

Aâ\200\231P 19918 - =

THE STAR 2i|icas

IFP student leader slain

B OWN CORRESPONDENT  
and SAPA

An Inkatha Freedom  
Party student leader at  
the University of Zulu-  
lead, Michion Mkhize  
(26). was stabbed to  
death at nearby Vulind-  
lela township outside  
Empangeni on Tuesday  
night. the [FP said.

The organisation said  
in a statement that  
Mkhize. the vice-chair-  
man of the IFP's univer-  
sity branch. was in a  
group of IFP sympathis-  
ers attacked by eight  
men &t about 3 pm.

Mkhize and another  
unidentified student were  
stabbed to death and  
three others were in-

jured.

KwaZulu Police could  
not confirm Mkhizeâ\200\231's  
death yesterday.

Hacked

The IFP claimed the  
attack was politically mo-  
tivated and linked to 2  
planned [FP meeting on  
the campus this Satur-  
day.

Mkhize was the second  
IFP leader killed in Natal  
since the weekend.

Wembezi [FP leader  
Duke Mbongwa was

hacked to death during a so-called faction fight at Mangweni near Loskop at the weekend. He was the chairman of the Mangweni [FP branch.

Also in Natal on Tuesday, Delelwa Duso (61) was shot dead in Umiazi's C section and Derrick Gumede (23) was fatally shot in the head.

And in the Ntonjeni district of Izingolweni, in southern Natal, three men were murdered and dismembered during an attack on a funeral vigil.

Police blamed the funeral attack on a family feud.

(

Editor-in-Chief:

LIBERTY Aromweon  
AND PRESS &%t  
FREEDOM g

mn 488 4911

Where would this  
vengeance stop?

â\200\230 -many people incensed by malevolellt acts of  
4olence, there might be some emotional  
sfaction in the call by ANC Western Cape

secretary Tony Yengeni for â\200\234Nuremberg-style trialsâ\200\235  
~ and the carrying out of the death sentences imposed  
on Chris Haniâ\200\231s assassins last week.

But there has been â\200\230as much criticism of the  
acquittal of Winnie Mandela on murder charges as  
there has been of the a :zuitttl of Gaye Derby-Lewis  
in the Hani case. There have been calls for the trial of  
prominent ANC officials allegedly responsible for  
horrifying deeds in "ANC ps, just as there have  
been demands for the tr ;!;pse allegedly involved  
inr ate-sponsored crimes.

where would this sor of vengeance end? And

â\200\230would it achieve other than to stir up emotions

: on all sides? Certainly the countryâ\200\231s judicial system

\_cannot allow known criminals to escape justice, now  
or in the future. By the game token it cannot be made  
subservient to the demands of politicians, or face  
criticism because its judgments satisfy judicial,  
â\200\234rather than political, criteria.

Mr Yengeni, â\200\230and others like him, should recognise  
that sooner or â\200\231later, whatever happens, the country  
o it this lerabehinditandseek'

Talks: pre

## 8 STAR AFRICA SERVICE

Maputo â\200\224 Both the (N leader and Forelgn Afllairs Minister Pik Botha have pledged to try to bring IFP leader Chief Mangvs-uthu Buthelezi back to the negotiation table.

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said the UN would

continue lo apply pressure on Buthelezi to rejoin the negotiatlon prooess.

Buthelezi's refusal to continue negotiations was a major stumbling block. â\200\234He is & problem but we will continue to work with the IFP through discussions to get them back to the negotiation table.â\200\235

Foreign Affairs Mlnisier Pik Botha also promised to work towards a solutlon.

â\200\234We can'l procced without the IFP, the CP and General Constand Viljoen's group. We canâ\200\231t go oun until substantial numbers of major political parties agree to the transitional constitution.â\200\235

He sald il the process went

ssure on Buthelezi promised

on without them, South Africa was likety to be in for a very troublesome time.

Botha sald he was convinced Buthelezi believed what he was saying and added that it was

â\200\230time all the other parties â\200\224 in

cluding the NP â\200\224 took another serious took at federalism.

BB GG

11 00

0S:

Cololfiz Yuis WL

" THE STAR z2iio/<r3

24 die in  
clan battle  
in Natal

#### W STAFF REPORTERS

Twenty-four people were killed,  
- five wounded and more than 100  
huts destroyed in faction fighting  
at Loskop near Estcourt, Natal,  
yesterday.

Police said the Mnyangweni  
and Ngondini clans clashed in a  
macabre replay of fighting that  
saw two killed 12 days ago.

And on the East Rand, vio-  
lence continued with police re- |  
porting the deaths of five people  
yesterday.

Police believe the battle in  
Loskop was related to an age-  
old fight for land.

Natal SAP spokesman Captain  
Henry Budhram said the attack  
occurred early yesterday. Fire-  
arms and sharp instruments  
were used. "Some people were  
hacked. Others stabbed, shot  
and burnt."

Revenge has been cited by po-

lice as the motive for the latest  
clashes after the recent death of  
.two members of the Ngondini  
. clan. Two days later, 62 Mnyang-  
.

weni huts were gutted in the dis-  
trict, said Budhram.

He said it was still unclear  
- how the fighting started yester-

day, but police and SADF mem-  
bers were investigating.

Security forces were patrol-

ling the area, which was "quiet  
but very tense" early today.

On the East Rand, five people,  
including an assistant constable,  
died in violence yesterday.

Police said the off-duty police-

- man was shot dead by unknown gunmen in Tembisa.

A man burnt to death in Ramakanope West In Katlehong and the body of a man with a gunshot wound was found at Kwesine Hostel in Katlehong.

Two men were shot dead in separate attacks in Tokoza.

THE STRR 2110 /=13

Fire guts ANC  
election office

estimated at thousands  
of rands was caused by a fire  
which swept through the newly  
opened ANC Randfoutein elec  
tion office earty today.

Uhuru Motiloa, the ANC West  
Rand voting co-ordinator who  
ran the office, said he had been  
told by police that a white man  
was seen in the area shortly be  
fore an explosion was heard and

the place went up in flames"235.

Police sald an arson docket  
had been opened. 224 West Rand  
Bureaw



Warning that new govt could replace diplomats

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The ANC, unhappy about recent  
unilateral appointments of SA  
heads of mission to foreign  
posts, has warned that these  
envoys will all be subject to re-  
view and possible changes if it  
comes to power.

ANC international affairs ad-  
ministration head Yusuf Saloo-  
jee told The Star yesterday: "It  
is normal international practice  
that when a head of state chan-  
ges in any country, the creden-  
tials of all heads of mission be-

THE unilateral appointment of heads  
of mission raises  
concern, even in South  
Africa's Department of  
Foreign Affairs

come invalid. In our case it  
would be no different."

This would include all ambas-  
sadors around the world.

"It is possible the new gov-  
ernment may want to retain  
some or all, but certainly HJs

ANC will review envoys

not automatic that they remain,"  
Saloojee said.

"I have here are more than 80 such  
posts in SA embassies and trade  
missions. Many of these were re-  
cent appointments as SA was  
welcomed back into previously  
hostile territory.

It is understood that the con-  
cern about recent appointments  
is shared in some quarters of  
the existing foreign service.

Some believe that the system  
applied in the US, where all an-

bassadors automatically tender  
their resignation when the gov-  
ernment changes, should apply

â\200\231

in South Africa.

A Department of Foreign Af-  
fairs spokesman noted that ca-  
reer diplomats represented  
whichever government was in  
power, but would not be drawn  
up the position of political ap-  
pointments.

Saloojee said the ANC was â\200\234a  
little dismayedâ\204ç that so many  
new ambassadors were being  
appointed unilaterally.

â\200\234The ANC is quite certain  
there will have to be a review  
and possible changes to the De-  
partment of Foreign Affairs as  
well as diplomatic representa-  
tion abroad,â\200\235 he said.

â\200\231)

J  
O  
N  
:  
W  
-  
  
!

V- Alex gets going in peace

lexamdraâ\200\231s Refirud section  
resembiect (he ruins of &  
mb sile.

Houseg, or what was left of

them, gaped at the open sky,  
while cows grazed in what

' used to be lower gardens, now  
covered in knee-high grass.

These were homes where (-  
natives lived & year ago, where  
David Mothwa had lived for 35  
years. Mothwa (52) s one of  
hundreds of Alexandra resi-  
dents who were forced (o  
abandon (their homes in Belrul,

With relative peace having  
reverted to Alexandra, people  
are picking up the pieces. Not  
only have the barricades and  
armoured vehicles which  
locked [toovseveldt Street  
(which divided Beirut from the  
rest of Alexandre) been re-  
moved, but the number of vio-  
lence-related deaths in (he  
area has dropped from 222  
people in 1X2 to just six this  
year.

How peace came to Alexan-  
dra (s not clear. Local groups  
and individuals have different  
stories to tell.

Peace worker and focal In-  
terim Crisis Committee chair-  
man Deane Yates said it was  
the National Peace Accord's  
endless efforts that brought  
about peace in the area. Local  
ANC and IFP leaders Mandla  
Maseko and Ewerl Mncube

- claim that it was the funeral of

" IFP member Maria Maguni  
(one of the oldest residents) in  
March this year, attended by  
leaders and supporters from  
both organisations, which  
brought Alexandra residents  
together.

Yet while life has begun to  
return (o normal, protests re-  
main, partly in Beirut.

When many residents fed

ALTHOUGH relative

" peace has returned

to Alexandra in  
recent months, past  
political conflicts  
have left a legacy of  
problems. About  
Milazi reports

the area, the [FP-aligned ci-  
ties remained or moved in and  
so did ANC supporters when  
IFP members fled greater  
Alexandra. Their houses were  
burnt, leaving hundreds of fa-  
milies homeless.

Mothaga, for example, said  
he had a thriving panetbeating  
business before that fateful  
night on March 16 (99, when  
his house and all his posse-  
ssions went up in flames.

Madala hostel (FP chairman  
Ewerl Mncube admitted that  
solving the problem of dis-  
placed people was a daunting  
task for the local ANC and (GP  
leaderstdp.

Mncube said trying to help  
refugees get their homes back,  
which are now occupied by  
other families, was a "very  
sensitive" issue. He said while  
some refugees were reluctant  
to return to Beira, others  
whose houses were destroyed  
had nowhere to return to,

"We don't know what these  
people might decide to do [if  
they are moved out. We are  
walking the tightrope here, we  
have to be very careful that  
whatever we do does not lead  
to renewed violence. And those  
whose houses were burnt pose  
even a bigger problem because

Picking up the  
pieces . . . this  
war, who

has built a  
shop where his  
house once  
stood, Is  
among the  
refugees who  
have returned  
to Beirut.

PICTUBIE:

PETER MOGAKI

there are no funds to help  
them rebuild their homes. "  
Greater Alexandra ANC  
leader Mandla Maseko af-  
firming Maseko's fear, saving  
the relative peace was a very  
fragile one. He said the two lead-  
erships had to be very cautious  
in dealing with the situation.  
Maseko said the two organi-  
sations were planning to revive  
the Alexandra Development

The Star 2110[a3

Committee, formed early this  
year to address problems fac-  
ing victims of violence.

Maseko said: "The first step  
would be to revive the commit-  
tee and then take it from there.  
After that we will have a plat-  
form on which to discuss and  
explore ways to deal with the re-  
settlement of the displaced  
people and their problems in  
general."

While the two leaderships  
grapple with the problems, time  
goes on.

Mothwa has resumed his  
panelbeating business, but  
now works from a pavement  
using borrowed tools. He has de-  
termined to rebuild his busi-  
ness and his life.

"Life is tough, isn't it?"  
Mothwa said, pausing to light  
the cutting torch.

THE 519â\200\2303 '21|||Â°â\200\230Â°13

|  
,  
i  
j .  
|

i  
I  
[

|  
|  
|  
j  
|

!  
Â£  
f  
]  
!

| banned the ANC. the  
1. the PAC, the nolize  
Â©iorce {nn the Â«7viiships. When they

Qhe \$

Establisheq 1887  
47 SAUEK STREET, JOHANNESBURG, 2001

Cops in the  
community

; Community policing will begin  
LHNen trusi s restored.  
T is gratitving to hear the South African  
Police speak the language of demilitari-  
sation and community involvement ag it  
. seeks to sinchronise jts Operations and  
- ihe attitudes 5 its embers with the demands  
Â¢ of poiicing in a demoeratic age.  
We can think of no or

- efficacy, cre

amaged by

! apartheid, ang one more \$o than its en.

. forcer, the SAP.

By 1990. when President de Klerk un-  
Communist Party and  
had become an occupying  
weren't at

L war with com-munities, they were trying to .

{ ; Munity involvement in

- sert themssives between Tival factions. The  
Â¢ oresults have peen generally the same. More  
. people killed, mope policemen murdered,

At times, as many as 30 percent of the en-

- tire force has been deployed in the town-  
: ships, Meanwhije. norma  
- (0 the wall, crime

and law-abiding citj

policing has gone

lives and property.,

We are tamiliar with the theme of Â¢com-  
policing. It is yot pew.  
But suceessiul i ici

) TP  
s

[ ot trust between the  
i ; Africans. The force has displayed realism in

i3 estimation of what this will take But we

would venture to add that in the short to

bly claim & healthjer

nmiddle term,. concerted affirmative action in  
s af the top would help. .

might also do b

relationship with many  
black communities, rather than summarily  
fire dissidents as it has done in the Eastern  
Cipe.

Mof advertnsnng onSABC.

: 'ntg government granted M-Net a broadwst-

\_ing licence in 1986. The licence was granted  
ecifically on condition that only Nasnonale Pers  
| may manage M-Net. :

-Netâ\200\231s licence conditions have been changed  
â\200\230on numerous occasions by the government,  
always creating a favourable climate for M-Netâ\200\231s  
long-term viability. The NP â\200\224 via Dagbreek  
Trust, Servgro International Limited, Nasionale

T kom, Rembrandt Groupand the Petskor

ugâ\200\231a"lâ\200\230v set. Tlns would spread Nâ\200\231asmnâ\200\224  
ale Pels influence; not just in South Afrm, but

; The government isalso vngomusiy attempting  
0 grant additional licences to M-Net so that it  
Tdkom s fibre optic cable, which is  
\_ d to the rest of the worldâ\200\231s major televi-  
Tl .sm = Â»h\_â\200\231 . & Â» oS R w Eoisatis i dâ\200\234mbum This would allow !  
totgllly pres otâ\200\230c T e o id il . | SR Mf-hlettobroadcasl globally syndlcated pro-

when some of Van Niek  
â\202ness on. mfor some 10 ;



; Vema Biennale (WM March 26-April 1993) mkmanonal programmes of hlgh quahty This  
< more named David Koloane as having been part of the - manipulation has vast implications f  
or the long-  
\_ selection process for the exhibition. This infor- \_term economical viability of the SABC.  
: mation was incorrectly included in the press- The most disturbing fact is that the BBC h  
as  
release from which Powell quoted. I wishtoclar- signed joint agreements with M-Net to bro  
adcast  
ify the situation, by saying that at no time was into the rest of Africa. The BBC, by havin  
g a joint  
David Koloane consulted on the selection for the ~ service with M- Net, has given Nasionale  
Pers |  
Blennale â\200\224 Christopher Till, director: euk credibility to infiltrate the rest of Af  
rica. The  
t'ure, Johannesburg CItYCouncil\201 , BBC must be held responsible for having indi-  
rectly assisted the NP to spread its propaganda  
â\200\234and ideology into Africa. M-Net to date owns 50 |

focuses on minor issues : \_oï\201Ã@rs â\200\230no chal- ot utes. Dis-  
lenge to the Sâ\200\234bmï\202f my article. My tnbutmgapaperbeforelt!smylsm  
dard practice and a courtesy | se who nnght  
Klerk being grilled by his colleagues under jike lo react. It is not a bar toits being read  
in for- IIN 1984 Nasionale Pers, a National Party  
television lights was- @oetzer, chief mal session. Perhaps somaeï\202 /an Niekerkâ\200\231  
s org approached the government for a licence

e R aereEl hor oo et i g ot wese e for T st el D Y LA  
coup ; Rl Ahear theik naves 2569 % - \_ the ptess was being eroded and that its economic - -  
The llc%mcmg condition that Nasionale Pers

As for setting a date for elecuom,.ï\202le IFPison vlabsllty for survival was bemg threate  
ned by the only, as a minority shareholder, may manage M-

Net is an infringement of the listing requirements  
of the JSE.â\200\224 Anwar Ismail, Cape Town

@@/7 MA/L ;U}bÃ©1? /95

THE STRR 2d/icls

The first victim  
of Cosatu's proposed strike  
could be the  
federation's  
increasingly  
uneasy  
relationship  
with the ANC,  
writes Labour  
Correspondent  
Paul Bell.

Guy Fawkes Day fireworks for the Alliance

Nov 5 seems to

have as much explosive potential as  
Guy Fawkes originally intended.

On the other hand, we tend to forget  
that the Gunpowder Plot was a  
failure, and that the Protestant colo-  
nel ended his life not under the cub-  
ble of parliament but on the gallows  
at Tyburn.

The negotiators at Kempton Park  
have set November 5 for the comple-  
tion of their deliberations on the in-  
terim constitution. That same day,  
Cosatu will review its call for a -  
tional strike on November 13 --- and  
the outcome of that review will be  
guided by what happens in the Nego-  
tiating Council.

The next three weeks in the coun-  
cil will be very important to the coun-  
try's political future. In that time the  
last great battle must be fought be-  
tween the National Party/Govern-  
ment and the ANC over the distribu-  
tion of power between regional and  
central government, at least during  
the transition. Thereafter, the results  
must go to parliament for ratification  
and enactment.

The Government, with one wary  
eye on the possible need for an elec-

toral deal with the Inkatha Free-  
dom Party, and another on the spail-  
ing potential of the Freedom Alli-  
ance, will be juggling its regional  
power shift for every point it can  
squeeze out of this contract

It should come as no surprise,  
therefore, that Cosatu, evaluating the  
threat of a stronger regional dispen-  
sation to its own proposals for a re-

construction and development programme driven from the centre, should wish to offer the ANC some countervailing, albeit unsolicited, support.

Perhaps the question Cosatu should be asking itself, however, is whether a one or two-day national strike is enough to shake the Government loose from its position. Give the threat from the Right.

Hard as such actions are to organise and sustain, and as distressing to the business and investment community as they may be, the bloody-mindedness of the Freedom Alliance has not yet been fully explored.

A general strike by the militants of the left seems, unless it can hold out, an insufficient deterrent to the desperadoes of the Right. As things stand, a strike might endure two days or three. And at the end of it the transition process will still have to

come to terms with a secessionist Inkatha and a turbulent and dissatisfied Volksbeweging intent on self-termination.

They, too, may care about the economy, but like Cosatu, they care about power more,

To extend the bridge metaphor, a general strike may be an honour card in this the game of all games, but it is not a high trump.

That alone may require the tripartite alliance to kick Cosatu quietly under the table before the strike card, which may have greater value in a lower-stakes game, is wasted in the run of this particular play.

Slapped

Cosatu's announcement certainly caught the alliance on the hop. That it itself was enough to irritate the senior partner. Senior ANC negotiators are said to have been scathing of new general secretary Sago Shilowa's motives in making the strike threat,

. Nevertheless, if Cosatu was a little slapped about at Monday's meeting of the alliance, then Shilowa and the interim management - including president John Gomo - were maintaining a hold face on things.

At a press conference on Tuesday, Gomo sounded quite truculent as

he said: "The ANC isn't here to tell Cosatu what to do." And Shilowa, aot visibly abashed by suggestions that he had exceeded the alliance's limits of independent action, said: "We're not bluffing." Well, he would expect no less of them. ¶

But the late of the alliance seems ever more in question as the negotiating partners and their satellites face up to the hard questions about how this country is to be governed.

The strike call has been enuched in Cosatu's opposition to the manner in which worker rights are being dealt with in the interim Bill of Rights.

But its sensitivities become far more vivid on the subject of Mangosuthu Buthelez and the Freedom Alliance, for fear of what they may try to force on the next government. "We will not allow the pandying of a national government by granting unnecessary powers, duties and functions to the regions," said Shilowa on Tuesday.

Still, it sounded more bluff than

i

grul

It takes little imagination to appreciate Cosatu's fears of the extent the ANC may find itself fixed to trade off the reconstruction and development programme against economic

guarantees to investors, or strong central powers against the threat of regional insurrectionism.

At this point, Cosatu may have a |

happened to stiffen the ANC's back in the negotiations that lie ahead. It may also be concerned that the pragmatists in the ANC do not quite share Cosatu's devotion to the degree of economic interventionism and socialist-orientated resource mobilisation the federation envisages. %

But Cosatu is also bargaining that, as much as the ANC may hope to presume on its status as the senior partner here, it may be more dependent on its labour ally than it cares to acknowledge, especially as the election approaches: 1

But the strike call is a further indication along with labour's attempts to increase its hold over economic policy-making and recent disagreements about Cosatu's representation on the ANC electoral list that the relationship is becoming increasingly fractious, :

Somewhere in here are the makings of a struggle for the soul of the next government. This strike may not happen. If it does, its first victim could be the alliance, which would take a dent even if the ANC finds it necessary to play along for now.

1

| Alliance seeks  
1 early summit

| The Freedom Alliance

. last night rejected

. suggestions that a  
summit of political

' Jeaders be held only

~ once an interm

; constitution is agreed to

! and stressed it take  
place earlier.

5 1 1 0 0

L

Picking up the gaunt

â\200\234myths

o

\* Dr Mangosuthu Buthelez  
sitting of the KwaZulu Legislati

tations are in.

" Dr Buthelezi repeated

" the view that federalism  
- represented a "bottom

line" for the Zulu nation. .  
It is also, he said, an "in-  
dispensable condition to

. ensure adequate checks  
\* and balances in a South  
. African context and to

" defeat totalitarian and

\_oppressive tendencies

which are operating in

/..~ our.country.â\200\235

The Chief Minister -

correctly identified the  
characteristics of 20 fe-  
derations world-wide as  
being dual citizenship of

. both member states and

the federal state, the ina-

lienable right of member .

states.to exist, the right

~of final decision-making

powers by member states  
â\200\230which exceed the degree  
of autonomy presently  
enjoyed by KwaZuly, as  
well as a central legisla-

. ture made up of member

state representation.

These characteristics  
â\200\230are not evident in consti-  
tutional drafts which  
have emerged from the



\* World Trade Centre. In

any event the constitution agreed upon by the

" Dr Buthelezi has categorically stated that a future we have not determined for ourselves. the gauntlet thrown to the

TLANGA 21\200\22410\200\22493

ANC and Government is only an interim one, and may be rewritten within a matter of months by a

/ constituent assembly do-

minated by these two

1 parties., \200\230

The opening of the |

special session saw some of Dr-Buthelezi's strong-

" gest criticism of Presi-

dent. De Klerk thus far: FW De Klerk was accused of being a "hand maiden of the ANC and South African Communist Party."

There are presently no "multi-party talks" at the World Trade Centre. These were destroyed by the ruling of Communist Party member Pravhin Gordana's ruling, in his capacity as Negotiating Council Chairman, that sufficient consensus existed on the issue of setting an election date before a constitution had been agreed upon; This served notice on other parties at the talks that if they disagreed with aspects of the deal between the ANC and the Nationalist Government, their

speech at the Monday opening of a special Assembly underlines the crisis nego-

"we will never again be thrust into" In doing so he picked up floor by the ANC/National Party alliance.

views would simply be ignored. They were, in ot-

her words, irrelevant. â\200\230

Attempts to settle South Africaâ\200\231s form of state, and the issue of the finality of the constitution emerging from the World Trade Centre were repeatedly made by the KwaZulu Government, the IFP and other parties through 1992 and into this year. These attempts even to place these issues on the negotiating agenda were simply ignored.

Dr Buthelezi said "we warned other participants of the danger of postponing the resolution of these issues to a

later stage in negotia-

tions." Fundamental issues would not disappear, though clearly attempts to keep these off the agenda were meant to avoid addressing them. il

Presently we do not have a constitution which reflects a political settlement. A just settlement must accommodate the fundamental needs and interests of both a (tem-

porary) majority and minorities. If such solutions are not negotiated we are laying the foundations for bitter conflict. Already well founded warnings along this line are being deliberately misrepresented by certain parties as a threat of violence.

Since the KwaZulu Government and IFP left the talks, intensive bilaterals have been held with the Government and the ANC. However the most important issues remain unresolved. On the issue of the form of state Dr Buthelezi states "the Government was incapable of moving one inch from its position to meet us half way."

This rigidity has led to

1

. ANC and Government

the formation of the Fre--

edom Alliance, an alliance of parties whose policies are in fact at odds in many respects, but also - share' common COncerns. The formation of this alliance is necessary in

order to strengthen the

negotiating power of parties opposed to ANC and the Government which together have deemed these concerns irrelevant.

As Dr Buthelezi says, negotiations have now been transformed into a

power struggle between |

the ANC and Government on the one hand. and the Freedom Alliance on the other. The

|

appear; determined to impose their agreements on the rest of the country through all available means. This is the 'meaning of De Klerk's threat to hold a national referendum to break the impasse. This would however achieve nothing in this direction, as the reasons for the crisis would

remain.

Coalition politics

THE formation of the |

Freedom Alliance represents a further development in the direction of coalition politics in South Africa.

In future centre-left coalitions will tend to coalesce around the ANC. Centre-right coalitions will have the IFP at their

core. This is natural and inevitable in a relatively advanced and pluralistic country like South Africa. |

As usual left leaning commentators and journalists have failed to grasp the significance of recent political trends owing to their obsession with personalised and

ment. -

minster two-party system of government of a ruling party and loyal opposition as the alternative government has certain consequences. Pro-â\200\231portional representation means that there will be a tendency-for parties to

largely irrelevant com- |

The end of the West- |

emerge which can only rule the country as part of a coalition. \

The NP and DP. face

a serious cricic Thanet

they believe they occupy the centre in South African politics, this is not possible for any white-based party. Neither has the substantial black

constituency necessary

for this.

The Freedom Alliance, which is a negotiating

and not an electoral

alliance, does not represent some atavistic return to apartheid, or an attempt to maintain the

status quo. Apartheid is |

dead. â\200\230

Broadly, and in spite of considerable differences, the Freedom Alliance parties believe in a federal, decentralised, multi-party and plural society where private enterprise is the engine of economic growth. The

ANC represents failed  
.experiments of most of  
the Third World with its  
t Exploding

sympathy for socialism,  
statism and central con-  
trol.  
The emergence of a

\* strong alliance against  
racial violence.

that of the ANC and NP

should be welcomed.  
Should the ANC and NP  
take this power seriously  
negotiations may yet pro-  
duce a genuine political  
settlement, together with  
a sound constitution.:

THE South African Institute of Race Relations  
has an impeccable record of anti-apartheid op-  
position, and has performed an invaluable ser-  
vice to South Africa in meticulously recording  
the effects of apartheid over decades.

Consistently advocating liberal goals, the Insti-  
tute continues to work for the non-violent de-  
mocratic transformation of South Africa. It re-  
mains one of South Africa's most respected re-  
search institutions.

A book recently publis-

hed by the Institute and  
authored by its Executive  
Director, Mr John Kane-  
Berman, attempts to ex-  
plain political violence,  
in particular by highligh-  
ting factors ignored by  
many commentators.

Entitled "Political vio-  
lence in South Africa"  
the book dismisses sim-  
plistic attribution of vio-

lence to the machina-  
tions of a "third force"  
supposedly located wit-  
hin state security structy-  
res and the Inkatha Fre-  
edom Party, one of the

\* holy cows of the political  
left in South Africa;

At the same time Mr  
Kane-Berman states that  
it is "beyond question"

\* that the Government and  
IFP are involved in poli-

- In spite of the attraction to the "third force" theory by large sections

- of the media and left-

wing academia he points

out that no evidence has emerged of a "third force", in spite of ever recurring allegations to this effect. Variations of the "third force" theory, such as pseudo-academic reports by ANC fronts such

-.as the Human Rights -

Commission and the

s Community Agency for

Social Enquiry (CASE), that violence is switched

" on and off in line with

the strategic priorities of the Government, are convincingly shown up as

" fatuous nonsense.

The central argument

of the book, is that, though the apartheid sta-

te was the original cause of violence, it presently has Important causes in strategies that were adopted in the 1980s in

| efforts to force business

government, the media and the international community to pay attention to the aspirations of the people who had no parliamentary franchise."

Coercion was a core component of these strategies, implemented mostly, but not exclusively by organisations within the ANC camp. According to an Institute of Race Relations survey a third of urban blacks have been victims of coercion, and two-thirds of blacks claiming to sup-

port ANC opponents.  
This translates into hun-  
dreds of thousands of  
people.

Violence in the black  
community can be attri-  
buted to "the revolutio-  
nary thrust of earlier  
years" which has "not run  
out", especially the cam-  
paign by the ANC and its  
internal allies to make  
South Africa "ungoverna-  
ble".

Through the 1980s a  
fearsome campaign of  
violence, murder and  
atrocities was carried out  
by political activists in  
the black community,  
particularly youths. This  
was directly supported  
and encouraged by the

"These coercive stra-  
tegies, intensified strug-  
gles, assassination cam-  
paigns, and volcanic up-

i

surges of fire have

have had two consequen-  
ces.

First, they have got

out of hand," and second-

dly, "they have provoked

violent backlashes from

at least some of their tar-

gets and set off a vicious  
cycle of attack and  
counter-attack."

Mr Kane-Berman sta-

tes that the ANC "peo-

ple's war was partly di-  
rected at the state but it  
was also a declaration of

war against sections of

the black community,

some of whom, however, '

fought back."



Institute of Race Relations research shows that newspapers, including the commercial

press, have played down

. categories of violence in

which ANC opponents are victims, especially councillors and police.

"While newspapers have printed vast numbers of

articles about the "third |

force" and assigned teams of reporters to expose criminal activity on the part of security forces and IFP members, the coverage of killings of IFP people has been minimal in comparison."

The book also claims that the liberal intelligentsia bear some responsibility for the moral vacuum which developed in South Africa. Many "liberals" either acquiesced in the kind of strategies employed by revolutionaries, or failed to speak up for their many

200\234victims. South African churches are also criticised .

sed, especially the South African Council of Churches which developed and promoted a theology which legitimised violence. "Coercion has indeed flourished in a climate in which it has become acceptable in some intellectual circles," says Mr

Kane-Berman.

An important part of creating an intellectual ' climate favouring ubiquitous violence was a pro-

cess of "stigmatisation".

This was a major strategy of revolutionaries and their supporters during

the 1980s. b

tributed to revolutionary

" strategies in any exclusi-

ve way. He does however ask that these should be placed at the centre of Inquiry into ongoing violence in South Africa. It is an eminently reasonable demand, and the Institute's attempt to restore balance to this inquiry is certainly very welcome.

This strategy took the form of "hanging the deadliest political labels" on opponents' necks. Extreme language was routinely used by the ANC alliance against opponents, who were dehu-

- manised and demonised,

Stigmatisation provides a licence for violent attacks against the stigmatised. Two studies are referred to which contend that systematic stigmatisation in Nazi Germany was necessary in order to prepare public opinion for the discrimination and murder perpetrated against Jews.

\_ Mr Kane-Berman asserts that successful stig-

matization by revolutionaries and their supporters may help explain the limited press coverage given to the murder of IFP members. "Having being labelled as "collabora-

s' and therefore as

targets' in a "just war", IFP members: could be murdered without prompting very much attention in the local and foreign media."

The thesis set out in

."Political violence in

South Africa" is convincingly argued, and unlike

the "third force" theory is  
supported by a great deal  
of evidence. Mr Kane-  
Berman does not:argue

that violencâ\200\230n be at-

T LANen 21-10-93

'93 168,28 14:49

n Monday | wrote about  
the fears of white South  
Africans who have been  
passing through London.  
The days since have seen even further  
polarisation in the conflict between  
the black tribes of South Africa.  
General Bantu Holomisa, the chair-  
!, man of the Transkei military council,  
has expelled the South African am-  
" bassador. The Transkei, which was  
established as one of the two home-  
lands for the Xhosa, is a military  
dictatorship allied to the African  
National Congress. It is used as a  
base by the terrorist Azanian People's  
Liberation Army, which has made  
attacks on whites in the eastern Cape.  
The Transkei is now a no-go area for  
whites; it is formally an independent  
state, though financially dependent  
on South Africa.  
" That is the position on the ANC  
.8nd Xhosa side. In another of the  
% homelands, Ciskei, another military  
dictator, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, has  
. been formally charged with the  
murder of the brother of the man he  
overthrew in his military coup. He is  
hostile to the ANC; in 1992 his  
soldiers massacred 28 ANC support-  
ers. Although he has been charged  
- by the Ciskei Attorney General, he  
seems still to be in power. :

: The fear of the white South

" . -Africans whom [ have been seeing is  
. that these tribal hostilities will lead to  
- civil war in South Africa, either as an  
+ "outcome of the proposed democratic  
" \*general election in April, or because  
. of the breakdown of order during the  
. constitutional talks even before the  
general election,

In military terms, there are three  
important groups. The first is the  
modern, white-led, South African  
army, recruited from all the black  
tribes, but with a strong cadre of Zulu  
non-commissioned officers. The sec-  
ond is the military force associated  
with the ANC. The third is the  
military force associated with  
Inkatha, Mangosuthu Buthelezi's  
Zulu political party.

; long as it acts in unity,  
the South African army, which was

- built to maintain the old apartheid structure, is the strongest of these forces. It cannot prevent terrorism, or local tribal massacres, but it is - far more powerful and heavily armed . than either of the other two, In the { event of the break-up of the South v African army. or its refusal to intervene, most white South Africans think that the Zulus, with their strong military tradition, would at least be able to maintain them-

' event. Any

- probably sympathise with

Preparing for civ

INKATHRA

The balance of military power is now

a factor in South Africans' calculations

\ selves in the Zulu homeland of Kwa-Zulu, or more generally in the southern-eastern province of Natal, with its commercial centre Durban. They don't believe that the South African army would remain united if called |

upon to suppress a Zulu revolt | represents

against an ANC controlled government, even if the ANC won a democratic general election. x

There are therefore three military powers, the largely white-officered army. the Xhosa/ANC forces and the Zulu forces, in precarious equilibrium, none of them able to dominate the others. Fringe groups are actually fighting. and small

described as an extreme conservative grouping, and is contrasted with the ANC, These labels are misleading. There are plenty of people in the ANC who are interested in power but not in democracy. The Freedom Alliance ulu interests and the interests of other tribes and groups "who share the Zulu fear of the ANC. It is not very pertinent to call the

, Freedom Alliance conservative: and it

is absurd to call the military dictator

Brigadier Gqoo right-wing because  
he s opposed 10 the ANC. while  
cailing' fus fellow military dictator,  
Genera! Holomisa, left-wing because  
o he works with the

local messacres are  
almost an everyday  
political  
solution which does  
not match this mili-  
tary balance risks  
the outbreak of a  
general civil war.

William .

Rees-M

ANC. Such labels  
have no meaning.  
â\200\230The terms which -  
the Freedom Alli-t.  
ance are seeking to !  
agree do â\200\230however  
gotothe heartof the. \*  
dispute. The pream- -,

%8

â\200\224\_â\200\224

Atpresentthereis  
an uneasy ailiance between President  
de Kierk's white government and the,  
ANC, both of which regard the Zulus  
with fear and anxiety, This alliance is  
not personally close, President de  
Klerk and Nelson Mandela have lost  
their - earlier trust in one another.  
Each of them has to maintain the  
unity of his own party as best he can.  
The more extreme ANC supporters  
neral  
Holomisa's letter to the Nobel peace  
prize committee, which asked them to  
withdraw the award from President  
de Klerk. The old hostility of the ANC  
towards the whites is still a potent  
force, and so is white, and particular-  
ly Afrikaner, conservatism.

Nevertheless, President de Klerk  
and Mr Mandela are partners in the  
constitutional talks which were in-  
tended 1o lead to democraric elections -

in April. The Zulus have withdrawn  
from these talks, though, and without  
Zulu consent no constitution seems  
likely to produce a peaceful transfer  
of power.

Earlier this month, Chief Buthelezi announced a new political movement, the Freedom Alliance. This includes among its leaders Brigadier Gqozo and nstand Viljoen, a retired white general still thought to have considerable influence in the army. The Freedom Alliance has not had a goxi press. It is generally

ble of its manifesto  
degla;cfl its tt)::armĩ-\201:mem to i-\201ver  
principles: â\200\234the recognition of -  
the guidance of Almighty in  
the affairs of men and |nation;  
the recognition of the right of  
self-dethnation of the peoples.  
of Southeyn Africa; the preservation  
of law, oi'der and constitutionality;  
the protelttion and promotion of  
{ree markÃ©t enterprise and private  
ownership \and the commitment to  
eradicate ploverty; the rejection of  
the notion \of & unitary state, of  
racism, discrimination and sexism, of  
any form df totalitarianism and  
tyranny over the freedom of man and  
society.â\200\235

he pritciple of self-determ-  
inatimarld the rejection of  
the tary state are the

heart of \lhe issue. Is South  
African to remaitl a single state, or  
s it to\_become 2 Joose federation of  
tribally"determinec! states? The prin-  
ciple of private enterprise is also a  
genuine issue betwe:n the Freedom  
Alliance and the ANC, but is less  
important, Earlier ' this month in  
Lisbon, Mr Mandela dismissed the  
federal option for South Africa and  
rejected any limitations on the abil-  
ity of the proposed Constituent  
Assembly to rewrite a negotiated  
constitution.

We in Britain have hardly any

/

i

P4

TS - 2175

/(39A49011/

" there is no more mora

'war in Bi

(o

1 war

ability to influence these events, but they are important to us, if only because there are very large numbers of British citizens living in South Africa. There is no overriding moral principle to distinguish between two constitutional approaches. There are some multi-national states which work well as unitary states, some which work best as federations, and some which have to break up completely. ;

| These are practical rather than moral questions. Yet when that is said, it is not morally acceptable to force a nation to remain united; a nation which resents the loss of power it does resent. If the Bloc Québécois & majority in Quebec, or the Scottish National Party wins & majority in Scotland, there will be no justification for refusing the French Canadians or the Scots the right to secede. y

" So it is with the Zulus. If a majority of Zulus reject a South African unitary state, it will not be morally right to try to force them into it. There should therefore be no assumption that the ANC, even if backed by President de Klerk, is morally right and that Freedom ' Alliance is morally wrong. The unitary state of South Africa was created by the white man | - the argument is; a line: none of this ; now that giving up power, which says that the unitary state must survive him, v

Politicians must look to the realities of power, political and military. In political terms it may be possible to obtain a voting majority for a unitary state, just as a vote in the whole of Canada would support the continued union of Canada whatever Quebec thought. In the main Zulu areas, and in some other areas as well, there would be majorities for a loose federal constitution or for outright separation.

In military terms the situation is even more difficult. A unitary state probably means a civil war. The Zulu people would fight for their independence, probably successfully. Such wars are indeed often lost by the succeeding group; the Ibos lost the

. and the south lost the war of the States. In each case, the national army decided the matter in the field. My South African friends do not believe that the South African army would or could take the field against the Zulus. The Freedom



liance must therefore be taken seriously; any constitutional agreement "â\200\230\ely do not accept could destroy South Africa.

o

## ANC SUMMIT

By Sapa and !  
Citizen Reporter 200/230

THE Freedom Ark-  
(| ance has rejected

government and Afri-

can National Congress |  
t proposal that a summit |

of leaders, or plenary  
Â¿ session at the World Â¿  
Trade Centre, be  
called only once a final  
draft of the interim  
constitution needed to |  
be endorsed.

The Alliance executive  
stressed in a statement  
yesterday the summit of  
leaders should take place  
before the interim consti-  
tution was finalised  
200/234"otherwise such a summit  
| 15 going to be jockeyed into  
the dichotomy between  
support and opposi-  
tion to the final constitu-

| FROM PAGE 1 |

tionat draftâ\200\235.

The Freedom Alliance noted that after eight , months of bilateral and multilateral negotiations i the issues which set the Freedom Alliance apart from the ANC/SACP Alliance and the NP/SAG are still unresolved and an all-inclusive solution has not yet emerged from the documentation produced by the World Trade Centre,

Therefore it must be acknowledged that there is a major crisis in the negotiation process which only the collective wisdom of the major leaders of southern Africa can resolve to find a way forward. The leadersâ\200\231 direct involvement is necessary to meet the announced World Trade Centre deadline and put the process back on track.

Therefore the Freedom Alliance firmly expressed its disapproval against statements made by the office of the Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Rogie Meyer and ANC negotiator, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa. after bilateral talks with the Freedom Alliance.

{ The Executive Committee of the Freedom Alliance stated that the

leaders of the Freedom

' Alliance have been motivated

(It is motivated to form this dynamic

' new grouping by a commitment

to constructive and inclusive negotiations. aimed at addressing the realities of the political situation in southern Africa,

The Freedom Alliance

believe that it is far better to have an inclusive solution of which as many people can be a part and play a role constructively, than to continue with an exclusive process at Kempton Park. which thus far has produced only solutions which do not meet the fundamental aspirations of the broad segment of South Africanism represented by the Freedom Alliance.

There is no doubt that a crisis has been reached in which the way forward cannot be identified merely by doing more of what has been done in the past eight months. A pre-determined deadline to complete the process cannot be held to be more important than the need to find a long-lasting and

inclusive solution to the present crisis and the pressing needs of the people of southern Africa

In the light of the type of solution that it has produced the World Trade Centre negotiating process cannot be seen as a truly representative body a fact which State President De Klerk readily admitted the NP Congress in Stellenbosch recently to make the formation of the Freedom Alliance with its emphasis on inclusivity as opposed to majoritarianism an urgent and necessary priority.

The Freedom Alliance stresses that a summit of leaders must take place before the constitution is finalised, otherwise such summit is going to be locked into the dichotomisation between support and opposition to the final constitutional draft

The Freedom Alliance believes that it would be disastrous for the country to go to elections as a divided society in a fundamental split on the rules

of the game and on the constitution. An all-inclusive solution must be found to ensure that the new South Africa is born

out of consensus and is supported in its initial stage of formation by all the major political parties. !

| On a warning by Mr  
{Ramaphosa that the train

{ was in motion and that

}-those who wanted to he

ion it had to board immediately, the Freedom Alliance replies that the issue on hand is the train's ability to reach its destination,

We must ask ourselves who are the responsible leaders ... as no one could sincerely believe that a physical date could be more important - than constructive negotiations and solutions which would guarantee peace and future stability

The Freedom Alliance also expresses surprise over statements made by Mr Ramaphosa and a South African source after yesterday's meeting. All three parties agreed to treat their discussions as being confidential

However, according to members of the Freedom Alliance at the meeting, statements were later made by their counterparts which did not reflect accurately on their talks.

THE CITIZEN, THURSDAY 21 OCTOBER 199:

BUSINESS DAY. THURSDAY 21 OCTOBER 199:

Political accord will  
create capacity t  
achieve stability

JIM JONES, BILLY PADDOCK and ALAN FINE this week interviewed  
President F W de Klerk at the Union Buildings

R PRESIDENT, congratu-  
lations on winning the No-  
bel prize. How do you

feel? What are you going  
to do with the prize money?

I am still the same man. I have not  
yet given the prize money any  
thought. But whatever I decide, it  
will not be aimed at gaining public  
support or at becoming a hero. I will  
do it quietly. That is the way I think  
you should do good things.

Are you offended by some of the  
negative responses to your receiving  
the award?

I am not upset as there are not that  
many negative responses, and my  
critics do not carry much weight. By  
and large I am pleased by the very  
positive reaction overall. However,  
if any member of my party said  
what has been said about me about my  
political opponent, especially when  
that opponent is a co-recipient of a  
prize of the stature of the Nobel  
prize, I know what I would have done  
to such a member.

Your appearances with Nelson Man-  
dela in the US at the time of the  
annual meetings of the World Bank  
and IMF generated a great deal of  
support for SA. What! do you think  
are the crucial economic issues  
faced by SA since if the economy  
falls to pieces the entire political  
process and the country itself are  
likely to fall to pieces?

I agree. The economic challenge

SA faces is bigger than the constitutional challenge in the medium to long term. One of the major problems is dealing with unreasonable and reasonable expectations. We will have to ensure economic growth if we want to succeed,

We will have to improve the quality

of life of all our people and we can do that only through economic growth. The question is how to ensure that. First, by framing an economic policy to be applied by a government of national unity, which will have to be in step with those of countries that have succeeded and are succeeding economically.

Second, by dealing effectively with factors militating against investment - violence and instability. We will have to attract foreign investment. If we want to achieve the necessary growth rates, we will have to address all the underlying causes of our economic problems. Some of them lie in economic policy itself, some in factors interacting with the economy.

's it important that there be continuity, and that Derek Keys remains on as Finance Minister? Will there be agreements on matters such as Reserve Bank independence?

[ do not want to personalise matters. But I believe that, through the National Economic Forum, we are building an economic accord between government, the trade unions (which strongly represent, through their alliance with the ANC, the ANC viewpoint) and employer organisations. We need such an economic accord which will form the basis of the government of national unity's economic

oL

omic policy framework. We must put that accord in place as soon as possible. That will instil confidence among investors. That is what worked in Chile, That is what worked in Israel.

In 1991 Barend du Plessis backed down on VAT. Now we are waiting to see if your government does the same on cellular telephones and the

fuel price. What sort of impression  
does that make?

In both cases government's decisions were inspired by economic, not political, considerations. Our procedure was an open and transparent one. I do not think that opposition to the cellular telephone issue is based

purely on economic considerations. This country, for instance, needs the 30 000 public telephones it can bring to people who do not have telephones. We cannot afford to wait another 18 months.

On the petrol price issue, we remain busy. I also want the petrol

price to be reduced but I want it done in the right way. And the right way is to look at the price structure. We have stepped up our investigations and there might well be developments soon on an economically justified basis.

O I R O o



'BUSINESS DAY, THURSDAY 21 OCTOBER 199

How do you prevent a Savimbi-type situation after an election?

It appears to be an expedient response to a fuss that was greater than you expected. Will this apparent way of handling such problems persist beyond the elections?

I do not think so, because the government of national unity should be armed by then with a broad consensus on an economic policy framework. Actually, my colleagues should be glad that I took this stand on the petrol price. I could quietly have let the slate run into the red, remained popular and allowed the government of national unity to inherit a deficit. I did the responsible thing. I

How much chance do you stand of creating stability, and how do you go about doing it, in the run-up to the elections?

Look at it from three vantage points. Government has the primary duty to continue with all possible efforts to maintain law and order, and where improvement is possible!

we will try to improve,

Second, the negotiating process is the main means of creating stability. Once there is a sufficient inclusive accord and followers see their leaders bound by that accord, much of the motivation for political violence will fall away, because much of it is aimed at the negotiations.

Third, it is not my sole responsibility to ensure stability. That is what the Transitional Executive Council has been created for. It will become a shared responsibility between all political leaders. That in itself will be helpful,

It is not conclusive that any final settlement will be as inclusive as you would like. Is it possible to create that stability and hold an election or a referendum in the face of opposition from, say, the CP, Inkatha or the homelands?

On Last Monday I said I saw the possibility of a negotiations crisis developing!

Opening in that 200-230 agreements were not

so utterly 200-230-231 completely inclusive. Therefore the first prize would be to find ways in the next three or

Should we not achieve  
we will have to look for ' the problem. As a democrat, I say a referendum should be considered carefully. Whether or not all parties participate in a referendum, you do get a result within each region. With known population figures, it would therefore be possible to ascertain the people's views even if a particular group has boycotted the referendum,

thus you can, inasmuch as there may be allegations of illegitimacy legitimise the process, ... Aoy

The problem of violence in the run-up to elections will have to be managed carefully. We cannot give the power to radicals who decide in an unlawful manner to upset the democratic process, did whether a democratic take place or not

that, then ... a solution to

\

Principally by ensuring the elec-

tion is managed properly so there cannot be a foundation for allegations of irregularities. If you ensure correct procedures there is no legitimate basis for rejecting the result.

What is your prognosis if, for example, Inkatha rejects the holding of

a section of the referendum

|  
f

| the election regardless of support for your proposals in a referendum?

There are numerous possibilities,

But, first of all, Chief Minister Buthelezi is basically a democrat. That is how I got to know him and I do not for a moment expect him to act against the law or to be inconsistent to the extent of your speculation, Second, I regard him and his party as significant role players, and

am going all out to ensure the become part of agreements reached.

We cannot force anybody to participate in a referendum, but it would allow one to say what the majority of all the people in the country and in each region want. I

also have not heard an absolutgdw  
lGea.

There was a time when Buthelezi

R

T

5 suggested a referendum be held in  
| Natal. If we hold a referendum si-  
) multaneously in each and every re-

gion, his attitude might be different.

How do you plan to break the im-  
passe with the Freedom Alllance?

We have reached an agreement  
with the alliance that we wil] enter  
intensive negotiations, so there is not  
an impasse at the moment.

How do you view the positions of the  
Bophuthatswapa and Ciskej govern-  
ments and the CP and the Afrikaper  
Volksfront? Do you think their agen-  
das are conducive to g settlement?

ance, on basic issues they do not  
share the same views with each oth-  
er at all. They are bound together by  
4 common purpose on certain as-  
pects of the process, but on gâ\200\230Â«}hâ\200\230cy  
13sues there are fundamental differ-  
ences between them,

It is not my task to develop a  
policy for them. But I believe we can  
never return to any form of racial  
diserimination,

The fundamenta] question is whe-  
ther the alliance can accept thai  
basic principle. Most of its members  
agree that there should not be any  
form of racial or ethnic diserimina-  
tion in any part of SA. I think that the  
aspirations of minority nations such  
as the Afrikaner nation, the Zulu  
nation and so on can best be accom-  
modated in basically a federal sys-  
tem. But within each component  
part you will have to give full politi-  
cal rights to all inhabitants of that  
region, ~

If you analyse the Freedom Alli-

)

i

It is only the CP that is out of step on this issue, and they will have to come around. I do not think there is unanimity in the Volksfront on the

possibilities {n this regard. There are

different emphases and I do not think they have one clear view which they share with each other. â\200\230 We pursued the entrenchment of regional autonomy logg before the alliance was formed. We believe in the samne basic principles (as ruost of the alliance) with regard to regional-ism and federalism â\200\224 full-scale and

proper devolution of power to re- i

gional governments typical of countries like Germany and America. That devolution must be properly entrenched so that future central overnments cannot undermine it, egions should also, through the distributor of income and direct aaccess to taxation, not be dependent upon the central gavernment. The central Â¢ government will have the tasx of assisting poorer regions.

The NP appears to be losing a great deal of support, Some polls suggest the Freedom Alliance has more support than the NP,

Some of the polls used to reach those conclusions were based on very small samples and were not taken contrywide. It is true that we

t0ok a dip in support for 2 pumber of

mouths, but I have no donbt that i3 already changing. Without stars in

my eyes and without just being optimistic, I am absolutely confident the

will come' out of this election

v  
b

either the- atygugest or the second

strongest mrty.

â\200\224

Â£6. T2 7400

BUSINESS DAY, THURSDAY 21 OCTOBER 19a:

Dhlomo warns

4 B > â\200\231

on â\200\230hijacking

LINDA ENSOR

CAPY TOWN â\200\224 Those i

favour of regiosalism and

federalisra should guard

against their cause being

hijacked by groups promot-

ing their oWn persopal am-

bitlons, Institute for Multi-

Party Democracy

executive chairman Oscar

Dhlomo warned yesterday

at Sacobâ\200\231s anqual congress.

Dhictno said their cause

could be thrown into â\200\234utier

confusion and discredit by

groups that see in

regionalism/federalism an

opportunistic avenue to

promote personal political

ambitions and hostile eth-

nic chauvinism that had

little to do with good gov-

ernment and democracyâ\200\231.

â\200\234This implies that over

and above focusing oo the

type of future constitution.

democrats should also

focus even more resolutely

on the nature of the Bill of

Rights likely te emerge.â\200\235

Dhiomo felt that with-

drawing from and/or boy-

cotting the negotiation pro-

cess would not solve

probiems and would only

weaken the regionalism/-

federatism lobby and

divide its advocates.

He 'expected the next

draft constitution to go &

long way towards satisfy-

ing the need for effective

regional government.

Dhlomg stressed that

whether the constitution

worked in practice would

Jargely depend on the de-

velopment of political tol-

erance and a democratic

political culture. This in

turn would depend on a

strong economy



N  
e))  
g  
i  
ol  
-  
o  
J  
Q  
,.  
N  
  
=  
o  
)  
S  
=  
  
e  
=1  
2  
L4  
.72  
P  
=  
72  
â\200\224  
S 4]

Foreign firms delay investin g until election

MANY foreign companies af the SA  
International Trade Exhibition {Sai-  
lex)said yesterday they were waiting  
for next year's election before decid- i  
ing on futvre involvement In lhe f  
ecounlry. (

Shebzad fejani, of Pakistan-based  
crails dealer Prince Enterprises,  
said he had received about 20 jp-  
quiries from SA eompanies interest-  
ed in joini veniures.

But the election would be the â\200\234de-  
termining feature of the scale of his  
involvement in SAâ\200\235. Prince Enter-  
prises has an office in Kenya.

Barlas Industries MD M K Barlas  
said: â\200\234At the moment I'm only inter-  
ested in getiing agents, This is safer  
than a contractual engagement in  
joint ventures.â\200\235

Both said they had had good sajes

| \_JoWN Dtunly ]

in the iwe days since the opening of  
the exhibition.

Brian Magid of SA diamond relail-



er Panda Diamonds said there was a positive foreign response (o local Jewellery, and a few export deals were in the pipeline.

Allantis Diesel Engines Cemmunications officer Roland Trauimann said there was a good export potential) for automotive parts to countries around the Pacific Rim, and India and Bangladesh. These countries were also cautiously interested in joint ventures

Visiting companies especially those dealing in the clothing and textile industry were concerned about SA's high import tariffs,

Although people show high interest in my goods and company. they can't buy as much as they want because of high import duties said Harry Khatri, a director of Hong Kong-based clothing retailer Serond Image

Your tariffs are more than a protection of local industries & 10% reduction in import tariffs is just not enough. We need lower tariffs to allow the indigenous people to afford the clothes. Because, at the end of the day, it's they who suffer

Khatri said SA provided a large, attractive market. Bring down your imports. And vote for peace next year. The country has a great future

Cellular phones were among the main attractions for SA businesses visiting the show

- BUSINESS DAY. THURSDAY 21 OCTOBER 198

Forum suspends talks with govt

FW asked to \_  
act on Shill  
housing row

A ROW has erupted between the . | SRETA TR -  
National Housing Forum and Housinglph - â\200\230  
Minister Lows Shill with the forum:\\ reached and recpened issues that had been  
appealing for â\200\234urgent interventionâ\200\235 by |1\ settled. The enswmg confrontatio  
n had

President F W de Klerk and the nego- \â\200\234i'â\200\234damaged" the relationship between  
Shill  
and the forum

{  
|

tiating council o end the crisis. W

The forum has suspended cegotiations  
with government until the issue is re-  
solved. It has asked for 2 reconfirmation of  
government's comrmitient to key princi-  
pies â\200\224 notably no unilateral restructuring.

It accused Shill of being â\200\234deliberately

provocativeâ\200\235 and acting in direct contra-  
vention of explicit understandings. These  
accysations are contained in separate  
letters tÂ¢ De Klerk and the negotiating  
couted's planning committee. Efforts to  
resglve differences with Shill had failed  
after â\200\2343 series of unilatera! actionsâ\200\235 and  
the forum had conciuuded that it would be  
fuule to continue trying to resolve the  
probilems with Shill and his departmegt.

The forum cailed on De Klerk, as the  
ultimate aythority in the Cabwet, and the  
negauating councid at Kempton Park to  
integvene urgently. â\200\234We urgently call on  
members of the plaoning commuttee to  
take whatever steps deemed necessary to  
resolve the Â¢crisis,â\200\235 it said in itg Jetter to the  
council, A simular appeal was made to De  
Kierk, wits the forum emphasising the

~

need to elevate the housing issue above

party political considerations.

The confidential letters, dated October 15, contained a request for public within seven days that the forum's demands were not met.

Forum members said the problems with government began in June when Shill took office. He rejected agreements already

made to make the contents

. In a letter to Shill, the forum's members (excluding Saccola, whose participation could not be confirmed in time), spelled out their concern over the steady deterioration in the relationship between government and the forum.

A major issue of concern was Shill's announcement in May of a new capital subsidy of R7 500 on the disposal of state rental stock, and the decision this month to expand the subsidy dramatically. The forum had not been consulted and had been notified of the announcement extending the subsidy only one hour before the embargo on October 1.

Also of concern was Shill's announcement in Parliament of new policy initiatives, including the introduction of a safety net for the private sector to facilitate housing finance, and a new policy on rental payments in townships. The forum had not been consulted on these issues either and had no information on the department's plans and envisaged time frames.

The forum was also unhappy about Shill's announcement of key elements in its agreement with government to replace the National Housing Commission and the Housing Advisory Council with new bodies,

the forum had asked Shill in vain for a

joint announcement to indicate to the nation that the issue of housing had, in the national interest, been elevated above party political considerations.

To Page 2

Shill

The forum also expressed fear that government was again preparing to act unilaterally.

erally, despite the failure to reach agreement on interim housing arrangements. It had indications that state machinery has been mobilised to finalise project proposals for approval by October 28. This is despite the inability to reach agreement to create the capacity to translate the broad mutual understanding into detailed project guidelines and an explicit understanding that the R500m set aside will remain intact until implementation of the agreement begins.

Department.

Tl From Page 1

tween the forum and the National Housing

1

The forum members who supported the

letters included the ANC, the Inkatha

Freedom Party, the PAC, the DP, the Association

of Mortgage Lenders, Cosatu, the

IDT, the Development Bank of SA, the Urban Foundation, the Construction Consortium and the Kagiso Trust,

Although the forum has suspended talks on housing, it will continue implementing the agreement on hostels.

@ Sos Pages 3 and 7

651655 [ 5 5T

1 [ 0 0 5

v s



S -  
o)  
e  
W  
[ +8]  
<  
e  
&  
Q  
s  
N  
S  
21  
-  
L2  
  
T  
7  
-  
S  
el  
0  
L]  
v  
=  
<  
(Aol

e batre s Min ok o -

ANC declares it will nationalise both cellular tel@\_phone networks

THE launch of SA's two new cellular phone networks is in the balance, with the ANC | demanding nationalisation of both.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa |

phosa said yesterday: "The ANC is adamant that telecommunications must be the hands of the state, as is currently the position with Telkom,"

Even if the present government rejected nationalised telecommunications, the ANC would ensure that we nationalise telecommunications and insist on state ownership of at least 51% of both operators when it came to power.

Ramaphosa gave the possible scenario a demand that Mobile Telephone Networks (MTN) hand over 51% of its shares to state ownership, or, because the state already owned 76% of MTN through Transnet, "we could instruct them to increase this shareholding to a majority stake"

He said there was no way the ANC would deviate from this position, and added that "good progress is being made between the various parties". The parties include the ANC, Cosatu, Polwa, MTN and Vodacom.

It is understood that Vodacom, which is

50% owned by Telkom, has lifted Telkom

| MELANIE SERGEANT

L and BILLY PADDOCH

to majority shareholder status steadily

One industry source doubted whether the future government would be able to afford to buy a majority shareholding in both networks. It was estimated that each network would cost about R1bn to set up.

In an interview this week, President F W de Klerk said government's decision on cellular telephones had been based purely on economic considerations. The country could not wait a further 18 months

v

He said introducing cellular phones would make 30 000 new lines available immediately, bringing public telephones to people who did not have them.

Government's decisions on deregulating the telecommunications infrastructure and on Telkom owning X% of one Neenace had been carefully evaluated on fundamental principles, he said

Government sources said introducing cellular telephones did not constitute a restructuring of the telecommunications industry. It was rather a value-added service

- much like faxes, answering machines

and PABXs and would not replace the fixed line network

Although the network operators and other parties involved in the discussions were sticking to an agreement not to make statements, it was understood that major concessions had been made already to appease the ANC alliance and drop out differences with those opposed to the licence

For instance, it was believed that Vodacom could offer to extend its roaming agreement to allow MTN more than to share its network while the company was building its own

'BUSINESS DAY, THURSDAY 21 OCTOBER 199

)  
k

e â\200\224â\200\224 - Aâ\200\224â\200\224â\200\224. 5y,

'EW details referendum plan

SHOULD a referendum become necessary,  
President F W de Klerk would ensure that L i PADOâ\200\230\_â\200\231CK i  
votes were counted separately in each re- weeks, and he was devoting all his energies  
gion, to gauge the attitudes of voters re- to achieving that.

gionally as well as obtaining a national Regardless of whether the Freedom  
perspective. Alliance too partin 4 referendum, it  
He hoped this would help to show that could go ahead and could determine the |  
voters in each region supported the negoti- | Tute favoured By orty. He was not | A  
P â\200\224 ll labour of 3n eTecton based on a constity- |,  
Â® For ch"vi-\202dll.1 i:(v'm:uw :m: President tion that did not have sufficient support |  
ork see Page 14 from significant parties, as this could lead  
: : : to a catastrophe,  
aling process, even if particular parties i A referendum would legitimise the con-  
chiose to remain outside i, â\200\231\ stitution as long as it and the election were

Klek s the i e g 0% || T coreily o  
: i ! Irregularities. 1 ty Â¥  
inclusive settlement withig three to four s o lâ\200\230291'1,â\200\23523 ;arâ\200\230v s 1



De Klerk's » ] From- Page 1

don't like the way it would not have a few yesterday rejected a government and ANC  
OK to stand on. De Klerk said. proposal that a summit of leaders, or ple-

. However Inkatha Freedom Party primary session at the World Trade Centre, be-  
cause Mangosuthu Buthelezi was a demo- called only when a final draft of the inter-

crat, and I do not for a moment expect a new constitution needed to be endorsed.

Let's act against the law or to be intransigent. The alliance said the summit should take  
place before the constitution was finalised,

can't role player and I am going all out so | otherwise such a summit is going to  
be  
that they somehow or other are part of the | locked into the dichotomisation between  
agreements reached. support and opposition for the final consti-  
Meanwhile, it is understood that bilateral draft  
meetings between the Freedom Alliance After eight months of negotiations, is-  
and government and the ANC have only set | issues were still unresolved and an ail-inely-  
out agendas for further discussion, These! sive political solution had not emerged,  
were made up of exactly the same issues. Therefore it must be ac-  
knowledge that  
that have been dealt with in the negotiat-} there is a major crisis in the negotiation  
ing council and in bilateral meetings over process which only the collective wisdom  
the past months. of the major leaders of southern Africa  
Sources in the ANC delegation said they resolve to find a way forward. E  
did not hold out much hope for a settlement. The leaders' direct involvement was  
Buthelezi and the alliance refuse to meet the deadline for elections. But the deadline  
move an inch, but still demand that we. deadline for elections. But the deadline  
who have done a complete somersault on should not be held to be more important  
regionalism, must go even further than a long-lasting political solution. the  
"Sapa" says that the Freedom Alliance alliance said.

New flag and dual anthems favoured

A FLAG with green and gold vertical bars, and red, blue, green and white triangles symbolising courage, rain, land and peace, is favoured by the national symbols commission, which has also proposed that Die Stem and Nkosi Sikelelâ\200\231 iAfrika be dual anthems for the transitional period.

It recommended that the negotiating council, which will debate the proposals today, consider translating, adapting, and standardising the lyrics of the anthems where necessary

Die Stem had been â\200\234engulfed in 3 history of exclusivism and racial oppressionâ\200\235,

{ BILLY PADDONCH â\200\224â\200\230j

while Nkosi Sikelelâ\200\231 iAfrika had not escaped "the narrowness of many other colonial missionary-inspired anthemsâ\204¢

The commission said that as the issues were so sensitive, these should not be seen

as anything more than proposals. There |

were strong divisions in the commission and the report incorporated minority reports and objections

More than 1 000 submissions were received for a flag and six were shortlisted. The commission said the submissions gen-

i

erally endorsed (he colours green and gold "Gold signifies wealth, resources and sun; green the environment, the land, the vegetation, fertility, growth and youthâ\200\235

It urged negotiators to promote a process to elicit further submissions from the public for both a new flag and an anthem.

Some 119 entries were considered for an anthem and there was general agreement on eight of these

The commission reported that apart from the two strong lobbies for Die Stem and MNkosi Sikelelâ\200\231 iAfrika, there was a

) Yo Page 2

Flag

O From Page 1

Four moltoes were suggested, with

third strong lobby calling for something totally new, which would be able to play a unifying role. Yunwe, a composition by Shalati Joseph Khosa, should be considered as the first alternative to the dual anthem option. This focused on 2 united SA. However; "much more time and effort were needed . . . to manifest in effective and permanent national symbols"

Ubuntu (humanism) preferred above Ex  
Unitate Vires (unity is strength), Copcordia  
Res Crescent (growth through agreement)  
and Coniunctus Viribus (united powers).

The shortlist of heraldic signs centred on leopards, guinea fowl, proteas and the maize plant.

© Pleturest Page 3

- BUSINESS DAY, THURSDAY 21 OCTOBER 19

## NEWS

Midlands clans  
kill 24 in \\_,  
bloody feud X

AT LEAST 24 people died T  
when two clans clashed at L/  
Loskop near Estcourt in the  
Natal Midlands yesterday,  
| police said.  
Five people were seriously  
| wounded and about 100 huts  
| gutted in an attack apparently,  
motivated by revenge for the  
killing of two members of the  
Ngondini clan on October 9,  
and the burning down of 82  
huts belonging to the

| Mnyangwen clan two days  
later, Police believe the

{ fighting â\200\224 which followed

{ weekend fighting in the area

In which Inkatha Freedom

i Party official Duke Mbongwa

; died was linked to a Jand  
{

i

i

dispute.

Estcourt local dispute  
resolution committee  
Aphachaitman Dave Carnegie  
said the local chiefs would be  
asked to intervene in the  
dispute. Meanwhile, police  
reinforcements would remain  
in the area. Page 4

More civil servants

ABOUT 200 temporary public  
; service posts under the

Transitional Executive  
Council administration would

pe advertised shortly, 3

for Constiitutional :  
t Minister Roelf {  
night.

| spokesman  
Â\$ .â\200\230!Deveiopmen  
\ {Meyer said last

'BUSINESS DAY, THURSDAY 21 OCTOBER 199

RUSineELS DAY

Hostel scandal

CETORER. 27 " 2z =,

/

ing in a block of flats ig Parkview

or Norwood, unable to move free-

ly in the suburb, even by bus or car, for fear of being attacked by fellow residents. If it happened in any ordinary city â\200\224 whether in South Africa, Britain, the US, Russia or Japan â\200\224 there would be an outcry. It would cause a stir even in Bosnia. But in Katlehong, on the East Rand, the fate of the people in the Kwesine Hostel is well known but seems of only passing interest.

The hostel is an Inkatha Freedom Party stronghold to which many Inkatha supporters have fled from their township homes to escape at-

IMAGINE a large community Jiv-

tacks from ANC-supporting rivals. | 1

There could be as many as 3000

people in the hostel â\200\224 men, women

and children, some of whom were born there. They cannot leave in cars, or catch taxis, and must travel in groups by train to get to work. Even then there is a constant danger of sabotage to the railway line.

A group of white right-wingers, in a police-escorted convoy, delivered food to the hostel dwellers at the weekend, earning a rebuke from an ANC spokesman for â\200\234faoning existing tensionsâ\200\235.

It is all very well for South Afri-

cans to sing peace songs, and organise soccer games with their political opponents as gestures of goodwill. But while the Kwesine

Hostel scandal is Swept under the  
carpet, what claims can we have to

being a civilised society, let alone 'a

an aspirant democracy?

e e e SUSCHURES) SR

14

0 0 5 0 0 6

o  
o}  
\ c-au  
X  
hdd  
i  
Q  
e  
o  
o  
P  
N  
P  
i  
0  
i  
oc  
s  
-  
[

- 4  
kL  
N  
=  
O  
bobet  
e  
o

1 HE CiTIZEN

"+ Page 5

Chzen Repnrte'  
BELEAGUERED So-  
weto school principals  
who have been barred  
from going to then  
schools by members of  
the SA Democrafic  
Teachers' Unson (SAD-  
TU)) simce August 12,  
wilt rehn to work (o-  
day

At a meeling led by  
the PWV/ANC Alliance  
yesterday, it was an-

nounced that the princi  
pals would resume their  
| duties today and stast  
preparng for internal  
and external cxamina

lons.

The Depaty Secretany  
of the ANC/PWYV re  
gion, My Obed Baprll.  
said he hoped the prmÂ»



cipals would not be n-  
timidated when they re-  
turned, and that they  
would be able to con-  
tinue the process of edu-  
cating the pupils.

He also said that the  
ANC Alliance would  
mediate a meeting be-  
tween the principals and  
the teachers 2t which al-  
legations and countes

allegations could be  
substantiated

boweto principals to  
o back to schools ~

Relations between  
teachers and principals  
had been strained since  
about SON teachers de-  
manded that the De-  
partment of Education  
and Training (DET) re-  
fund money that had  
unfairly been deducted  
from their salaries after  
a strike earlier this year

In a campaign, co-of-  
founded by SADTU\200\231s  
Soweto branch, aimed  
at putting pressure on  
the DET, principals  
were asked to approach

sue

ne Ro L! meyer, COM

munications director of  
the DET, the principals  
were not responsible for  
the deductions

He stated that the s-  
ome of the principals\200\235 e-  
turn today had already  
been decided at a meet-  
ing held between the  
DET and SADTU ear-  
lier this week, and that  
SADTU had given an  
undertaking that its  
members would not pre-  
vent the principals from  
returning 3

the DET about the is-

THE CITIZEN, THURSDAY 21 OCTOBER 1983

Civil service must  
change â\200\224 Sachs|

CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 The ANC did not want to provoke a  
civil war by getting Whites fired from their jobs; but |  
gross imbalances such as that in the â\200\234Afnkaner male-  
dominatedâ\200\235 civil service would have to change, ANC  
national executive Âouncil member Prof Albie Sachs  
said yesterday at a Woodstock forum on affirmative ac- |  
tion.

Prof Sachs said although the ANC did not have a fi-  
nal policy on atfirmative action, measures to correct  
past injustices when non-Whites were denied empioy-  
ment because of their skin colour. had to be corrected |  
â\200\234as a matter of survival for the South Afrnican ccon-  
omy"â\200\235

He said concrete measures to correct imbalances had  
to be taken tn business, the Âivil service, pohce and the  
military, as well as in Black education. housing and  
heaith care.

Prof Sachs said the ANC wanted equal opportunities  
for alt ppeople, and Blacks and women would be the  
chiet beneficiaries of affirmatiijve action, = Sapa

ek G b S gl i 1

Poli

PO â\200\230IH be

HEY were lucky.  
Their van was  
riddled with bullets, but  
they escaped serious  
injury in Millerâ\200\231s Camp on  
Monday night.

But this year, 18 of their  
colleagues in the South  
African Police, serving in  
the Western Cape region,  
have not been as fortunate.

For them, hot lead  
spewing from weapons  
such as the AK-47 assault  
rifle, spelled and end to  
life on the perennial  
battlefield encompassing  
Khayelitsha and other  
townships in the region.

Despite having death as  
a constant companion,  
police have vowed not to  
withdraw from danger  
zones.

â\200\234Weâ\200\231d like to appeal to  
all law-abiding citizens to  
assist us in protecting  
them,â\200\235 said Western Cape  
police liaison head  
Raymond Dowd. '

â\200\234Whoâ\200\231ll maintain law  
and order if we leave? It  
will become a situation of  
mob rule.â\200\235

Colonel Dowd said  
attacks against police had  
to be seen in the context of  
the political situation

The Argus, Thursday October 21 1993 19

cemen u

a situation of mob rule if we leaveâ\200\231

THEIRS is a difficult job, maintaining law and order in an environment where some political organisations use the slogan â\200\234Kill a cop a dayâ\200\235. On Monday night police came under fire again. Who is doing the shooting? Political Staff Reporter DENNIS CRUYWAGEN investigates.

prevailing in South Africa.

â\200\234Thereâ\200\231s instability and certain organisations are calling for police to be chased out of the townships. They want to intimidate us into leaving.

â\200\234We wonâ\200\231t. We will maintain law and order and remain in all areas.â\200\235

Attacks on police were not random, he suggested.

â\200\234They are well orchestrated. Monday nightâ\200\231s attack was definitely an ambush.â\200\235

Colonel Dowd said police believed that the â\200\234silent majorityâ\200\235 in many townships welcomed a strong police presence in their area.

Before the ANC suspended the armed struggle, its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was frequently blamed for attacks on security forces.

But the Pretoria Minute brought an end to ANC armed insurgency.

An MK spokesman, who declined to be named, confirmed that the ANCâ\200\231s army had suspended hostilities.

â\200\234We are against attacks.

We are not in a situation where we are fighting security forces. Our policy is to negotiate because we are a political army. We canâ\200\231t encourage attacks on police.â\200\235

Regional ANC chairman Allan Boesak, without condoning Â© Mondayâ\200\231s

attack, said the reputation and role of the police were some of the problems which had to be faced in the reconstruction of South Africa.

It's tragic but true that the vast majority of people do not see police as their friends or protectors. As long as this perception remains, police can't perceive themselves to be part of the community.

The animosity proved just how hard the ANC would have to work to change the relationship, Dr

{

Boesak said.  
The Pan Africanist Congress, the other major

black liberation movement, has not suspended its armed

struggle and its military arm, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), is still involved in hostilities with security forces.

Last Wednesday, the SADF killed five youths while raiding an Umtata house allegedly used by Apla.

Apla could not be reached for comment on Monday's ambush.

PAC spokesman Waters Toboti said the movement had resolved at its national congress a year ago to intensify the struggle.

For us the struggle continues. We are not liberated yet and are still fighting for liberation. Our struggle is being waged on many fields, on the ground and from political platforms, he said.

After the Umtata raid, the militant Pan Africanist Students Organisation (Paso) vowed to hit the

enemy hard in  
retaliation.â\200\235

After the Thatcher Memoirs...

Tsar Wars resume in

From GARNER THOMSON

ONDON. â\200\224 The Conser-

vative Partyâ\200\231s Tsar  
Wars has broken out again,  
with former Prime Minister  
Lady Thatcher once more  
lasering her successor John  
Major to the ground.

Just as Ministers were  
breathing sighs of relief that  
}l{ublication of her memoirs,

hatcher: The Downing Street  
Years, fell a little short of the  
all-out blood-letting that was  
feared, the BBCâ\200\231s Â£1,3 million  
(R5,9m) television series on the  
> as \_begun, with

220 D7 D

tionately endorsed Major after  
the Daily Mirror had pumged  
up a leaked version of her  
memoirs to make it look as  
though she was somewhat less  
than fond of the ground he  
walked on.

Now - outside of the confines  
of the polished prose of no few-  
er than three literary â\200\234advis-  
ersâ\200\235 - the BBC presents an en-  
tirely rawer picture of â\200\230a  
former leader who believes she  
was scuttled by Cabinet  
â\200\234treacherv with a smile on its

compromisersâ\200\235, â\200\234quislingsâ\200\235 and  
â\200\234traitorsâ\200\235 is some indication of  
the degree of resentment that  
still boils within her breast.  
She also reveals a preoccu-  
pation with class (once telling  
Anthony Parsons, her ambassa-  
dor to the UN: â\200\234I am very glad  
I do not belong to your clas-  
s..upper middle-class intellec-  
tuals who see everyone elseâ\200\231s  
point of view and have no view  
of their own.â\200\235), a dislike of vain  
and indecisive men...and a star-  
tlingly unexpected tendency to

Britain

To which Lady Thatcher re-  
sponds briskly: â\200\234It never oc-  
curred to me that I was a  
woman. I was prime minister-  
..but I think that women have  
very often much more experi-  
ence of taking tough decisions  
than men.

â\200\234After all, often weâ\200\231re left  
carrying the can and I think  
they resented that. But I knew  
that if we were to get through,  
we had to be tough and it was  
second nature to me.â\200\235

Far less important than the  
woman thing were her origins  
and what she believed these

presented D \_he COLleagues