

Friday 10 August 1999â\200\230

| BOesak to start new
_pohtlcal life in Sept

- thing was being really in-

In his first news inter-
view since he i
from the Dutch Reform-
ed Mission Church in ear-

lyJuly,DrBoesaksmd-

- wvolved in politics in all

kinds of ways.â\200\235
During the 1986-90 nat-

ional state of emergency,

: DrBoemkandothctdcr

were bannedâ\200\235.

â\200\234The things that we
have worked for so hard,
for so long, the things that

we were beaten up for,
the things we went to jail-

for, the things that so
many people have been
killedfor those ideals of

15 invitations from towns
and organisations asking
him to speak or work on
their behalf. The first ap-
peanmewouldpmbably
be to either launch a con-
sumer boycott or nego-
tiate with a town council
on behalf of residents. :
He would respond to
all requests and do what-
ever people in need asked
of him. He would run for
a seat in a future non-
racial Parliament " if it

â\200\234All of us have certain
gifts that one receives
from God. I can only of-
fer that and say whatever

-it is that I-have, I give,â\200\235

Dr Boesak said.
However, he said, he
had no intention of join-

_ mg any political organisa- -

Dr ALLAN BOESAK, the former president of
the World Alliance of Reformed Churches,
has given his first interview since his, â\200\234fall

from graceâ\200\235 over an alleged
. hkwluiamrledgtvrpm.

extra-marital af-

on â\200\234â\200\234at this stageâ\204ç.
Dr Boesak is a patron
of the United Democratic

- Front.

He said he believed he
could contribute to nat-

- ional reconciliation, and

smdhew:scomnnnedlao

ship with Ms Elna Botha,
a married woman who is a
producer for the SABC.
He previously said he had
done nothing wrong and
that he and Ms Botha
would maintain their con--
tact.

Dr Boesakâ\200\231s wife, Dor-

othy, has filed for div-

orce. â\200\224 Sapa-AP.

release M

haen

ampalgn a
UDF â\200\230treason

A MAIJOR affiliate of
" the United Democratic
Front â\200\224 the Release
Mandela Campaign
(RMC) â\200\224 has made al-
legations on the exist-
ence of a â\200\230â\200\234cabalâ\200\235 in
the UDF, which it has
accused of â\200\230â\200\230treasonâ\200\235
against the African
National Congress
(ANC).

The allegations on the
â\200\234existence of a cabal within
the UDF â\200\224which is at-
tempting to influence
ANC policy and at the
â\200\230same time control the
UDF as a separate orga-
nisation â\200\224 have been
made in a letter from the
Release Mandela Cam-
paign to members of the
ANC'â\200\231s national executive
committee and UDF
leaders.

The letter, which com-
)}ains about the activities
>f the cabal â\200\224 described
s a â\200\234secret clique of ac-
wyistsâ\204¢ within the UDF

was sent to leading fig-
s the ANC, includ-
mg d ty president, Mr

Nelson Mandela, by Mr
Aubrey Mokoena, nat-
ional co-ordinator of thc
Release Mandela Cam-
paign, in June.

It was also sent to the
co-presidents of the
UDF, Mrs Albertina Si-
sulu, and Mr Archie Gu-
mede.

In this letter, Mr Mo-
koena said he and his nat-
ional executive commit-
tee â\200\234wish to bring to your
attention a certain con-
spiratorial document pre-
pared by the cabal to con-
fuse, retard the struggle,
demobilise certain activ-
ists, and thus undermine
the ANCâ\200\235".

He accuses the cabal of

tactics such as manipulation, the building up of its own leaders, and the putting of its people in strategic organisational positions.

â\200\234The net result of this

is that the movement is deprived of the services of some comrades who have exceptional skills to whom the doors of the ANC are deliberately being closed,â\200\235 Mr Mokoena said.

In his letter Mr Mokoena said he was a member of the UDF national ex-

* ecutive committee from

the time of its formation in 1983 until the Pietermaritzburg treason trial two years later.

It had always been the understanding that the UDF was â\200\234a front or organisationsâ\200\235, and never an organisation itself.

However, certain functionaries of the UDF had â\200\234cherished ambitions and aspirationsâ\200\235 that the UDF should be an organisation, and this view had been advanced by the cabal, which wanted the

gndela
iieges

: plished,â\200\235 said' Mr Mokoena

rTalks aim to solve â\202¬<
Soweto rent boycott

â\200\230Municipal Reporter

A SOLUTION: to the five-year-old rent boycott inâ\200\235 Soweto could be in sight as talks continue between the Transvaal Provincial ~ Administration

ion, the Soweto Peopleâ\200\231s~

(SPD) and the Soweto City Council.

A meeting held yesterday

day was adjourned until Tuesday after it was ' agreed that the town councils of Dobsonville

' lud,edâ\200\230m the discussions. <the chairman of the oÂ« meeting Mr Olaus van Zyl,' MEC in charge of â\200\234 local government said all the involved parties were still committed to reaching a decision on the main points of the discussions. Discussions would continue on Tuesday at a venue still to be decided. The main points of discussion which were investigated by a technical

committee are the writing off of arrears in respect of

municipal charges and rents; the upgrading of

municipal services in So--

weto, affordable - tariffs for municipal services. the transfer of rented housing stock; and a common fiscal base for the cities for Soweto and Johannesburg.

The leader of the SPD, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, said after yesterdayâ\200\231s meeting that the talks were cordial and an eventual agreement would depend on whether the TPA were prepared to concede to the reasonable demands of the people of Soweto.

" He said the SPD had

- SPD members include Mr

insisted on the participation of Diepmeadow and Dobsonville as the SPD did not see a solution to the Soweto rent boycott without involving the other two councils in the actual agreement.

He said he was optimistic that the TPA -would accede to all their demands. If all the objectives were reached and the TPA agreed to the de-

mands, the boycott would be lifted. -

The TPA delegation includes Mr Van Zyl and Mr John Mavuso, MEC for housing, while the

Raniiphbsa and UDI president, Mrs Albertina

its cliquismâ\200\235

_Slsuh_x

UDF to exist as a â\200\234parallel structure to the ANCâ\200\235. -

Mr Mokoena pointed to a passage in the cabal document which said it | should be ensured that the UDF did not disintegrate with the unbanning of the ANC, and referred in particular to a resolution to be taken at a conference in April.

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na, who said he had first raised the existence of the cabal at a conference with the ANC leadership in Lusaka in 1987.

The result of this had been a commission to investigate, consisting of Father Mkhathshwa, Dr C F Beyers Naude and Mr Chris Dlamini, but this had produced no clear results.

The cabal had consequently grown by â\200\234â\200\230leaps and bounds between 1987 till today when it is capable of hatching such a plot against the ANC and other' prominent activists,â\200\235 said Mr Mokoena.

The cabal document, - he said, had spoken of a strategy to isolate certain key figures such as Peter Mokaba (leader of the Lebowa Comrades in 1986), Mr Terror Lekota and Mr Popo Molefe. while attempts had also

been made to isolate the
SA Youth Congress (Say-
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icalâ\200\235, as well as the RMC

itself. %

He accused the cab:
using the formation of the -
Mass Democratic Move-
ment (MDM) to â\200\230â\200\230dignify
and said
â\200\234everybody knows how
many forms of mischief
have been committed in
the name of the MDMâ\200\235.

Gs R =Y

Friday 10 4â\200\230Augustâ\200\230t f990

\ THE CITIZEN

Release M

andela

Campaign alleges

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â\200\234This plot was accomplished,â\200\235 said' Mr Mokoe-na, who said he had first raised the existence of the cabal at a conference with the ANC leadership in Lusaka in 1987.

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-He accused the cabal of using the formation of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) to â\200\234dignify its cliquismâ\200\235 and said â\200\234everybody knows how many forms of mischief have been committed in the name of the MDM".

~ The Star Friday August 10 1990

cracker, violence explodes at

one place after another. Just
as fury seemed to abate in Ka-

gao this week, so it erupted in

ort Elizabeth. Daily police

| reports of death and destruc-

- || tion make sombre reading.

| Does the ANC's undertaking to
cease the armed struggle

mean at all? It is a
question that will be asked
| many times in difficult days

| ahead. It deserves a careful

answer. .

The reality is that the un-
dertaking, historic though it is,

~J| cannot bring all violence to an

| end tomorrow. But it does
| best hope for a more peaceful

future.

Community violence has be-
come a feature of our society
from the endemic family

in the valleys of Natal

to the lawlessness of the lost

' ation in townships to the
A ive urges of

Even though this violence

often has political undertones,

and is sometimes exploited for

tical purposes, it obeys no

ute but its own. It can only

| be contained by an effective

-4 police force that has the sup-

Qhe Star

| Towards a securit
â\200\234â\200\230umbrellaâ\200\235

| LIKE a jumping-jack fire-

| offer, in the longer run, the things.

â\200\230port of most people.

This is where the ceasefire
is invaluable. It puts the ANC
squarely on the side of the
peacemakers. It makes the
movement a potential force
for law and order. In Kagiso,
for instance, the ANC is meet-
ing Inkatha and the police to

â\200\230devise ways to end the fight-

ing. It seems to be paying off,
though the situation is volatile.

In Durban, the ANC and Co-
satu met Inkatha for more
talks on the Natal violence. A

joint statement said the meet-

ing was â\200\234fruitfulâ\200\235. In Port
Elizabeth a call has been made
for the ANC to help defuse
There can be no reason
to refuse the invitation.

And so, gradually, the ANC
can become involved in peace-
keeping. It seems a distant
hope now, but one day the
movement will have to be
drawn more formally into the

process of law enforcement.

An â\200\234umbrellaâ\200\235 security force
is an essential. When it does
happen â\200\224 as it must â\200\224 then,
at last, enough South Africans
will have a vested interest in
law and order for the State to
tackle properly the murderous
criminals in our midst.

R

1
wronged at the hands of the police
availed themselves of this facility
" in considerable numbers. Ultimate- |
~ ly, however, measures such as these

Matching

The ANCâ\200\231s unilateral suspension
of armed actions removes a
major stumbling block to nego-
tiations and an ultimate settle-
ment. It will do much to erase
| the mistrust and suspicion about
an ANC-SACP double agenda
which has assumed serious pro-
portions in Government circles
- over the past few months.

At the same time it puts pressure â\200\231
onuriï-\201-uli:â\200\230ent de tmmbotfl take ai:
equally x:m symbolic step in
bringing police under much

There exists a ten among
whites to scoff at the ANCâ\200\231s armed
struggle as an amateurish guerilla

in My quarters there
temptation to dismiss the signifi-
| cance of this step by the ANC.

In fact, suspending the armed
struggle is just about the gravest
risk any liberation organisation can

To give one example: the Provi-
sional Irish blican Army near-
ly disintegrated as a result of inter- .
nal feuding in the 1970s after it had
â\200\230agreed to cease hostilities.

Wheelâ\200\231s hub

For me the the Dakar conference
_of 1987 was pariïï-\202% mulling
laik lo (iend firaie At o of

e. As one o
the internal &um at the
â\200\230meeting, Riaan de Villiers, ex-
pressed in a report, the armed cam-
paign was the hub of the entire
struggle of the ANC. Without it, the
other spokes of the wheel such as
township mobilisation and isolating
South Africa internationally, would
not come off. - s

the geasefire card

- :;;Ee'rhe- only real alternative is for

Political Studies at the

\$ J

HERMANN GILIOMEE, head of fhodDoporlmcm of

looks at the significance of the African National Con-

gressâ\200\231s bold decision to halt the armed struggle as well

as other important consequences that could flow from
e the Pretoria Minute. Âf

Town,

/

~ Indeed, without the

. attracted to its ranks the
_of black students who fled the coun-
after the Soweto re

bever have capitalised so well on

â\200\224

' the township revolt of 1984-86.

Â«Nevertheless most of the ANC
-leadership remained ambivalent
_about the armed particu-
larly the terrorist of it. Bomb-
ings were morale ,
~ blacks and attracted them to

ANC; however, it repelled in equal

measure whites whose lupmâ\200\234the
ANC needed. Hence the leadershipâ\200\231s
awkward silence when out of con-

~ trol operatives launched attacks at -

soft targets, such as restaurants.
In the words of the authoritative
study by Steven Davies, â\200\234Apart-

- heidâ\200\231s Rebelsâ\200\235, the ANC feared that -

ou t condemnation â\200\230would risk
\.re new enlistees. â\200\230

ment the ANC would have experi-
- ended unbearable tension if it con-

tinued to mix war talk with peace -
~talk. As a political party the ANC

gzogr-â\200\224udhtlnctfromthemc-
; thealuancaâ\200\224cannotfely&nâ\200\230tl-el;;
on immense personal ap, [
' Mr Mandela

To compensate for the defections

of those who feel the ANC has gone
soft, the movement needs cezlproject
its commitment to pea: , man-

ageable reconstruction. It must not

R m lltlcal

lt;!',hllf:f v

it. It was, in fact, a
cts in

were up againsi
which P against a police
Ppartisan

' But as a legalised political move-

Iy become the majority party, but
ANC the ~,;mmuretheconil?drelnceofiank-.
would never have ' gps and investors after the election. '
thounnd;* o,
S democracy was given sub-
try e rebellion of â\200\234i-â\201â\200\235i-â\202y the Pretoria
1976, Without it, too, the ANC could

'he ANCâ\200\231s commitment to a mul-

other parties that need to be drawn
negotiation process.
ilâ\200\230tAoltl'?)eimp'm'tant is the undertaking
given by Mr Patrick â\200\234Terrorâ\200\235 Leko-
ta, ANC southern Natal convenor,
not to attack Inkatha and to defend
mruhttoopmo!i-â\201eulnmrbanaâ\200\224
since it is for the masses to decide

wmatzz | w.moï-â\202heirchdce.\'etthe

which d:cylarec that there are also

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â\200\230Without the ANC the
â\200\234â\200\230armed struggle would
never have attracted

~ thousands of black

students who fled the
country after the
Soweto rebellion of
1976. Without it, too,
the ANC could never
have capitalised so
well on the township

revolt of 1984-86.â\200\231
PR T R Y MDA R DN M AT

pro quo for his movementâ\200\231s suspension of armed actions.

A look at other divided societies - such as Northern Ireland and Israel show that the professionalisation of the police ethos is a slow and laborious process. And even if a poll;.:te

ANC's suspension of armed actions

will not automatically b p;i¬\202e:m

of the lat-

Was never rea]-

Some would have

profusion of
the 3

the 1980s
a civil war ag

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fo
at some places wag hlgll.nâ\200\230l;fÂ».

Mr Mandela will unq %
Mr de Klerk to t::bl:edly ex.

e a
er hold on the police as .";'.â\200\230,,",',,'

~ self â\200\224 as many argue the Royal Ul-

ster Constab: has done in recent times in Northern Ireland â\200\224 the oppressed continue to feel alienated from it.

Only a minor transgression by a

- Junior officer pg
pidly revitajiges
" hatred, - U

â\202¬ old mistrygt

Still, Pregj s

| fence to the NP.

_never go far enough.
politically excluded to be drawn

into government â\200\224 and into the se-

nior ranks of the police force.
The Pretoria ute brings the
NP and the ANC one step forward

- to the unstated goal of forming the

new governing coalition. There can hardly be any doubt that in such a coalition, the ministry of the police will go to the ANC and that of de-

Key question

The key question is a simple one: Would enough political trust devel-

opbi.n;qtthe;lmcenofmmungag subsequently governing the countr: together tl{at a black-led police force" and white-led army can co-

If not, there is a dire danger that they could turn into well-armed antagonistic forces which could trigger a real civil war in South Africa.

This gloomy thought notwithstanding, the fact remains that with the Pretoria Minute South Africa has come much nearer to ce than anyone could dare hope for at the beginning of this year.

For once, the major political - leaders on both sides of the great divide are taking political risks in order to make peace.

. That in itself is a rence in the last hun

our country's history : '

occur- years of

Thug

Staff Reporte

, and Corresponde

Criminal elements continued

to rage through Port Eliza-

bethâ\200\231s coloured townships last

- night as violence overflowed to

. nearby Uitenhage. : :

| Township residents claim that

there were three deaths in Uiten-

hageâ\200\231s Rosedale coloured town-

ship last night.

has climbed to at least 33, with in-

juries totalling more than 200 â\200\224 and

damage to property running into mil-

lions of rands.

Police and army reinforcements,

with air support, have poured in to

| assist embattled policemen swamped

| by widespread violence, looting and

By last night police had arrested

| more than 100 people. ;

but itals said they had ,

| to 200 people for injuries â\200\224 mainly

â\200\230birdshot wounds. -

Residents in the upmarket section

of Gelvandale have formed vigilante

groups to ward off possible attacks.

After two days of continuous vio-

lence, emergency services and busi-

ness have ceased. '

Armed businessmen

Last night soldiers stood guard at

nessmen were also standing ready at

TS S e T Teae UL

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* Police said many of the dead were

looters shot by shop-owners.

. Frantic efforts were being made by

police and other organisations yester-

day to hold talks to end the violence.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan

â\200\230Vlok sent personal representative

Lieutenant-General Mulder van Eyk

- to Port Elizabeth to report on the situation. ;

The official death toll in the area

No exact figures were available,
up -

in PE

businesses and shops. Armed busi- -

- drunken gang fighting which followed

police would hold back their fire.â\200\235

towns

The casualty ward at Livingstone
Hospital in Port Elizabeth was overflowing last night with unrest victims, i

Several people were being treated
for stab wounds received during

the looting of bottle-stores. r

One man with birdshot wounds died
on the operating table about 7pm.

Doctors were being called in from
outside to assist the hospital staff.

Heavily armed police and SADF
troops were roving the area firing
teargas and â\200\230bifd?hot sporadically to
disable looters. s

mmm, ANC and SA Communist
Party executive leader, said:
â\200\234Our people are there handling the
situation. We hope that with the co-
operation of the police the situation
should be under control.â\200\235

He stressed the importance of the
police holding their fire, saying: â\200\234The !
police must desist from shooting. â\200\230

â\200\234On Wednesday night the people
were g to listen to the ANC,
but with the police shooting it was
difficult to control them. If only the

Violence spills over into Uitenhage,)

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Causes of the unrest

* leader, Rev Allan Hendrickse.

By Dawn Barkhuizen

The reasons behind the unrest
in Port Elizabeth's townships

appear to be two-pronged:

@ A protest meeting on Monday night over a service

charge increase in the coloured areas resulted in police using tear gas to disperse the crowd. Angry protesters went on the rampage as a result.

@A month-long dispute over a school principal, Joe Slingers, at Chatty High School.

Pro-ANC pupils demanded that Mr Slingers be removed from the school, but this was rejected by Labour Party

The pupils, who staged a boycott and threatened to kill Mr Slingers, have been at the forefront of the mobs.

Bethalsdorp Labour Party MP, Willie Dietrich, last night distanced himself from Mr Hendrickse's decision not to remove Mr Slingers.

He said: "Had Mr Slingers not been foisted on the people of Chatty, many of the present problems would have been averted".

A subsequent development has been that rioters appear to be members of gangs and criminal elements taking advantage of the situation.

c Weew

HE worm enjoys some not-

able advantages. Chopped
in half it happily proceeds off
on its now, two separate ways.

Steven Friedmanâ\200\231s Wormâ\200\231s:

Eye View often provides a can-
ny perspective on South Afri-

can politics. But when he deals with

the SACP, as he did in his column last
Fnday, he gets to work not with one
worm'â\200\231s eye but with four little eyes,
two pairs, two contradictory worms

emerging from a well disguised chop .
in half.

The main drift of Friedmanâ\200\231s argu-
ment is that there is an â\200\234intriguing
possibilityâ\200\235 that the SACP could be
an important factor in the democrati-
sation of South Africa. We have never
doubted it. But for Friedman this real
possibility is full of paradoxes â\200\224 just
think of it, a party that has been â\200\234for
decades the most Stalinist communist
party in the Westâ\200\235 etc!

This is a wormy paradox â\200\224 not a
real one. (In the first place we are not
in the West, nor even in the East as
some of our detractors have also al-
leged. Geopolitically our party and
our country are south. :

- Why does Friedman believe our par-
ty can play a role in the democratisa-

tion process? â\200\234The fate of democracy

here will depend partly on whether an
economic compmmxsc is achieved be-
tween the majorityâ\200\231s demand for redis-
tribution and the need for econormnic
growth.â\200\235

Friedman concedes the SACP has
significant legitimacy and support
. among this majority that is demand-
Âç ing redistribution. On the other hand,
the SACPâ\200\231s leaders â\200\234may well be en-
thusiastic compromisersâ\200\235. And so,
Bobâ\200\231s your aunt, believe it or not, the
- SACP could play a crucial role in se-
curing the fate of democracy in South
Africa. (Presumably by dampening
the majorityâ\200\231s enthusiasm for redis-

The SACPâ\200\231s S en
fâ\200\231ome to democtacy

/9=0

.. and beyond

The SA Communist
Party is accused of being
an undemocratic -
conspiracy. Of course the
party conspiredâ\200\224 it was
bannedâ\200\224 but it was done
for democracy, argues
SACP leader
JEREMY CRONIN
in this reply to a Weekly
Mail column last week

tribution. Hmm")

In our imperfect world it is, per-
haps, ungrateful not to accept a com-
â\200\234pliment, no matter how grudging and

back-handed it might be. But Fried-
manâ\200\231s column is so buttressed with

distortions that some rejoinder.is re- |
quired, lest these harden even further

into unquestioned common wisdom.
What substantial evidence does
Friedman offer for labelling us a thor-
oughly undemocratic organisation? It
seems to come down to the fact that

we have been party to secret conspira- .
cies. Of course weâ\200\231ve conspired. Be-

tween 1950 and February 2 1990 the

circulation of a dozen Umsebensizi,

or the holding of three person unit
meetings have required deep consplra-
torial techniques. Yes, weâ\200\231ve con-
spired ... against the apartheid re-
gime. No apologies offered.

But we have not conspired against
or within fraternal organisations. And
if individual party members or collec-
tives have done so they have broken

with one of our party's most basic principles.

There are two worms' voices speaking, not one. One worm, the shorter, is an ultra-leftish. It calls the SACP leadership 'compromisers', we are

" Jeremy Cronin ... We conspired against the apartheid mn?"

' abandoning socialism, in the recent

past we have tried to get trade unionists to defer demands for socialism. The other worm, and it is the larger half, is a right-wing liberal. It nibbles away at us for our 'van-ism', for our Marxist 'orthodoxy'. Above all,

: this particular won't have a high

ical view of democracy

It rejects the vision of democracy as a process of empowering the people at all levels and in all sectors of their lives. Instead, at least by strong implication, democracy is reduced simply to multi-party wheeling and dealing, to compromises struck between apparatuses that are capable of delivering their respective constituencies.

To the government and to business this worm says quite explicitly: deal with the SACP, they can deliver the workers and the youth.

If this is the 'democratic' role envisaged for us, then we are happy to admit that our party and this democra-

cy are indeed strange bed-fellows.

It is out of this contradictory, partly ultra-left, mostly right-wing liberal appraisal that the SACP emerges, in

its article, as a potential factor for democracy. But are there not more coherent (and more generously

misleading) explanations for the po-

ntid role of the SACP? :

The SACP continues to propagate

the desirability of socialism â€ˆ that

is, the social ownership and control

over the major means of production.

But we have long argued that the most direct line of advance to socialism in South Africa lies down the path of a national democratic transformation. This is not to defer socialism but to advance by the most rapid (and we believe democratic) route. The opening up of this national democratic transformation will now most likely occur through some negotiations mechanism. There will be compromises. But such compromises can only be justified if they lay the basis for real democratisation. Gy

In our view the deepening and consolidation of this process will depend

on a democratic transition to social-

ism in the medium term. Demy A after all, is a limited thing when a

handful of private individuals continues to own and control the command-

ing economic heights.

The SACP and democracy are not

strange bed-fellows. It is precisely be-

cause of our 69 years of struggle for a democratic South Africa that we have been persecuted. And it is precisely because of both our struggle and our persecution that we enjoy the respect of large numbers of oppressed South Africans ;

" As we build a renewed mass party, â€ˆ

the SACP will reflect the views of its communist membership and of the wider working class from which most of our membership will be drawn. Whether legitimate worker demands and aspirations are deferred in the interests of their longer term realisation

. i ad :

will be democratically.

We emphatically decline Fried-

manâ\200\231s invitation to deliver, like a

sack of mealies, and in the name of se-
curing democracy, any constituency

_ whatsoever. Thanks but no thanks.

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QW\DQâ\200\234GQ Qj PR

he two parties to this weekâ\200\231s

talks-about-talks have now

- made bold gestures to show

their goodwill and their commit-

ment to the negotiation process:

FW de Klerk on February 2

when he unbannead Igl:l prevnï¬\201-

ly restricted organisations, and Nelson Man-

(;,chmisweck\mdeclareda,cwsei¬\201re.

So much for the gestures: now we have to

| get down to the real issues, which present po-

tentially more difficult problems. Thereis a

real danger that talks proper could get bogged

down by questions of who-should be at the

table, what side they sit on and their relative

weighting, There could be endless haggling

over the representativeness of all the parties.

"This could be dealt with swiftly if a vote i

held for a constituent assembly. A ballot

would sort out whoâ\200\231s whom, once and for

all. And then the parties can get down to

drawing up a new constitution.

g Q\Cpâ\200\230g TN Xoulke 2

BUSINESS DAY, Friday, August 10 1990

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R O N A R . T D D

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lgyes

HE ANC might put aside con-
stitutions and economic
workshops for a while and
think about the effect of Frith

â\200\234"van der Merwe, David and Rammy
~ Tsebe or a host of other world-class
_runners competing abroad.
Â« It would unite South Africans, of
- all colours and political persuasions
â\200\234*and of both sexes, behind South Afri-
can athletes who stand a chance of
* defeating the worldâ\200\231s best. It is the
. nationalism that sport engenders

| _and that we have been denied, first
{ - by apartheid and then by the resul-

tant boycotts. It could help build the
-nation we donâ\200\231t yet have.
* For the ANC, which holds the key
..to our sports isolation, this should
be an urgent consideration. We are
â\200\234"not talking about the politically sen-

..Sitive issues of rugby and cricket,

--tainted by rebel tours and support-
= ed mainly by whites. Nor about re-

wards, especially to whites, for
..good behaviour in desegregating
one or other sport, or for progress
- made in constitutional negotiations.

- ..For us, and we hope for the ANC, .

..Something wider is at stake.

A start needs to be made on cre-
Â«ating the symbols of a single new
â\200\234 South Africa. Particular sports, de-
â\200\234liberately selected for the contribu-
..tion they can make to united

-national pride, fit this bill. Athlet-
~ics, and especially the marathon
..and ultra-marathon runners we
+ have in proliferation, comes first to
Â« mind. Then boxing, dominated by

| ~ top-class black boxers who can
_â\200\234â\200\234compete as individuals but not as

..teams, and possibly even soccer,

'(X__GOMMENâ\200\231[

Winning nation

which had nations united around their television screens during the World Cup. Local soccer may, however, have been so deprived that we would be in for one drubbing after the other; that wouldnâ\200\231t do much for national pride. :

The ANC has the power to call off the international sports boycott and the blacklisting of those who compete here, or against South Africans. It can use this power selectively where it would do most national good. It can apply the experience of the World Cup, and pick the sports where South Africans would excel and be supported by most other South Africans. It can get Frith van der Merwe fans in Soweto, and the Tsebe brothers fans in Bloemfontein, not because of sex or colour but because they are South Africans.

This will mean sidestepping the political and racial divisions built up over the years, and it may threaten some personal fiefdoms, but it promises almost instant rewards. Those rewards are needed long before we get down to negotiating a constitution, or stopping the violence, or even deciding on an economic policy for the new South Africa. ;

We first have to build that new South Africa. Selected sports and their stars offer a quick and costless start, with a high probability of success. Pack the Boston Marathon, and the London to Brighton race, with South Africans of all colours,

_ arrange for live screening, and get a -
â\200\234nation cheering together.

W USINESS DAY has pro-

posed a debate on federal-

ism as part of the country's

forthcoming constitutional debate. This, I believe, is the wrong starting point. The questions which need to be raised should concern the development of forms of effective public participation in decisions and control over decision-making.

Looked at in this light, the critical issues become those of electoral systems - proportional representation in particular - the devolution of certain state powers, including the creation of corporatist structures where key actors have a formal role / to play in policy-making, and greater economic democracy at the micro level.

Constitutions seldom provide accurate guides to the way in which power is distributed, and this is notoriously true of federal states. We learn little about the distribution of power in the USSR by knowing that the constitution confers on the constituent republics even the right to wage war and to make treaties.

Debate about desirable constitutions ought to be placed in their particular historical and political context. The federal idea in SA has been mainly concerned with devising ways to limit government in a future where formal democratic rights will have been extended to the whole adult population. Overtly it reflects the fear of majority rule. Decoded, the federal idea expresses a hostility to the idea of majority rule.

Minorities' fears that majority rule will deprive them of their political privileges are not groundless.

But it is a damaging implication that = |

federalism should be used to frustrate majority rule which is the only way we know for producing democratic governments. e

It is doubly damaging that almost all proposals for a federal state in SA have incorporated elements of race. Federalism is a leaky ship in which to sail any commitment to a |

nonracial SA. It has become associ-

ated with perpetuating the dominance of groups (black and white) that have a vested interest in restraining democratic participation.

It is unfashionable nowadays to propose that race or ethnicity should be a basis of federal units. Proponents of federalism are anxious to purge federalism of all connotations of racialism. But it is almost inevitable that in a future federal SA, residues of the present homelands and national states would remain as prominent elements in the territorial bases for a federal state. If this were to happen the racial and ethnic elements upon which a state was constructed would continue to exist. One of the attractions of federalism is that it promises a division of powers which will reduce the possibility of the state exercising tyrannical or arbitrary powers. But such a prospect is more ideal than real. Liberty is less likely to be promoted in a weak and incapacitated state than in a strong one. On the contrary, strong states are and of course federal states are just as likely to be strong as unitary ones are strong because they mobilise support from, and incur obligations to, a wide variety of groups. Weak states are particularly

vulnerable to corruption, patronage and autocracy,

clientelism, and arbitrary authoritarian government.

If the state in post-apartheid SA is to play the vital roles required of it in economic development, the provision of welfare, and in regional and international politics, it needs to be an effective and coherent actor. In

the period of upheaval and conflict we are likely to undergo during the next decade or two, this is more likely to be achieved under a unitary than a federal constitution. | This does not mean that power in the strong state should be highly centralised.

Indeed, a strong and authoritative state is likely to emerge

only if opportunities for participation are widened, not narrowed. If this is to take place we need to look very critically at the institutions of representative government.

The main feature of contemporary representative governments is that they are instruments for

True public control
is more important
- than federalism

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ALF STADLER \O WO Gy o5

elite participation and the exclusion

â\200\230of other actors. Representative government creates a situation in which 'power is located in an alliance between party leaders who compete with one another for office and permanent state officials. The system precludes effective public participation, though it is open to influence by strong private interests.

The search is on for alternative forms of political participation which can break the tyranny of that alliance. Devolution of power is invariably described as part of the solution. But to devolve powers to a smaller unit of government which simply replicates the forms of participation of the larger one is simply to duplicate the problems of secrecy and exclusiveness.

Johannesburgâ\200\231s sordid traffic in intimidation merely replicated the national one, and had its origins in the same pathology: both were dominated by secretive and well-nigh irremovable power groups.

This is why questions about whether control over governmental structures should be centralised or decentralised, or about the appropriate levels to which power should be devolved, miss the point. They do not â\200\231provide alternatives to representative institutions in which participation is limited. o

The question raised in Business Day about whether the training of

local police forces should be done under national or regional aegis re-

veals a loss of contact with the main

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problem. Perusal of the evidence before the commission of inquiry into the KwaNdebele police force, or a morning at the Hiemstra inquiry,

suggest that distinctions in police power between national and regional structures have collapsed.

The ending of the tyranny of the security forces does not lie in federalism any more than in liberation. It will become possible only when the conditions of secrecy and unanswerability are ended. That can only be

achieved through radical changes in

modes of political participation.

This obviously does not mean there is no place for representative institutions. On the contrary, institutions such as parliament are indispensable for providing a locus of generalised political authority in political affairs and for debating the larger issues, such as foreign affairs. But they have become overloaded with issues which they cannot deal with. Where opportunities for participation can be broadened, they have obliterated alternative modes of participation in central, regional and local government. 5 ;

At least two other forms of participation are worth mentioning: corporatist and corporatist structures are those in which the strategic actors of the economy (mainly big business and important federations

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nomic policy. Y

Such structures can ensure co-operation in developing strategies which achieve both growth and

the most participation in the formulation of economic

distribution. For this, capital and labour need to be concentrated. -

Direct participation is more diverse and complex, but in principle it involves the establishment of structures in various settings, such as the work place. Some schemes have been developed for the direct participation of non-strategic actors such as community and cultural associations in representative assemblies.

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: Finally, these innovations in forms of participation should be complemented by changes in the economic

system. The first-past-the-post system. The

system may ensure that _g_ovga
ments have workable majorities, b
they effectively disenfranchise the
supporters of minority parties, :g
national, regional and local bodies.
The introduction of a system of pro-
portional representation, where each
party gets a number of seats pro-
portional to its overall voter support
would go a long way towards giving
expression to a greater variety of
views and interests in the U
nited Kingdom ; !
institutions of a multi-party system
'SA should begin with these issues.â\200\235
O Alf Stadler is Professor of Political
Studies at Wits University. -A«

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WiTness

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Prosecutor concedes that Ngcobo was at work gn night of attack

Witness Reporter

THE state prosecutor in the case of Petros Ngcobo, accused of 10 murders, conceded in the Supreme Court yesterday that Ngcobo was at work on the night of October 16, 1988, during an attack in which the accusedâ\200\231s gun was used.

Chris Macaddam said it was unnecessary to call Ngcoboâ\200\231s employer to confirm that the accused was at work at Aunt Carolineâ\200\231s

Rice in Willowton on the night that his gun lvals_ allegedly used to kill Lucky Geza in Im-ali.

Ngcobo is facing 21 charges, including the murder of Geza, seven attempted murder charges and four of arson, to which he has pleaded not guilty.

It is alleged that bullets from a firearm legally owned by Ngcobo (43), a father of four who resides in Imbali, were linked to

the crimes.

A ballistics expert gave evidenc that some of the bullets found at the crime scenes and extracted from bodies, includ- ing Gezaâ\200\231s, were fired from Ngcoboâ\200\231s fire- arm.

A friend of Gezaâ\200\231s, Bheki Shezi, who was with the deceased shortly before his death and was himself injured, identified Ngcobo as the man who shot him twice.

An exileâ\200\231s view of the city

ONE of the organisers of Sundayâ\200\231s Womenâ\200\231s Leagueâ\200\231s launch is Pietermaritzburg nurse Kosi Xaba, who has been in Lusaka with the ANC for more than three years.

Her chief impression of her hometown now is that it has become a refugee village.

â\200\234Since our arrival on June 12 from Lusaka ithas been so sad to see the situation.

â\200\234The churches one used to know as churches are now full of displaced people.

â\200\234I have seen Esigodini, Edendale and Mphophomeni. It is a very different picture

from what I used to know, because I come from the area.

â\200\234When I left the violence had started, but it hadnâ\200\231t reached this scale.

â\200\234If people ran away they were able to be accommodated with relatives and friends. It had not reached the scale where they had to be housed in church buildings and in big numbers.â\200\235

Apart from the growth in the number of refugees, Xaba says she has noticed another significant change â\200\224 the level of political awareness.

â\200\234I notice that a lot more people are involved in the struggle.

â\200\234Itâ\200\231s partly because we arrived back after the unbanning of the ANC. In the past you could never hear people just talking freely about the ANC. Itâ\200\231s very encouraging.

â\200\234When you are still in Lusaka and you read about the rallies it is very encouraging because it never used to happen when we

It is so sad to see my hometown has become a refugee villageâ\200\231

by
I: CARMEL RICKARD |

left. People just speak politics on the buses and everywhere which makes a great difference.â\200\235

Speaking about the launch of the ANC womenâ\200\231s league this week-end, she said there had been a lot of debate about the exact relationship between the ANC and the Womenâ\200\231s League. Some of the discussion centred around whether women joining the ANC would automatically belong to the league or not.

â\200\234Finally we decided that you would have to make a decision consciously to join the Womenâ\200\231s League because if you donâ\200\231t do that consciously it means you have not realised the need to belong in the Womenâ\200\231s League.

â\200\234We are trying to encourage women actively to participate. Patriarchy is a very old thing and men will not change over night. So

it is women who need to sensitise the men, to change the attitude that men have about the way they look at things.

â\200\234Therefore we will make them reckon with us as women and include us in the laws of the country and the constitution. They are

po} going to do it if we do not make them do

After a number of activities over the next few days, the league will be officially launched on Sunday during a rally at Curries Fountain in Durban.

The league will seek to â\200\234mobilise the entire national liberation movement for the struggle for the emancipation of womenâ\200\235, the organisation announced yesterday.

The league said one of its priorities would be to initiate a national campaign to ascer-

tain what should be incorporated into 'a

Charter of Women'â\200\231s Rights.

â\200\234This will be a constitutional instrument

~ofthe non-sexist South Africa.â\200\235

The decision to hold the launch of the league in Natal was â\200\234an expression of our

concern about the state-perpetuated vio-

lence which has engulfed this province in the last five years,â\200\235 said a spokeswoman,

â\200\234Our presence here is thus a demonstration of our solidarity with the victims of this violence and an act of protest against the regime, which we hold responsible for the carnage.â\200\235

Only members of the ANC would be accepted into its ranks, the league said.

- Ngcobo, who has denied any knowledge of the crimes, admitted to the court that he lent his gun to his brother, Michael Thu Ngcobo, on occasions, and that Thu Ngcobo possibly borrowed it without his knowledge attimes. â\200\230

Thu Ngcobo, a prominent Inkatha member and an Imbali councillor, was assassinated on February 1 this year.

The case continues on Monday.

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City nurse Kosi Xaba hÃ©s come home after three years in exile for the ANC Women'â\200\231s League launch.

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â\200\234Winnie Mandela stirs up-aâ\200\234storm again Âç/

WINNIE MANDELA

A COMMENT attributed to Winnie Mandela last night that the suspension of the armed struggle was â\200\234a mere strategyâ\200\235 and did not mean the cessation of violence has caused a stir within the ranks of the ANC.

SABC TV news quoted Mandela as saying this at a National Womenâ\200\231s Day commemoration meeting in Durban last night. She was reported to have said that the ANCâ\200\231s demands centred on the return of 20 000 exiles and the release of political prisoners.

In response to the SABC report, the controversial ANC and UDF official, Archie Gumede, said last night that if it could be proved that Mandela had said this then â\200\234I say it is not in keeping with my understanding of the Pretoria and Groote Schuur Minutesâ\200\235.

~ Gumede said, however, he was at the meeting and did not recall Mandela saying vio-

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lence would not cease. He said he had understood her as saying the suspension of armed action by the ANC did not mean an end to Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANCâ\200\231s military wing and this, he said, could not be disputed.

ANC internal spokesman Ahmed Kathrada said last night he was not prepared to comment on the matter. He said he could only refer to the Pretoria Minute and did not like to comment on â\200\234alleged statements made by individualsâ\200\235.

Mandela also endorsed a plea made this week by Adelaide Tambo, wife of ANC president Oliver Tambo, that pupils should return to school and further their education.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela could not be reached for comment and ANC internal corps leader Walter Sisulu was also not available. â\200\224 Sapa.

The Natal Witness, Friday, August 10, 1990
BACKGROUND TO THE NEWS

Let them be
brought to book

The question of whether to forgive or prosecute hit squad members
faces South Africa's judiciary. CARMEL RICKARD reports.

i SOUTH African death squad

members and possibly even the
architects of apartheid should
be prosecuted for the sake of jus-
tice, an international jurist has
urged.

David Matas, a Canadian
human rights lawyer in South
Africa to address the National
Association of Democratic Law-
yers, said in an interview this
week that if the perpetrators of
extra-judicial killings were
not prosecuted, it would give a

message to the police and the.

Â© military that such actions were

inadmissible

permissible and they could
well continue to act in this way in
the future. Â¢

Matas, legal co-ordinator of
the English branch of Amnesty
International in Canada and a
member of the International
Commission of Jurists, has writ-
ten extensively on human rights
issues, including the question of
prosecuting war criminals and
people accused of crimes
against humanity.

He said there were interna-
tional standards of justice that
not only allowed for prosecution
of people alleged to have com-
mitted crimes against humanity,
but required it.

There is a tendency during

transition to push such crimes
aside for practical consider-
ations.

â\200\234If the perpetrators are
handing over power to their vic-
tims, it is especially difficult to
prosecute because it could make
the transition very difficult.

â\200\234These practical difficulties

also allow the victims to make a

. virtue of necessity. People can

say â\200\224 look at us; isnâ\200\231t this a great
thing we are doing by being so

. forgiving.

Â«I understand the problems
for countries in transition, but

if there are also legal and other
problems about doing nothing.

Matas said that he believed

the victims taking power from
. the perpetrators should always

consciously decide whether or

Â© not to prosecute those alleged

guilty of war crimes or crimes

if against humanity.

â\200\234Do not pay this price unless

if you have to, and you may not

if even have to pay the price you Â°

:â\200\230thinkyou do.â\200\235

He gave as an example the
Harms Commission, which he
said indicates that even the Gov-
ernment â\200\234may be prepared to
prosecute death squad killersâ\200\235.

â\200\234There is no point for a new
dispensation to be forgiving of
death squad killers if even the
present Government is to take
action against them.

â\200\234â\200\234Even if the new dispensation
makes a conscious decision not
to prosecute, there are other ave-
nues which should always be fol-
lowed up â\200\224 if you do decide to be
â\200\230forgivingâ\200\231, you should at least in-
vestigate to know the full facts,

and you should also provide compensation for the victims.

â\200\234Even if the political reality makes it difficult for the new dispensation to press charges, other groups should continue to advocate prosecution.

â\200\234Nadel is not itself involved in the transition and can therefore continue to state an ideal and press for it.â\200\235

Matas said it might be true that prosecution made the transition period more difficult â\200\234but what is politically expedient is not necessarily what is rightâ\200\235.

Asked about his motive in propagating this view so strongly, Matas replied, â\200\234I am a lawyer and believe in justice. Doing nothing to bring the most flagrant criminals to justice is the most gross breach of justice imaginable.

â\200\234What it means is that the people committing â\200\230small crimesâ\200\231 are prosecuted, while people involved in â\200\230big crimesâ\200\231 are not.

He said that in South Africa â\200\234it is not a case of the regime saying we want an amnesty.

â\200\234Instead the ANC is going into the negotiations somehow internalising this unspoken demand.

â\200\234They are saying let bygones be bygones.

â\200\234As a result no one is talking about an amnesty law because it does not seem it will be necessary.

Matas said that in Brazil there had been no prosecutions of torturers and others involved in crimes against humanity.

â\200\234As a result people in the police and military are continu-

ing to use torture in:a routine:

-granted automatic amnesty

way to extract information about ordinary crime.

â\200\234Right now I am involved as legal co-ordinator of Amnesty in

Canada in a campaign to get the police in Brazil to stop using tor-

ture on street children involved 5

inâ\200\230ordinary crimeâ\200\231. -

â\200\234The Amnesty publications on

the issue are blaming the fact that at transition there were no prosecutions. This gave the message that it was OK to do it. Abuses are seen as acceptable and people believe they may go on doing their work in this way.â\200\235
Commenting on Matasâ\200\231s argu-

â\200\230ment, the acting dean of the fac-

ulty of law at the University of

â\200\234the Witwatersrand, Etienne Mu-

reinik, said justice and the rule of law both required the prosecution of â\200\234offenders against humanityâ\200\235.

â\200\234The price of prosecution, however, may be to impair the prospect of reconciliation.

â\200\234Whether that price is worth

paying may depend very heavily :

on the feelings of the victims, individual and collective, of the crimes to be prosecuted. Our legal tradition has always treated the wishes of the complainant as being entitled to the

- greatest respect.

Nadel officials were more direct in expressing the view that prosecutions would not be appropriate.

Publicity officer for Nadel, Johnny de Lange, said the â\200\230â\200\234crisp questionâ\200\235 was whether during the period leading to a new dispensation, an amnesty and indemnity should automatically be granted to all groups and individuals.

â\200\234We draw a distinction between those fighting the apartheid system to end it and those who were pro-apartheid and fighting to maintain it.

â\200\234Our view is that for those fighting apartheid there should

be an immediate and unconditional amnesty to include those in prison for security or unrest

crimes and even other crimes committed with political motives.

â\200\234But as far as those fighting to maintain apartheid are concerned, they should not be

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FRIDAY AUGUST 10 1990

â\200\230Every
time
| see
Winnie,
| see
S101ylel()

)

) from Miss Joyce Maninki
) Seioei, mother of slain
? teenage .acti.vis_t Stompie
? Moeketsi Seipei.

p Her sonâ\200\231s killer, Jerry
Â¢ Vusumuzi . Richardson,
:, was sentenced to death on
Â¢ Wednesday for the
:â\200\231 n_lurder with aggravating
) circumstances.

;; Mr Justice Oâ\200\231Donovan
Q said the murder of
1: Stompie was a brutal
;;'attack carried out against
) a victim who was hardly
) more than a child.

)

â\200\231 -

' Justice

: Seipei said - even
) though her sonâ\200\231s
:murdercr was sentenced
) to death, the pain he had
) caused her was far more
:than he was likely to
) suffer. But she believed
) justice had been done.

) Â© Mrs Mandelaâ\200\231s name
came up repeatedly at

Evidence in court was

) from a Methodist Church
) manse where they were
! staying to Mrs Mandela
, house and were seriously
.assaxlted.

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Stbmpieâ\200\231s mother, Joyce Seipei ... â\200\234People who kill others must be punished
.â\200\235

Punished

)
)
)
) Mrs Mandela s
)
)

alleged to have
) participated in the
) assaults, hitting the
) youths with fists and
) claps and beating them
) with a sjambok.

) â\200\234â\200\234I feel strongly that
) people who kill others
) must be punished. I know
) its painful but Richardson
) chose to do it said
) Seipei.

* The Attorney-
) General of the

y Division, Mr Klaus von
v Lieres, said last night he
' would decide late next
: week on whether or not to
) prosecute Mrs Mandela
) for her alleged
: involvement in events
' leading to Stompieâ\200\231s
" death: -

â\200\224e.a e -

) Witwatersrand Local -

HAT does freedom of speech mean to the man in the street? It means: :

- * He has the right to have opinions and beliefs without interference from anybody else, including the government; 5
- * He has the right to express these opinions and beliefs without fear;
- * He has the right to seek and receive information and ideas from . whatever source and he can also impart his own information and ideas through any medium - word of*mouth, printed matter, radio, television, demonstrations or rallies; and
- % He has the right to choose whatever newspaper, magazine, book, - ARENNRRNNRRNNRRNNARBRARRNNRRRRANRRERRONRRREED)

pamphlet, radio or television station he prefers.
It means he has access to the

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body of information and ideas in

There should be nothing to WA \C M%,\qâ\200\224;â\200\231
frighten him from exercising his < W) :
right to free speech. Â» ; .

We are struggling out of an era o \
of fear when information and ideas

CENTY AN RN RV TR
This is the fourth article
in our series on freedom
of speech and the need
for independent media.
Today we focus on Press
freedom and the man in
the street.

society. With this information he
can make the right choices about his
life and the direction that his coun-
try should take.

were suppressed by the Government. -
Some political opinions have landed
thousands in prison. The old Suppression
of Communism Act outlawed the Com-
munist Party and it became an offence to
advocate communism.
People listed as communists by the
Government became the walking dead
because it was,an offence to publish any-
thing they said. even if it had nothing to !
do with communism. :

Banned

Later the Pan-Africanist Congress, the African National Congress, the Black i Peopleâ\200\231s Convention and scores of other 1 organisations were banned. /

In fact. the present Internal Security ; Act is a sad monument to-suppression of freedom of speech in this country.

The Publications Act set up a machin-ery for censorship of publications and objects other than newspapers.

*Big Brotherâ\200\231â\200\235 decided. and still does, what magazines and books you could read, what films and theatre you could view, and what objects are *â\200\230undesirableâ\200\231â\200\231.

There is a host of other laws that the Government uses to suppress freedom of speech.

But as the Government intensified its repression, the more the banned material

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â\200\234â\200\234The right to freedom of speech and to obtain and disseminate â\200\234in-formation.â\200\235â\200\231 :

Since the commissionâ\200\231s report there have been other developments that show this thawing. Since Feb-ruary 2 when State President FW de

make recommendations on them.

It is-tragic irony that when the Government is relenting, the people who were fighting it are now the ones who disregard freedom of speech. The headlines in the newspapers

ing the aims of banned organisa-tions.

For decades black politics has been a game of not getting found out.

There is a thawing now in Government circles. It started when the South African Law Commission said that a bill of rights is essential for this country.

Article 8 of the bill of rights the Commission ,proposed in their

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Klerk made his historic speech in Cape Town, large chunks of the Internal Security Act are no longer being used.

Banned organisations are now free to operate again; listed people are now quoted by the media; and people are no longer being charged with furthering the aims of banned organisations. ;

Also, the Government has asked the Media Council. to, investigate restrictions on _the mediasa

these days tell the same stories: Cops recover burnt bodies of comrades; Vaal feud claims two more lives: and Marchers threatened - all from yesterdayâ\200\231s Sowetan.

The leaders of the various political organisations always say their organisations believe in freedom of speech and in tolerance. but - their followers simply ignore this as they

slaughter one another.

Monday: How the Sowetan and

the othier media contribute to free-&R T THiS Corfifry =

THE CITIZEN

COMMENT |

10 Aueu 51\ 2790

CP wrong:-

â\200\234THE leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Treurnicht, has announced that the CP will not take part in the negotiation of a new constitution. : ' ;

â\200\234The CP will never go to the negotiation table to talk about the surrender of Whites,â\200\235 he says. -

â\200\234It does not matter if it 'will be an ANC, SA Communist Party or Inkatha Government. We demand the right that Whites be allowed to govern themselves in their own fatherland and that is all.â\200\235 ,

We think he is very wrong.

There will be negotiations, whether he likes it or not. :

Whatever form the negotiations take, there will be parties other than the government and the ANC at the table.

None of these parties will have the same blueprint for a new constitution, but some may share basic ideas.

At this point, the government has not spelled

~ outits constitutional plan, though it has out-

' lined the principles on which that plan will be based.

In essence, the NP and the CP are poles apart in their views of the South Africa of the future.

But then, the NP and the African National Congressâ\200\230are poles apart as well.

This also applies to other parties and interest-

~ed bodies. _

~ To keep out of the negotiations means that the

. CPâ\200\231s case will go by default.

The negotiators can only deal with the plans that they themselves advance or which are put before them. ; :

' What emerges will hopefully be a compromisc

acceptable to all reasonable men.

The State President, Mr F W de Klerk, reiterated yesterday that any new constitution would have to be approved by the current

Parliament and the White voters.

We do not know what Dr Treurnicht has to

gain by keeping the CP out of the negotiations.

His party has some decided views on how this country should be run.

Fundamentally, it is that the Whites should govern themselves, with some form of partition, still to be defined.

The CP clings to outmoded policies like White sovereignty, separate development and separate amenities.

It will definitely find itself in the minority at any negotiations, but that doesn't invalidate the need to participate.

We do understand (though we do not accept) the bitterness of the CP.

The government has embarked on a reform programme that is destroying all the cornerstones of apartheid including separate amenities, group areas (this is to be done next year) and other forms of segregation.

And the most heinous thing in CP eyes is that the government is negotiating with the African National Congress, the SA Communist Party is now operating openly, ANC guerrillas, or terrorists, as we call them, are going to be released from jail and ANC exiles are going to return.

As far as the CP is concerned, the government

is selling out the Whites, an allegation which Mr De Klerk vigorously denies.

Negotiation of a new future had to be started some time and Mr De Klerk has had the courage to do so now.

That means the ANC and every other organi-

sation that is willing to negotiate the future in peace has to be brought into the negotia-

tions.

The CP is not able to judge the kind of constitution that will be thrashed out for the simple reason nobody knows what it will be.

A CP boycott does not mean the CP will be able to say afterwards that it did not participate and therefore does not accept the plan

- that emerges. -

We are talking about a constitution which, once it is accepted and becomes law, will be binding on everyone, the CP included. ;

Dr Treurnicht and the CP should thus think again before the tides of history leave them stranded while Africa decides its future. 200\235 ?

Own Correspondent
Port Elizabeth

POLICE and SADF reinforcements are pouring into Port Elizabeth's northern suburbs to curb looting.

The area is once again aflame and terrified residents are trying to protect themselves from one of the Eastern Cape's worst outbreaks of violence.

Unrest has also broken out in nearby Uitenhage.

The Port Elizabeth death toll since Monday reached 33 at 8 pm last night. Hundreds have been injured.

What started as an apparent expression of anger at police action taken when dispersing a march in Gelvandule on Monday to protest against rent increases has since deteriorated into near anarchy, sparking off further police reaction.

Livingstone Hospital's casualty ward last night was overflowing with unrest victims for the second night in a row.

Many people were being treated for birdshot wounds.

The heaviest hit area appeared to be Schauderville, although at least six other areas are reported to be affected to the same degree.

Violence also broke out in the Uitenhage suburb of Rosedale last night,

Vigilante groups formed in some of the suburbs to defend themselves as more and more people demanded the army be called in to help restore order.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok has announced police reinforcements, additional SA Defence Force members and additional air support will be deployed in the troubled areas in an attempt to curb the violence.

Mr Vlok called on the warring parties to end the violence and said he believed the situation should and could be re-

- salved through negotiations.

He said police would strictly enforce law and order. They will seek out criminals and act relentlessly against them and all perpetrators of violence. I have informed (African National Congress internal leader) Mr Walter Sisulu as such, he added.

Last night heavily-armed residents in Gelvandale screened cars and residents to ward off possible attacks.

ANC and community leaders have appealed for calm and asked people to return to work. At a meeting yesterday Cosatu vice-president Mr John Go-

I momo, ANC and SACP leader i Mr Raymond Mhlaba, president of the Gelvandale branch =] of the ANC Mr Danny | Jordaan and others called for a return to normality. A march organised for Monday to again protest against rent increases has

been called off.

Mr Mbhlaba said bad elements were using the opportunity to steal and plunder and were exploiting the situation.

At Livingstone Hospital last night ambulances roared in bearing more victims allegedly shot by police.

Patient Mr Patrick Ncamiso said he was on his way home when he saw people running and then heard a sharp noise. I just felt pain in my head and my legs and saw | was bleeding. He was treated for birdshot wounds.

Police spokesman Major Bill Dennis said by 8 pm last night 33 had been killed, 32 shops, six houses, a church and three schools were known to have been burnt down.

â\200\230Shopkeepers shooting to killâ\200\231

Own Correspondent

Port Elizabeth
SEVERAL of the people killed in the Port Elizabeth violence were reportedly shot by shop-owners attempting to protect their property.

Gelvandale shopowner Mr Mogamat Brown said he was driving past a shop on Wednesday when he saw a looter jump out of a broken window and rush at a shopowner.

â\200\234The shopowner pulled out a hand-gun, fired a few warning shots and then shot the man. I saw him fall.â\200\235

The shop was later razed.

Meanwhile, residents in the upmarket section of Gelvandale have formed vigilante groups and said they were prepared to use any means at their disposal to protect their property, their lives and their families.

In Schauderville, where almost every shop has been gutted or looted, heavily armed police and SADF troops last night roved the business district, firing teargas and bird-shot to prevent looting.

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THE PRETORIA NEWS Friday August 10 1990

4 NEWS

ALAN DUNN
Political Correspondent

THE government could now act strongly to maintain law and order in South Africa without being accused of oppression, President de Klerk said at the University of Pretoria.

â\200\234The violence, excessive protest and disruption must now end and I believe the agreement of August 6 will contribute to this,â\200\235 he told a crowd of about 3000 students at a lunchtime meeting yesterday, hosted by the Forum committee of the Studentsâ\200\231 Representative Council.

There was no less violence in South Africa before government started 118 new initiatives.â\200\234If we had not taken certain initiatives, it would probably have been worse,â\200\235â\200\235 he said.

The violence had before been attributed to government and its policy, he said. It had also been aimed mainly at gov-

ernment. These days the spotlight was increasingly, justly so, on those acting violently, and government was no longer getting all the blame.

Reflecting on the positive results of changes in the past year, he said there were still many events and actions which bothered, irritated and gave rise to concern. There was still too much unnecessary protest, stayaway action, demonstration, violence and intimidation.

Fortunately, progress was also being made in this area. The government-ANC commitment of August 6 to promote stability, contained in the accord known as the Pretoria Minute, â\200\230â\200\234â\200\234is an important de-

velopment to which we will hold the ANC in the months ahead and to which we consider ourselves boundâ\200\235.

Mr de Klerk added that the antruths circulating about gov-

ernment policy and intentions also had to end. Government had not suddenly embraced the ANCâ\200\231s philosophy nor that of any other party. â\200\234We are also just as anti-communist as always.â\200\235

It was not true that government had suddenly forsaken the interests of voters who had given it a mandate last year: â\200\234I look you in the eyes today and say to you that I and the government are not busy selling out whites and the Christian religion, and are not planning to do so.

â\200\234T'he government is prepared to negotiate, but not to agree to a new constitution which will undervalue the essential rights of whites or any other group. The government by no means intends to turn minorities over to domination and suppression.â\200\235â\200\231

Mr de Klerk reiterated his

We can act without blame

A

assurance that government would not implement any constitution before it was approved by the present Parliament and white electorate.

Government was acting not only for the countryâ\200\231s future, but also because it belicved that it was right and fair. â\200\234It must be realised that white security, freedom and prosperity cannot be reconciled with injustice against other population groups.â\200\235â\200\231

Swiping at the Conservative Party, he said failure to recognise the permanence and citizenship of black South Africans who were born here and wanted to be nothing other than South Africans was an invitation to conflict.

Mr de Klerk vowed that

government would not deviate
from its course. It was deter-
mined to realise the goals it had
set for the country.

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The Newcaile-hiueed Reactionary Unit moved into Nseleni this week to assist lo-
fthitadn flaw and order after an escalation in violence which has

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man satd he was shot and
killed by someone in the
crowd. No reason could
be given as to why the
man decided to run or
why he was killed.

Onâ\204¢ Wednesday last
wieek, a man at Matshana

dicd ol injurics sustained
i a shooting incident. A
murder docket has been
opened but no arrests
have been made,
Waliking in the Street
The victim of a4 shoot-
g at Nselenid, who is still
i hospital, was shot
~hile walking in the
strect. He suid he heard

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charged, felt a pain in his
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away. He survived
despite being shot twice
in the back and once in
the neck

Pproadt

wicn he

tiig crease in firearm-related incidents.

Petrol-Bombed
Yet more problems were
experienced at Nseleni

where three houses were
pctrol-bombed.

A car was also burnt in
the Bhckani Reserve.
The vehicle had registra-
tion plates from another
arca and it is helieved
that this prompted the
burning. Arson is being
investigated. A separate
arson allegation is being
investigated.

Current Situation Dis-
cussed

* Thousands of Nseleni
residents (figures vary
from 2 000 to 8 000
depending on the source)
gathered in the town to
discuss the current situa-
tion at Nscleni with the
police and to air their
dissatisfaction about po-
lice action.

One source said some
residents thought the po-

lice were not arresting the culprits involved in criminal activities. One reliable source said a call was made for the police and defence force to leave the area completely. Residents said they wanted to clean up their

own town and get rid of ANC influences. It was even suggested that the government give the ANC their own residential area in order to solve the problem.

Discussions between the SAP and Town Council took place in efforts to resolve the situation.

Attempt to Discredit
One Police spokesman said the meeting could maybe be seen as an attempt to discredit the SAP since Inkatha supporters had been arrested in connection with a number of recent cases.

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THE PRETORIA NEWS Friaav #

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Speaking on behalf of Lt
he called the defence treaty

- the SA Defence Force and
Armcor - he said that it deed
followed word, the govern-
ment-African National Con-
gress accord of Monday could
be an important step in laying a
solid base for building a stable
and safe South Africa

He was addressing a parade
at Air Force Base Hoedspruit
celebrating the 70th birthday of
the SA Air Force.

Gen Malan was effectively
dispelling lingering speculation

of dissent in the military ahead
recent reforms in South Africa
He was also against reuniting

talk and right-wing allegations
that he might quit over changes
during the past seven years
such as the unbanning of the
SA Communist Party

He said the country did not
want a struggling, weak

country

T ALAN DUNN. Political Correspondent

MINISTER of Defence General Magnus Malan to-
day welcomed the Pretoria Minute and pledged the
defence establishment's full support for it.

~\What we seek is a prosperous democracy with stability and opportunities for people who work out their salvation together.â\200\235

The defence family therefore welcomed the joint responsibility of dealing with those matters contained in the Pretoria Minute.

â\200\234We will throw in our full weight to help build the new South Africa in accordance with these principles,â\200\235 he said.

He said he believed that the political system which could be born out of this process would be better than that of the past. It was a system which would advance joint responsibility and interaction in South Africa.

The new system would try to see to and provide for the basic needs of all people. â\200\234It is a system which offers opportunities to people and wants to improve the quality of their lives,â\200\235 he noted.

Gen Malan said the defence family did not serve a particular political party. It was politically impartial, serving the country and its people.

The Defence Force and

{ Arsmcor could say with pride

they had had a share in making the present post-Angola phase possible. Military victories had paved the way for reconciliation and talks.

The SADF was a winner and, just as important, a democratic winner obedient to the government of the day.

That was why it was in Natal, for instance, to try and stabilise factions clashes, prevent fighting, and create conditions

for political leaders to thrash out their differences.

The SADF was a realistic

peace-seeker and peace protector. It knew also that peace itself was not a political system.

Gen Malan said peace had to be pampered and protected.

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6 OPINION/COMMENT

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Established 1898

L otin,

more listening

HERE is none that

holds freedom of speech
more dear than this newspap-
er, as our yellowing files will
show. In the gruelling years
of emergency rule, we wres-
tled daily with official restric-
tionis on what could be print-
ed. That, in addition to more
than 100 laws on the statute
books which govern what is
publishable. This qualifies us
to offer a view on yesterdayâ\200\231s
unfortunate behaviour at the
University of Pretoriaâ\200\231s am-
phitheatre during a speech by
President F W de Klerk.

Himself a university
graduate, Mr de Klerk must
have expected a barrage of
heckling because universities
are, after all, places of ideas
and expression of those ideas
as they incubate into theses
and ripen to wisdom. That
thinking, blended with natu-
ral student exuberance, was
going to make for a lively,
spirited meeting.

Of the 3 000 or so stu-
dents crammed into the am-

phitheatre, perhaps 50 of var-
jous right wing persuasions
clearly intended letting the
world know of their dissent
against Mr de Klerk. But
their shouting and angry

singing of patriotic Afrikaner anthems was excessive. Questions and interjections are part of the rough and tumble of politics, for debate is what it is all about. But these students were trying to stop the speaker.

Their actions were as sparse on reason as the argument of harried student leaders who said Mr de Klerk, an executive president and leader of the National Party, was there in his capacity as State President and not as a party political figure.

Little as rightists like it, a new South Africa is dawning. As important as making oneself heard as we enter unchartered constitutional waters, is the necessity of listening to all other points of view.

THE CITIZEN

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stabbed or hacked to
death by other Blacks
(some with limbs hacked
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Al the Blacks who
had then homes
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The Citizen PO Box 7712
Johannesburg 2000

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raped tobbed by Blacks.

Adl the Whites slaugh-
lercd by rioting Black
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ml hertes carried out by
Bluck gangs.

My apologies to all the
Bla k people who have
ot something construc-
tive with their lives, doc-
(or~. nurses. teachers,
hasin workers etc. and.
of course. there s a

musical and
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sporting talent
them.

By the same token. Mr
Chikane should pay tribu-
te to all the Whites. who.
while Mr Mandela was
jetting around overseas
being feted and ticker-
taped as some Kind of
royalty, were back here
stitching up the victims of
Black violence: trying to
feed hungry Blacks;
clothe and supply blan-
kets to cold Blacks: assist
the twilight Kids, raise
money for Black welfare,
ete. ete, ete:

As most so-called

â\200\234Christianâ\204¢ churches
have been hijacked by
politics and the SACC,
BCC and WCC are noth-
ing more than Communist
political organisations, |
have long since ceased
calling myself a Christian.
REBORN AGNOSTIC

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blnds govt ANCâ\200\231 -

HARARE. â\200\224 The agree-
ment reached on Monday
between the ANC and the
government was binding

only on the two partics,
and was of no conse-
quence to the strategies
and fighting modes of the
Black Consciousness
Movement of Azania,
said BCMA leader Mr
Mosibudi Mangena.

In an interview from
Harare, Mr Mangena said
Black people had
barked on the struggle
against apartheid to
achieve freedom.

â\200\234What we have now in
the form of the so-called
Pretoria Minute is a dec-

Cabinet briefe
on ANC talks

Citizen Reporter

THE full Cabinet was
briefed in this weekâ\200\231s
talks with the ANC at

the weekly meeting of

the Cabinet in Pretoria
yesterday.

The government
team at the talks was
limited to the State

President, Mr F'W de Klerk, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit . Viljoen, the Minister of

Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

The Cabinet was yesterday given insight into the talks themselves and the agreements which included the suspension of the armed struggle by the ANC, said informed sources.

The sources said there was satisfaction at the outcome of the deliberations which lasted for 18 hours.

CM1- -

laration by the oppressor of his intent to talk about possible democracy.

â\200\234We fight for freedom and not just the so-called democracy. Democracy will be just a by-product of our freedom and liberation,â\200\235 he said.

The BCMA and its military wing, the Azanian National * Liberation Army, would continue with its programmes as decided earlier because nothing has changed, M Mangena noted. â\200\224 Sapa.

Q\OAU welcomes

Maen - |0 clkj- P90 <

ANC peace

ADDIS ABABA. â\200\224 The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) welcomed the African National

Congressâ\200\231s suspension of its armed struggle against white rule in South Africa.

â\200\234Africa supports whatever steps the ANC takes,

provided that the major objectives were to dismantle apartheid,â\200\235 an

move

OAU statement said yesterday.

â\200\234The OAU hopes the good intentions by the ANC would be reciprocated by Pretoria.â\204¢

The landmark move announced on Tuesday after talks between the ANC and the SA Government cleared the way for formal negotiations. â\200\224 Sapa-Reuter.

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and ideas from

demonstration rather:

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It means he has access to the

try should take.

There should be nothing to frighten him from exercising his right to free speech.

We are struggling out of an era of fear when information and ideas were suppressed by the Government

Some political opinions have landed thousands in prison. The old Suppression of Communism Act outlawed the Communist Party and it became an offence to advocate communism.

People listed as communists by the Government became the walking dead because it was an offence to publish anything they said, even if it had nothing to do with communism.

Banned

Later the Pan-Africanist Congress, the African National Congress, the Black People's Convention and scores of other organisations were banned.

In fact, the present Internal Security Act is a sad monument to suppression of freedom of speech in this country.

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There is a host of other laws that the Government uses to suppress freedom of speech.

But as the Government intensified its repression, the more the banned material was circulated underground. The ANC and the PAC grew among the people against all the attempts to suppress the right to freedom of speech and to obtain and disseminate information.

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Thousands of people ended up in jail because they were found to hold the wrong ideas: they were promoting the aims of banned organisations.

For decades black politics has been a game of not getting found out.

There is a thawing now in Government circles. It started when the South African Law Commission said that a bill of rights is essential for this country.

Article 8 of the bill of rights the Commission proposed in their

Since the commission's report there have been other developments that show this thawing. Since February 2 when State President FW de Klerk made his historic speech in Cape Town, large chunks of the Internal Security Act are no longer being used.

Banned organisations are now free to operate again; listed people are now quoted by the media: and people are no longer being charged with furthering the aims of banned organisations.

Also, the Government has asked the Media Council to, investigate

make recommendations on them.

It is tragic irony that when the Government is relenting, the people who were fighting it are now the ones who disregard freedom of speech.

The headlines in the newspapers these days tell the same stories: Cops recover burnt bodies of comrades: Vaal feud claims two more lives: and Marchers threatened - all from yesterday's Soweran.

The leaders of the various political organisations always say their organisations believe in freedom of speech and in tolerance. but their followers simply ignore this as they slaughter one another.

Monday: How the Soweran and the other media contribute to free-

restrictions on the media and on free speech in this Country ==

receive information and ideas from whatever formation and ideas through any medium - word of mouth, printed matter, radio, television, demonstrations or rallies.

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This is the fourth article in our series on freedom of speech and the need

for independent media
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LETTERS

Stayaways ar
losing credibility

R â\200\224 I am not averse to appreciat-
ing the effectiveness of as
a method of defiance 2

olitical affairs, or as
highlight'ing the plight of the Op-

iciently and ti-
il these abo-

great number of prev
â\200\224 black, or otherwise.
Some of the reasons for this, are:
O Stayaways are seen by the general
opulation as periods of instability
and potential intimidation; â\200\230
O The frequency of stayaways is in-
creasing, while the reasons for organ-
ising them are becoming more trivial;
O With the exception
. of stayaway groups, M t
orting workers ar
of their reason for stayin
O Stayaways hd
orted only by
the broader black population.
This division among groups sharing
a common political position is thus
| viewed with suspicion by neutral ob-
servers.
Until such time, therefore, as
stayaways can fulfil such conditions
as necessity, efficiency and unanimi-
ty, its effectiveness is steadily
undermined by the opposing factors of
redundancy, inefficiency and section-
ality.
CLIFFORD NEIL KAST
Durban

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There's the row over the proposed Snake Park Zola Budd tax
= rank and the uproar over Napac's Queen at the Opera.
And it's a toss-up to decide which issue has raised the most ire. The
real old moan bags have probably had a field day with both.

~ What has been miss-
ing in the Snake Park
furore is the fact that

INDIGNATION has been rife in Durban this week.

the entire plan is but an
experiment.

City Council officials
have been saying so all
along but nobody seems
to be listening.

Okay, so there is
reason to believe that
it's not the wisest deci-
sion ever taken but sure-
ly it would be even wiser
to wait and see.

If all hell does break
lose, as the critics are
suggesting, it goes with-

out saying that the City Council is going
to have to rethink its proposal.

I don't believe anybody wants to see
the Snake Park turned into a mini-War-
wick Avenue - heaven forbid - even if
only for three or four days a year.

I don't live in the area so I suppose
those that do will argue that I'm sticking
my nose where it doesn't belong. Fair
enough. But I do have fond memories of
the spot in question.

I clearly recall those beach bum days
of my youth - not terribly long ago,
mind you - when the Snake Park was
the place, bro. Hell, I mean like, you
know, you just didn't miss hitting out
there on a Saturday arvie.

The okes parked their combis, turned
up the sounds, took copious drags on
their Consulates, ek sÃ©, then hot-footed it
down to the beach to catch the waves,
man.

The chicks, meanwhile, parked their
behinds, turned up the sun, pretended to
take copious drags on their Special Milds
and contemplated catching the man,

man.

Or the boys strolled down to Dantes for
a double-thick â\200\224 in their black Lees, pur-
chased for a â\200\230special discount priceâ\200\231 in
Grey Street, psychedelic surf shirts and
Tiger takkies â\200\224 checking the talent
along the way.

Having shrugged off the Snake Park
culture some years ago, I'm not sure if it
still exists, or if it took the same uncer-
emonious dive as Newtons and Noddys.

What is known, though, is that the area
is most definitely still a â\200\230playground for
the elderlyâ\200\231 who live on Snell Parade.
And they plan to say so in no uncertain
terms when they have a protest march to
the City Hall to present Mayor Watterson
with a â\200\230strongly worded letter in a few
daysâ\200\231.

Maybe their concern is unfounded, but
on second thoughts, maybe it isnâ\200\231t.

And anyway, I think it would be quite
fun to see a pack of infuriated grannies
and grandpas toyi-toying to the City
Hall.

Everyone else is doing it, why
shouldnâ\200\231t they?

LIFE

with
DEBBIE REYNOLDS

kramptes still went, crying Skande! at
the drop of a dildo.

In a country where freedom of choice is
already so limited, one would presume
any enlightenment would be welcomed.

No one has been forced to attend the
show. If they do, it is of their own free
will. And if they donâ\200\231t like it, there are no
chains shackling them to their seats or
padlocks barring their exit.

But like it or not, almost everyone
thrives on a little bit of scandal. And any-
way, whatever is depicted on stage
couldnâ\200\231t possibly be worse than what
happens around us daily.

The more fuss that is made about the

production the more people will go to see

what it's all about.

So the critics are ironically doing their
cause more harm than good. Perhaps, it's
not too late for them to put a zip in it.

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THE OUTCRY about Queen at the Opera,
on the other hand, sounds like a
hysterical with moralistic rhetoric.

Forewarned is forearmed, the saying

only t out of its
oes, and Napac certainly went out Gl
%vav to emphasise that the gr. oducmon
might not be everyone's Cup of Tea.

Warnings from Christian groups followed
thick and fast and yet the vegetation

{

THIS new South Africa of '1 ours is some-
thing of a minefield for journalists especially
those who aren't in the forefront
of political reporting. ,

To take the launch this week of the ANC's
Women's League in Durban, for instance,
attended by some of my colleagues. Familiar
names like Albertina Sisulu, Adelaide
Tambo and Dorothy Nyembe were
there but trying to put faces to the

{ names was not his story.

Just over six months ago the ANC was
something you just whispered about, cer-
tainly not wrote too much about.

Now you get invited to their Press con-
ferences quicker than you can say
Amandla. You get embraced by people
who were either in exile, in prison, or on
the run.

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And you're expected to know exactly
who they are. That is probably the first
time = especially for a young journalist
you've seen their faces is something of
an embarrassing, but quite understand-
able problem

One person nobody had any problem
identifying, however, was Winnie
Mandela, in her distinctive turban, cori-
plete with dangling earrings and Yves St
Laurent handbag

But how to greet he
sternation
â\200\230T didnâ\200\231t know

caused some con

whether to stand solut

i Ieliovw reporte:

Ui curese B
rather Lthan pus oy 16010 1 04, 1 just satl.

Had Winnie known of this dilemnio
I'm sure she would have empathised
After all, sheâ\200\231s no stranger to putting her
foot in it

Self-protection: shopowners, who have not slept since Monday, guard their shop in Part Elizabethâ\200\231s Korsten township.

Tensions

Yesterday, an angry Dr
Viljoen entered the row.

â\200\234This statement of Mrs
Mandelaâ\200\231s is a flagrant flout-
ing of both the letter and the
spirit of the Pretoria Ac-
cord,â\200\235 he said. -~

As tensions built up round
Mrs Mandela, government
officials said a decision by
Mr Von Lieres was expected
â\200\234shortlyâ\200\235.

Jerry Richardson, 41-year-
old leader of the â\200\234Mandela
United Football Clubâ\200\235 was
sentenced to death on Wed-
nesday.

Evidence acceptad by the
trial judge was â\200\230hat Mrs
Mandela was pres nt for at
least part of the t me when
Stompie was assauâ\200\231 :ed in her
home before his death in
December 1989.

In February 1989 the Sowe-
tan community was ordered
by the MDM to ostracise Mrs
Mandela because they were
â\200\234outraged by the reign of ter-
ror carried out by the Man-
dela United Football Clubâ\200\235.