 605 paid-up
â\200\234members.

i In their open letter the ANC says the killings,

maimings and beatings in the townships have in-
- flamed feelings of ethnic antagonism among various

' sections of the African people, have distracted public attention from root causes of poverty, hunger, deprivation in the country, and have rendered it more difficult to achieve united action among the African people for generally accepted and commendable goals.

They said the perpetrators have a clear intention to sow divisions and stoke up a psychosis of fear, inse-

I

fears and prejudices of our white compatriots and - thus make them more apprehensive about a demonstration

information

% The ANC has been losing the moral high ground and been, reacting to the government since its unbanning

also come under fire from supporters who say: it falls

to defend them when they are attacked Most have opted to become apolitical or, non-aligned At the

! same time, it has failed to convince supporters that

the Peace Accord with Inkatha will work, in the light -

- of continuing violence. Most of all, they have been

seen to have been co-opted by the government and the youth in particular fail to reconcile the new collaborationist ANC with the fighting ANC they hero

3 worshipped from exile. = 2+

The youth have also been brought up to believe that Inkatha is part of the oppressive machinery, hence they challenge Nelson Mandela's contention:

that there is a third force. They argue that there are |

two camps, the oppressor and the oppressed and
betweeners

In a statement issued on Monday the ANCYL said, i

they ruled out the notion of a third force
- The reluctance of government and security forces to act to stop violence, even when notified of imminent attacks, left us with no illusion that there

|| could be any other force that is responsible for this .
t

ts urro at

- Mandela and the ex
of the NEC have been,
under pressure mainly

from the Youth League.

â\200\230not to â\200\234legitimiseâ\200\235 Inka-

tha and elevate.it to:the
Â\$ ranks of â\200\234aliberation

e Satslfactory

o The dismissal of Minis-
ters Adriaan Vlok and
General Magnus-Malan
from public office and
the rustication of all the
officers of the SADF and

- semblies;:
i ralliesete.: .o

j'movementf whichÂ® they '
i believe it is not. This has

put the January 29 Ac-
cord with Inkatha under
more stress.

The ANC . has .de-
â\200\230manded: g

Â® That ' the : government
take :legislative: mea-

-sures during the current

session of parliament to
outlaw . the carrying. of
weapons, traditional : or

otherwise, at publrc as- .
processxons, 4

SAP who bear direct re-
sponsibility for the set-
tingup, management, the
crimes and misdemea-
nours of the CCB and
other hitsquads.

e The visible, public dis-
mantling and disarming
of all special counter-
insurgency units such as
the Askaris, Battalion 32,
the CCB, Koevoet the Z

. â\204¢ Squad etc and the estab-

lishment of a multiparty

\ commission to oversee

this process.

e The immediate - sus-
pension from duty of all
police officers and

i

constables who were im-
plicated in the mas-

sacres at Sebokeng on March 22 and the commencement of legal proceedings against them, and the immediate suspension from duty of all the police officers and constables responsible for the shootings in Davyton and Benoni on March 24 pending a commission of inquiry into that incident.

assurance that in future the SAP, SADF and other security organs will employ acceptable and civilised methods of crowd control, and that the issuance of live ammunition to the police on such occasions shall be disallowed.

e That effective steps are taken to begin the process of phasing out the hostels and other labour compounds and transforming them into family units and single occupancy flats. .

e The establishment of A . an independent commission of inquiry to receive, investigate and report on all complaints of misconduct by the police and other security services.

If by May 9 these demands have not been met the ANC will suspend any further discussion with the government on the all-party congress and suspend all exchanges with the government on the future constitution of our country.

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