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NO "T% g
Mandela to visit
sites of violence

by LAKELA KAUNDA

TODAY marks the start of one of the busiest weekends in the midlands region with a visit by ANC president Nelson Mandela and funerals of the victims of the Table Mountain and Swayimani shootings.

The midlands ANC said Mandela and about 20 members of the ANC national executive committee arrive in the city this morning to inspect areas devastated by violence and to get first-hand information from people in the areas.

. Today Mandela will visit Wembezi in Estcourt and Bruntville in Mooi River and will then proceed to a public meeting at the Truro Hall in Northdale. He will be met by ANC refugees from Table

Mountain who now reside in

\

Happy Valley and Copesville informal settlements.

Tomorrow the Mandela entourage will go to Ezakheni in Ladysmith and address a meeting at the University of Natal local campus in the evening. .

On Sunday he travels to Richmond, to Camperdown and KwaXimba near Cato Ridge.

A large ANC security contingent and SAP personnel are to ensure safety during the trips. This is Mandela's first official visit to the entire region since his release from prison. Last year the visit was cancelled at the recommendation of ANC security personnel.

Meanwhile, the six children killed in the Mboyi massacre will be buried at the Mboyi reserve to-

morrow.

Five of the Inkatha supporters killed during the attack on a mini-

I/1

bus in Nkanyezini will be buried on Sunday. The other five will be buried privately by their families as they did not need party financial help, said IFP central committee member Velaphi Ndlovu.

Ndlovu said he is not aware of conflict within Inkatha at Nkanyezini but said he will have discussions with leaders there after the funeral. Three people in court for the murder of the Nkanyezini IFP supporters are also IFP members and residents told journalists last week that there has been conflict and fighting among them for three years. The ANC members killed in a bus ambush in Swayimani, Wartburg will also be buried separately this weekend.

A large contingent of foreign and national media has converged on the city to cover the events.

5*â\200\231THE plane carrying ANC president Nelson Mandela to Natal today developed engine trouble but arrived at Pietermaritzburg safely, witnesses and police said.

Mr Mandela emerged unscathed with his party after fire engines rushed up the runway

as the twin-engined plane came to a halt on the edge of the tarmac.

â\200\234His plane developed engine trouble,â\200\235 a police spokesman said. No other details were avail-

able.

Mr Mandela is in Natal on a three-day visit. His visit tomorrow to Ezakheni township, near Ladysmith, has been cancelled following the slaying of a former ANC chairman there yesterday.

Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s visit was planned to put a dampener

Mapanga was killed during an incident in Ezakheni while he was making arrangements for Mr Man-

public meeting there.

The cancellation was confirmed today by ANC media officer Cassandra Gabriel, who said the rest of Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s schedule for his three-day visit to the Natal would remain the same.

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~ Massacres |1\2\<Â\$5

indicated how serious was the situation in the troubled province where 20 people, six of them children, have been killed in three massacres over the past 10 days. ;

on incipient violence, but was cancelled after Orbit

| delaâ\200\231s visit. Mr Mandela was to have spoken at a |

scare

Mr Mandela is vlsntmg Estcourt and Mooi River, where he will address public meetings in the Wembezi and Bruntville townships.

This evening he will address a public meeting in Northdale, Pietermaritzburg.â\200\231

He will address a public gathermg at the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg tomorrow night.

On Sunday he will travel to Richmond. He will

. speak at a public meeting in Ndaleni, before moving to Camperdown and another meeting at KwaXimba.

1 He will hold meetings with ANC executive committees in various centres.

Referring to the Ezakheni slaying, Ms Gabriel said:

â\200\234This shooting was just a way to ensure that Mr Mandela would not go there.â\200\235

She said the ANC had had difficulty finding a venue for Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s planned meeting in Ezakheni, |

as the KwaZulu Government had refused permission to host the proposed open-air spot between two schools

1 Mr â\200\230Mandela, 74, told T reporters his visit â\200\230t%â\200\235!â\200\230fï-\201fâ\200\235â\200\230{â\200\230â\200\235â\200\230}

Mandela plane

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CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Smile on the face of the tiger

The country should not work too desperately for rapid political consensus, in case it masks problems that will only

MARCH - 12 - 1993 LEADING ARTICLES

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severe insecurities on the side of minorities.â\200\235 :
This is plain commonsense â\200\224 so plain, in fact, that the

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surface later. To be sure, we all feel comforted and relieved

when Roelf Meyer and Cyril Ramaphosa, the chief negotiators for government and the ANC respectively, emerge smiling from the latest round of â\200\234crucialâ\200\235 talks. = .-+

After so many disappointments and betrayals along the -

road already, there is anxiety for peace at any price. It is easy to get impatient when parties other than the ANC and ~ government raise objections; we agitate for progress.

In particular, we become impatient (and nervous) when

the IFP gets difficult. But consider what might happen if the :

legitimate objections of the IFP are ignored â\200\224 and legiti-

mate objections may be defined as those whose principles.

can be extended beyond the private political agenda of the IFP or its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthe. :

The IFP has long objected to the idea that an elected constituent assembly should be entrusted with writing a new constitution. The basis for this objection has been best

expressed by Herman Cohen, the retiring US Assistant

only way the consensus-obsessed media have found to deal with it is to ignore it. Yet it can be argued that so important a creation as the national constitution should be the responsibility of experts whose work would then indeed have to be

ratified or rejected by an elected assembly. This was once,

roughly, the view of the NP too but such is its lack of bargaining power that it was forced to concede on, this crucial point. No wonder Roelf smiles: he has no ammunition

to speak of and must bluff his way as best he can.

It is all very well for the toiling negotiators to talk now

" about agreement being reached by the strange process of

sufficient consensus. We can be sure that when the members of an elected assembly take their seats, they will have the moral authority to decide by majority simple, two-thirds, whatever on any clause of any measure put before them. By then, the mysterious concept of sufficient consensus will probably have the status of a cute footnote in history books. ,

We do not need the IFP and Herman Cohen to tell us that

is a boy's trip - a mere stroll, a few

Secretary of State for Africa not a man renowned for taking sides in SA, least of all that of the IFP. . Cohen was quoted in Business Day this week as saying that he had no doubt about how a new constitution should be written: If a constituent assembly, which is elected by one-man one-vote, makes all the decisions, then you have not had negotiations. And if you don't have negotiations, you have

an elected constituent assembly whoever is in the majority would be as qualified to write a new constitution as it would to perform the work of a rocket scientist. Let the ANC and the Nats have apparently reached consensus on this. Perhaps it is time for the rest of us to let them know it is not sufficient. |

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By Kaizer Nyalsumba Â¥
Political Reporter - i

The ANC and its allies within:
Codesa have begun discussing -
the possibility of forming a:
broad election alliance to joint:
Iy fight South Alricaâ\200\231s first elec-
tion, it was revealed yesterday. -
Making the disclosure at a:
press conference in Johannes-
burg, ANC deputy secretary-
general Jacob Zuma said the
possibility of his organisation
entering into an election pact

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R ?ca Frontâ\200\235 â\200\224 -

\l ANC, allies consnler Ãlection pact

discussed at a meeting of these :
- organisations yesterday. . i
* Zuma said the Azanian Peo- -
anisation and the Pan -
ess could be

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broad Patriot :
formed in Durban in October

- 1991 â\200\224 was off the ground .
The matter was said to be re-
ceiving attention among the .

various organisations.
Organisations represented at
yesterday's meeting were the
ANC, the South African Com-
munist Party, the Labour

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" United People's Front, Lhe

Poorly, KaNgwane's Inyandza
National Movement, Lebowa's

ian Congress and

Transvaal Ind
ts of Transkei

the governmen
and Venda. -

At least 100 organisations are
expected to attend the Patriotic-
Front (PF) conference to be
held in Lenasia, south of Johan-
nesburg, this month.

The conference, to be held on
March 27-28, is expected to
bring together the 92 organisa-
tions which attended the launch
of the PF in Durban.

1 with its Codesa allies had been

Proposed new moves could turn away US investors, reports Hugh Robertson

Baffling ANC signals on sanctions

Future American investment

in South Africa could be threatened by the spate of proposed new sanctions legislation which has been introduced by ANC supporters in the New York, Oregon and Massachusetts legislatures.

Under the Bills, all state-controlled bodies in the three states would be required to divest themselves of all holdings in US companies that have investments in South Africa. They also stipulate that in the event of sanctions being lifted, the states should only invest in those US companies which adhere to a code of conduct drawn up by Cosatu.

Vigorous opposition to the measures is expected in all three legislatures, effectively pitting some of the ANC's most ardent and influential supporters in the US

against corporations, banks and

other financial institutions who would be affected.

Businessmen warned that this sort of confrontation would gravely harm South Africa's ability to attract future US investments. Obviously many companies will have to weigh up whether to face a large scale public disposal of their stock, and all that entails in the present economic climate, or to review their links with South Africa.

The whole purpose of divestment is to discourage investment in South Africa. That is why the strategy has been so successful in the past, but it seems like mad-

ness to us that divestment should -

be encouraged at this juncture. However, we must assume

that we misunderstood Mr Mandela-

and that he and the ANC leadership

support what is going on, -

since a single word from them

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could halt this whole crazy idea in
its tracks,â\200\235 a bank executive said.

He warned; too, that the new
campaign for sanctions and the
enactment of the Cosatu code
would send a clear signal to US

" business leaders that the issue of
investing in South Africa would
remain highly politicised and po-
tentially problematic, even after

' sanctions are lifted and a new
government is in place.

The Cosatu code, while â\200\234even
rather modest by prevailing em-
ployment standardsâ\200\235 was so
vague and doctrinaire that it
opened the way for argument over
interpretation and would be seen
by many business leaders as a
source of future problems.

A company executive com-
plained that there had been no
consultation with USâ\200\231 businesses
and that â\200\234we can see a whole can
of worms opening up which many

.
people could well do without. I
they had come to us and said,
look, we want to encourage pro-
gressive employment practices,
there would have been no prob-

tem. I do not know of any US company which would have objected to that.

Progressive employment practices had become a by-word for US multinationals and few failed in this regard, he said. . -

"But the code is simply a proclamation, made ex cathedra in the classic totalitarian tradition, by an organisation which has no national mandate in South Africa to do so, and now that we see the strategy unfolding of getting it enacted into law in the US, it is worrying us, We see it as a device not to help workers but to open the way for endless agitation and pressure in future from special interest groups in the US. 0

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lNKATHA Freedom Party ccnlral:â\200\230

commitliee member Walter Fclgate'
and eight other people were this week!
accused in padiament of being paid by
the government to inform on various
political parties.

Democratic Party MP Kobus Jor-
daan asked whether the government
had for the past 10 years paid nine peo-
ple â\200\224 including Felgate, Bophutbat-
swana cabinet minister Rowan Cronje
and United States constitutional advi-
sor to the IFP Albert Blaustein â\200\224 for
information.

Jordaan said heÃ© raised the question
this week because it was in the interests
of the negotiations process to do so.
â\200\234We are making use of the parliamen-
tary channels at our disposal,â\200\235 he told
The Weekly Mail. Jordaan insinvated
in parliament that the three individu-
als mentioned werc a â\200\234milistone
around the neck of negotiationsâ\200\235. The
DP is likely to pursue the matter in
future parliamentary interpolations.

Jordaan is startlm;,ly snmlar to the
answer he gave to the same MP two.

years ago when he asked whether (he
government was giving financial or
other support to any political organi-
sation.

De Klerk would not confirmor deny
the question, saying that if he denied

the question now, it could lead to future silences on similar allegations being interpreted as admissions. He said the furnishing of such information would run counter to the aims of the government's intelligence activities.

In March and again in April 1991 Jordaan asked De Klerk in parliament whether the government was providing financial or other support to any other political party. The state president sidestepped the question in precisely the same way, saying: "I confirm once again the principle standpoint, namely that denials in specific instances can lead to (situations where-

- by) later denials to give information in State President F.W. de Klerk's evaluation-

other instances, which are not in the

main sentiment on spying

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admissions.

Three months later The Weekly Mail broke the Inkathagate scandal, revealing that the government, in particular

the South African Police, had been

funding the Inkatha Freedom Party.

- Meanwhile both Felgate and Cronje have vigorously denied the allegations, challenging Jordaan to repeat the accusations outside the protective realm of parliament. Felgate has threatened to take legal action against Jordaan and Cronje has called on De Klerk to issue a clear reply to the allegation. -

Martin Dolinchev, formerly a senior officer of the Bureau of State Security (Boss) and now working for the ANC, alleged in August 1991 that the state's intelligence services bolstered the IFP by providing direct security and surveillance services to the organisation. He said Boss set up an office in Empangeni which, manned by nine people, was the link between Pretoria and Ulundi. ~

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THE WEEKLY MALL, 12 - 18 MAR

A blast for the Father
of Independent Africa

A renowned Nigerian author and
academic has attacked the
corruption plaguing post-colonial
Africa and has been forced to
flee his own country. Kole Omotoso:
spoke to CHRIS LOUW

We would rather misgovern ourselves
than be governed properly by others!

These sentiments were voiced by
Kwame Nkrumah, first premier of
Ghana, its first African country to
shake off the yoke of colonialism in

1956. As one African country after the other—

took up the struggle for independence from
European rulers during the 1960s, Nkrumah's
pronouncements became conventional wisdoms
all over the continent.

Now, almost four decades later and with
most African countries economically devastated,
a respected Nigerian academic and author
has made it his task to expose the sayings of the
Father of Independent Africa as falsehoods.
And he has chosen to launch his controversial
attack from South Africa.

To add to the irony Professor Kole Omotoso,
author of the highly acclaimed novel *Just
Before Dawn*, has also chosen an Afrikaans
publishing house to launch the book in which
he disavows many of the sacred cows of pan-
Africanism. Tafelberg Uitgewers, with its
close links to the National Party, has gained the
rights to publish Omotoso's novel, provisionally
titled *The Season of Migration to the
South*,

Omotoso, who has a doctorate in Arabic and
Islamic studies and now holds a chair in the
English department at the University of the
Western Cape (UWC) in Cape Town, left
Nigeria at the beginning of last year after
threats from the military government following
the publication of his last book.

He chose South Africa after having met the
Afrikaans poet, Breyten Breytenbach, and
Idasa's Frederik van Zyl Slabbert at interna-
tional conferences. Up to that point I had
always believed that it was in human nature to
justify oppression whenever it was to your
advantage. I still find it amazing that Slabbert
could leave parliament and join the extra-par-
liamentary forces. From the Nigerian perspec-
tive it was almost impossible to see that whites
could ever join the ranks of those fighting for
liberation.

|
remembers the moment when the plane landed
Of his first day in South Africa, he vividly
to the accusation of lack of]

Kole Omotoso ... Africans have no right
to misgovern themselves

I had goosepimples all over my body. But in a
strange way everything seemed so normal.
There was no one to arrest me. Paradoxically,
I felt as if I was getting out of jail. Van Zyl
came to fetch me. As we were driving to his
house and I looked around me, I wondered:

why was I deprived of all these things for so
long?

His new life in South Africa, he says, cannot
only be attributed to the threats that made him
leave his home country but also to his revulsion
with the pervasive corruption that plagues
post-colonial Nigeria. It was his thinly dis-
guised references to present and past Nigerian
political figures in *Just Before Dawn* that led to
court actions and personal threats from the
regime.

His pride in Africa's liberation from the
colonial yoke is an incredible story of human
achievement. It is jarred by the social, political
and economic failures that accompanied
independence. Africans have achieved their
freedom, but they have no right to misgovern
themselves, he says with anger. (The chapter
dealing with the question of what happened
after liberation is significantly headed:
Operation Successful, Patient Dead.)

The ultimate failure of Africa, according to
Omotoso, was due to the fact that the political
leaders never looked beyond liberation, prefer-
ring to isolate themselves from the continent's

at Jan Smuts airport. Stepping on to the tarmac, intellectuals. But everything that went wrong

in Africa was not self-induced. Compounding
the problems was the hostility that was always
shown by the Western world.

He fears that an African National Congress-
led government may not learn the lessons of
Africa. The ANC comes in for some severe
criticism in *Season of Motion*.

The result of Africa's right to misrule itself
is equally relentlessly expressed

Omotoso describes how in Nigeria after
independence, basics such as water and elec-
tricity could not be taken for granted. In spite
of massive earnings from petroleum products,
not one metre of rail was added to what the
British left in 1960, Roads Hasti

and never maintained were Joon reclaimed by
the ever-anxious tropical creepers and under-
growth. Civil war was followed by the most

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. to be contested and ultimate!

scandalous waste of resources

clear that there was no other
go except down ... more i
Nigerian trained brains went

obviously did not believe the
right to mistreat themselves
patriotic they might be.â\200\235 *
Omotoso situates the mq
intellectual liberation at the p
Nkrumahâ\200\231s dictums â\200\234as shar]

â\200\234an insult to the ordinary African
countriesâ\200\235.

Trying to find a way out
Omotoso sells out to reintegrate
the past 30 years, and to put
a new historical context, be
meetings between blacks

African continent. Unlike people

does not believe that these African
seen as one-sided invasions.
cal proof that many blacks
the white man and that the

. By 1983, it was
easy for Nigeria to
an 90 percent of
lost of the country
patriotism. They
that Africans had the
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ment of his own
point where he saw
nâ\200\235, â\200\234as statements
y rejectedâ\200\235 and as
people of African

of the dead end, .
ret the history of
these insights into
inning at the first
and whites on the
non-Africanists he
contacts can only be
â\200\234There is histori-
n fact welcomed
initial contacts,

before the period of unscrupulous imperialism,
were in fact mutually beneficial.â\200\235

Once an ardent believer in

the pan-Africanist

ideal, Omotoso now has come to the conclusion that a democratic South
may have the best potential for the rest of Africa. â\200\2341 am h

Africa in the end
D â\200\234point the way"
ere (o learn where

we went wrong and how we can regain the
right path to sanity and meaningful existence.â\200\235

His belief that South Africa
of Africa out of the abyss, d

may lead the rest
not presuppose

an uncritical approach to this country. â\200\234The
signs of apartheid are still all pervasive ., The
lack of decent transport to the townships, the
absence of theatres in townships. And the
amount of cul de sacs in white suburbs must
surely qualify for an entry in the Guinness
Book of Records

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Free speech

ARIKE DE KLERK at Atlantis, Carl Niehaus at Pretoria University â\200\224 the rough receptions accorded to both these diverse figures reflect the same ominous phenomenon in our public life: intolerance.

" ANC spokesman Niehaus emerged well

from his encounter with right-wing rowdies

who tried to disrupt his address, given at the invitation of the studentsâ\200\231 council, on the touchy subject of national symbols. He won majority support from the audience. But it was ANC supporters who gave the presidentâ\200\231s wife a torrid time when she addressed a National Party tea-party at Atlantis on the west coast. The Minister who invited her, Abe Willmote, received death

threats beforehand and outside the hall

- demonstrators threatened to get out of

hand. ANC marshals, to their credit, restrained them â\200\224 perhaps having profited from two previous instances when radicals disrupted Democratic Party meetings in black areas in the Cape.

The lesson for radicals of both Left and

Right is this: tolerance of other viewpoints -

is the very essence of democracy. Deny someone the right to speak and that right will be denied to you one day. Unless the lesson is widely and rapidly learnt, there can be no talk of real democracy.

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THE STAR, FRIDAY 12 MARCH 1993

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THE STAR, FRIDAY 12 MARCH 1993

IFP-ANC leaders trade
accusations and insults

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG 24 Natal

ANC and IFP leaders
yesterday traded bitter
accusations when they
visited the sites where 20
people, including six
children, have been kill-
ed in the past 10 days.
But despite the suspi-
cion and acrimony, the
two sides have agreed to
talks to try to stem the
bitter conflict in the
Table Mountain area.
The agreement fol-
lowed a visit by Law and

Order Minister Hernus
Kriel who, together with
IFP and ANC leaders,
flew by helicopter to
sites where the recent
violence occurred.

Sapa reports that bit-
ter accusations flew
thick and fast from the
start, and the party lead-
ers traded insults and ac-

cusations in front of

journalists.

ANC Midlands leader
Harry Gwala accused
parties to previous peace
talks of talking peace
during the day and kill-

ing at night.

IFP central co-
tee representative
James Ngubane criti-
cised the ANC for
ing to hold bilateraj dis-
cussions with the IFP.

In a separate develop-
ment, Lawyers for Hu-
man Rights member
Anne Strobe said inter-
national funding had
made a witness protec-
tion programme for the
area possible. The [pro-

gramme would try to
find homes and job
witnesses.

the 1986 meeting was

S possession,

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According to the documents in Iiolo-

Securily Councilâ\200\231had â\200\234at no timeâ\200\235 ordered
ailed by senior members of the SA and
Transkeian defence forces. Those present
were Van der Westhuizen; Gen Reid Daly,
an adviser to the Transkei Defence Force
at the time; Gen Charles Sebe, former chief
of the Ciskei security forces and Lennox
Sebeâ\200\231s half-brother; Chief Namba Sebe; a
Col van Iiooyen and 2 Maj van der Merwe.

Lennox Sebe was seen as a thorn in
governmentâ\200\231s side. The need to "perma-
nently removeâ\200\235 him was discussed. â\200\234opin-

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or approved any illegal actions.

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held in 1985 under the

llolomisa said the document had been
drawn up in response to a State Security
In its initial response to Holomisaâ\200\231s
charges, government accused the Transkei
leader of pursuing an opportunistic political
his possession. Cabinet and the State

Council_meelin

chairmanship of then President P W Botha
Jeagues with pro-SA moderates.

in which a resolution to stabilise and nor-
cal agenda by not releasing all documents

plan included a decision to replace the
Ciskei leader Lennox Sebe and his col-

Charles Sebe and under the cover control
malise the unrest situation was taken. The

of the security forces.

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The plan, codenamed Operation Kalzen,
It details the need to exploit the Xhosa
â\200\234struggle for unity as a nation and oullines

was allegedly the brainchild of Military
Intelligence chiel Lil-Gen Joflel van der

Holomisa tells of MI plan to thwart ANC

PORT ELIZABETH â\200\224 A top sceret mili-
masler plan (o develop Lhe eastern Cape

into an independent power bloc against the

ANC and UDF was nade public by Trans-
kei military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holo-

misa yesl

Westhuizen, then a brigadier in charge of

the Eastern Province Command.
the intention to create a â\200\234Xhosa resistance

tary document compiled in 1986 oullining a
movementâ\200\231 under the leadership of

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BUSINESS DAY, FRIDAY 12 MAREH 1993

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Buthlezi lashes out at De Klerk, Delpont L'

< BILLY PADDOCK
'NXWAZULU Chief Minister Mangosuthu
Buthlezi yesterday lashed out at govern-
ment for rejecting the federal constitutiony
i 4 his assembly accepted in December an
missing the opportunity of developing
bottom-up negotiation process.

Speaking in the Legislative Assembly.
where Local Government Minister Tert
Delpont opened the fifth session. Buthlezi
said President F W de Klerk and Deipont
had ignored the rights of the people of the
KwaZulu/Natal region. ;

He said when the constitution was pub-
lished De Klerk slammed it, and you,
Minister, sat with the ANC to draw up 3
vegiional proposal for KwaZulu/Natal
which slammed everything we did.

This was based on the assumption all
5 regions were equal in having done nothing,

whereas Kwa/Natal had done a great deal.
Your proposal to establish a national
commission to tell this region what its
boundaries, powers and structures should
be created deep resentment among us.

Buthlezi said he was astounded that
Delpont had said the KwaZulu/Natal con-
stitution was unsaleable and not negoti-
able. He asked Delpont to convey KwaZu-
lu's demand that it be assured its assembly
would be left intact. with the people of
Natal determining KwaZulu's destiny.

He said he was happy to call referen- .
dum in the territory to see what the people
wanted. Should they want their destiny

Tl To Page 2

Buthelezi

thrashed out in the 4
dovetailed and slo:t:: 31;0:!!; u;s s 8 g Â¢ cn o
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ata e 9% boundarigons could negoti- Shoud ays::f:g:scft'lhe v
29 powers which would then be o gkl woulduh gty S
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THE CITIZEN, FRIDAY 12 MARCH

â\200\234 Bop, TFP â\200\230informersj;
will seek

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Political Cerrespondent

!, CAPE TOWN. = Mr
';1 Kobus Jordaan, Demo-
| cratic Party MP for Umh-
| lazga, says he will con-
â\200\230p% tinue to seek answers
f\h from the government as
HH\o whether senior Inkatha
13y and Bophuthatswana of-
4'" ficials were paid govern-
. ment informmers.

" In a series of questions
\ in 1991, Mr Jordaan ask-
1} ed about monies paid by
" the SA Police to Inkatha.

4 Although the government -

declined to respond, in
terms of the Protection of
Information Act, it subse-
quently led to the Inka-
| thagate revelations.

The three people
4 named by Mr Jordaan in
i\ the House of Assembly
on Wednesday were Mr
Walter Felgate, an Inka-
tha Central Committee
member, Professor Al

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Inkatha adviser â\200\224 @nd
Mr Rowan Cronje, 3 Bo-
phuthatswana Cabinet
Minister.

bert Blaustein - a former i

President De Klerk
whether the governmmment
had paid for information
from nine, individuals *'t0
provide information â\200\230on
certain cultural and/or
political organisations or
gOVernments" .

When Mr De Klerk declined to respond. Mr Jordaan named the three men, describing them

as the biggest stumbling

block in the way of nego-

tiations.

Approached by The 1st Citizen for further comment yesterday, Mr Jordaan said he would persist with the issue in Parliament.

Told that Mr Felgate and Mr Cronje had denied claims of being spies for the government, and that Mr Felgate had challenged him to repeat his claims outside the privilege of Parliament. Mr Jordaan said: That is interesting.

There is a very strong chance that we will pur-

answers

sue this matter further in Parliament.

Mr Jordaan referred to a question he had asked of Mr De Klerk in Parliament on March 5 1991, asking whether the SA Police had given financial or other assistance to Inkatha or a certain trade union.

In reply, he was told

the matter fell within the ambit of the Protection of Information Act and other laws.

That question led to the Inkathagate revelations. My information was proved correct. said Mr Jordaan. !

In the present matter I will again be pursuing the issue until the facts are made known.

Mr Felgate has rejected the claim as an ugly,

ugly allegationâ\200\235 and
added: â\200\234Mr Jordson must
revel his basis for the al-
legation, and Mr De
Klerk should give a clear
reply.â\200\235

Mr Jordaan asked State

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THE CITIZEN, 'FBI_DAIJz MAnCH 1993

Regionalism of ANC
meaningless: Matthe

THE ANC's so-called

strong regionalism was1)
thef|
functions and duties of
the regions had been

meaningless untl

spelled out, Mr Piet Mats
thee (NP Umlazi) said
yesterday. .

Speaking in a private
memberâ\200\231s motion on 3
new constitutional dis-
pensation, he said that it
was clear that what the
ANC meant by strong re-
gional government was
completely different from
what the NP meant, and
that the ANC was totally
against the cocept of fe-
deralism.

The movement knew,
as Âçid the NP, that a large
body of local and inter-
national opizion favoured
federalism, so it was not
giving a high profile to its
drive for a unitary state.

that
en-

Until it agreed
these powers be

Jjtrenched in 2 pew consd-
4. tution, it had not effec-
itively departed from the

unitary principle at all.

The international com-
munity, without any ex-
ceptions he could think
of, supported the concept
of federalism.

Virtwally all White

â\200\230South Africans, a large

majority of Coloureds
and Indians. virtually all
the countryâ\200\231s industrial-
ists, capitalists and entre-
preneurs, and the Inkatha
Freedom Party and other
parties in the self-2ovem-
ing homelands supported

the idea,

â\200\234Last but not least, a

large number of Black
people in SA, who do not
want to be subject to too
strong heÃ@gemonic govern-

"

â\202-

ment, would support fe-

deralism,â\200\235 he said.

Mr G C OQosthpizen

(NP Pretoria Cer

tral)

s3id the CPâ\200\231s attempts at

negotiations lacked
credibility because it
essentially racist,

As a member of]

all

was

the

NG Kerk, Dr Treurpicht
would have to acknow-
ledge he had a Chrijtian

duty to negotiate fo

try.

However, if one
this one should not bq
oneâ\200\231s beliefs.

He asked whether]
Treurnicht did not t]
that his point of depar]
that 2 person could be
qualified from citizen
of a state on the grod
of race, regardless of]
values and convicti
was basically unfair.

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conciliation in this cpun-

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Dr

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Citizen Report

Freedom

Pain and African National Congress leaders in the Natal Midlands area yesterday agreed to hold a meeting with the government in an attempt to find a solution to end violence in the troubled region.

The meeting, to which no date has been set, will be the first one to take

place between the parties in this region during the past three years.

This was decided at a Press conference in Pietermaritzburg yesterday shortly after the Minister of Law and Order Mr Hemnus Kriel, the Natal Midlands ANC leader, Mr Harry Gwala, and the [ANC Central Committee member, Mr Inkosi Ngubane, toured the troubled area.

The group specifically visited the sites of the last two massacres near the Table Mountain area in which 16 people were killed, including six schoolchildren.

A total of 20 people have been massacred during ambushes in the area during the last week.

The consensus to have a meeting came as a surprise as the day had initially begun as a mud-slinging match between the three parties.

Yesterday's tour was later described as a major step in the right direction.

The parties agree that party leaders could play a major role in ending the violence in the area, but they would have to reach

grassroots level.

Mr Kriel said that the South African Police would do whatever was possible to stop the political violence in the country â\200\224 but they could only treat the symptom. The causes lay in the hands of

During the tour evidence that the area had dense bush and very hilly and this terrain made it physically impossible for police to be present at all the places, all the time, Mr Kriel said.
ih_"mere was a2 heavy

political leaders. o

police presence in the area with-members of the SADF and SAP on foot, motor cycles, and (fin casspirs, patrolling the area.

Be said the governm. ment was really perturbed and shocked by what was going on in the area.

â\200\234We cÂcannot carry fn like this,â\200\235 he said.

It was significant that the three major political parties had gone on yÂs-terdayâ\200\231s tour and Mr Kriel believes that they would now all have to down and try to find solutions to the problems.

Mr Ngubane said the cause of the violence had to be traced and stopped. He believed that people at the grassroot level sqw leaders of the ANC and IFP talking about making peace, they would follow suit.

Mr Gwala hoped that South Africa would find a lasting solution to [its troubles.

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Misconception

He said it was a misconception that there was a quarrel between the ANC and [FP].

All the quarrelling is between apartheid and the people. The enemy in the country is apartheid, not the IFP. The question of violence not only included the IFP and ANC, but also the government and effective parties must all get together to stop violence.

Mr Gwala expressed his unhappiness in the tour of yesterday because the parties did not get to speak to the locals in the area.

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_BUSINESS DAY, FRIDAY 12 MARCH 1993

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Kriel visits killing fields
Jwith leaders of both sides

MBOYI â\200\224 Law and Order Minister
Hernus Kriel toured Natal's recent
massacre sites yesterday with ANC
and Inkatha leaders.

Reuter reports that Kriel, flanked
by Inkatha Midlands leader James
Ngubane and ANC Midlands chief
Harry Gwala, said he hoped the first
joint tour of the volatile Table Moun-
tain district outside Maritzburg
would stop their supporters killing
each other.

Ngubane accused ANC supporters
of killing Inkatha members, adding
that the tour of the area would yield
10 results.

Gwala denied the charge but la-
belled the tour a farce, â\200\234It is a farce,
If you want peace, let ys genuinely go

{ji to the grassroots and say let us talk

&\ peace now."â\200\235

However, Sapa reports from
Maritzburg that Natal Midlands po-
lice and ANC and Inkatha leaders
agreed to meet to try and resolve
violence in the region.

This emerged during a news con-
ference after the tour with Kriel.

The trip did not run smoothly, with
visible acrimony displayed between
the ANC and Inkatha delegations.
This continued into the news confer-
ence until Kriel finally persuaded the

ki
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ey

{Buthelezi is to attend the funeral to-
morrow of the six children slain at
{Table Mountain,

delegations to meet.
Our Ulundi correspondent reports
that Inkatha president Mangosuthu

He told the KwaZulu Legislative

Assembly yesterday the assassinations were the work of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

In Johannesburg it is reported that the 2002 Hands for Peace 2003 demonstrations will be staged across SA on Saturday to highlight violence.

The Human Rights Commission report issued yesterday said 125 people died in violence in Natal in February compared with 107 the previous month.

It said the increase clearly indicates violence in Natal had continued to intensify.

This was so, despite peace initiatives, public focus and the presence of international observers.

Both the North Coast and the Durban region recorded high tolls of 41 and 36 respectively, the HRC said.

*The North Coast figure represents a significant increase in violence with 12 people being killed in January

and 45 in February.

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BUSINESS DAY, FRIDAY 12 MAR

A CAREFUL strategy to lock all parties into the negotiating process those who might become disaffected to walk out, is beginning to emerge.

The main feature of this strategy, being followed by both the ANC and government, is to avoid issues that could cause serious divisions between parties in the early stages of the process. The idea is to give the various parties as much scope as possible to put forward their positions in as radical a form as they wish in these early stages, and then negotiate compromises with those parties locked into the process.

After being in the process for a substantial time and having delayed the tough negotiating on sensitive issues like a government of national unity and the detail of regionalism, the scenario goes, parties like the PAC, Inkatha, the CP and the Africaner Volksunie which may be uncomfortable with the mainstream views will nevertheless find they cannot leave the process.

One senior ANC negotiator said this week there were no parties anywhere in the world that could shun a negotiated settlement. The pressure from the international com-

munity is such that even Unita is starting to find it difficult to continue bucking the trend.

His words are echoed by 2 government negotiator: As long as we can avoid strong divisions in the early stages we will be OK. The further parties move with the process the more difficult it is to get out

He points to the effective way the ANC and Inkatha prevented protracted problems at the planning conference at the weekend. ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa withdrew a possibly contentious resolution and reference to an elected constituent assembly for the sake of consensus. But it was clear he was only delaying the problem. Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose similarly nipped in the bud an objection raised by the CP. .

Gettling parties locked into the process is also the primary reason for the planning conference organisers deliberately limiting its scope to deciding a date for the resumption

BILLY PADDOCK

of multiparty negotiations.

The real issues were to be fought out in bilateral discussions that would run parallel to the multiparty negotiating forum, the government source said, adding that, with the slimmed down structure of the forum, it would become easier to bargain and get broad agreements.

The other prong of the strategy is to appoint â\200\234spoilersâ\200\231â\200\235 representatives to chair the meetings. â\200\234This way they have to discipline themselves and devote their energies to ensuring constructive debate and that the meeting proceeds smoothly,â\200\235 the ANC source said.

He said it was also an efficient way to get the parties to â\200\234own the decisions and agreementsâ\200\235.

Inkathaâ\200\231s Waller Felgate is aware

of â\200\234this logical strategyâ\200\235 and reaffirmed his partyâ\200\231s commitment to stay in the process to the end despite the determined principle â\200\234not to be part of a government of national unity or any power-sharing formulaâ\200\235.

He said Inkatha had made it â\200\234absolutely clear that we will not be part of any such government. And that is non-negotiableâ\200\235. But that did not mean Inkatha would walk out just because it did not get its own way, he said, pointing out that this had been an ANC strategy.

But there is a sting in the tail for government and the ANC. â\200\234What they are omitting to take sufficient cognisance of is that they cannot go it alone. For international pressure to work the process has to be democratic,â\200\235 he said. Without large-scale acceptance within the forum and among the population for the forumâ\200\231s agreements, they would be doomed to failure.

And this is where Inkatha has its
counter-strategy. IL believes it has

>

{acil agreement from the planning
ism and the form of the new state
will be dealt with in the early stages
of the new forum. The whole process
could be delayed until the question is
resolved. :
Felgate points out that the two
â\200\234big brothersâ\200\235 cannot ignore In-
katha. â\200\234The negotiations have to be
democratic and be seen as such.
Then we will stay in there and nego-
tiate and object and oppose. And,
finally, we will go with the majority
decision,â\200\235 he says. =
But, he adds, inkatha will still re-
fuse to be part of a unitary govern-
ment. â\200\234We would rather be part of
the opposition,â\200\235 he says. ~ - :
Inkatha plans to fight at the first
meeting of the forum on April 1 and 2
for the form of state to be decided,
and also that within the forum there
will be â\200\234bottom-upâ\200\235 negotiations.
Inkatha leaders want regional ne-
gotiating forums (to form component
parts of the national forum â\200\224 where
regions will negotiate with each other
their boundaries, powers'â\200\231 and
structures. i
This might force government and
the ANC, eventually, to abandon
their carefully laid plans. ,

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Viewpoint

The Natal Mercury Friday March 12, 1993

L.eon Marshall

Unitary or federal: letâ\200\231s have political honesty

O THE ANC, its move
towards regionalism
. might: feel like a giant

leap, but now that the
details are starting to emerge, it
seems hardly more than a tiny
step. From the way ANC secre-
tary-general Cyril Ramaphosa
put it, it seemed he actually
meant it when he said even the
IFP would be pleasantly sur-
prised by the extent to which
his organisation was prepared
to go on the issue.

His statement that even the
Government was taken aback
by it is of less consequence. As
the Mercuryâ\200\231s political corre-
spondent so aptly put it, the Na-
tionalist conversion to
federalism is a deathbed affair.
Anyway they, on the one hand,
seem so typically intent on pre-
paring for elections and, on the
other, to cover all eventualities
by negotiating sunset arrange-
ments that their opinions on re-
gional or federalist proposals

are for the moment not to be
taken too seriously.

As it happened, the key to the

ANC's regional plan became evi-
dent from its explanation of
what it meant by â\200\234concurrentâ\200\235
and â\200\234overridingâ\200\235 powers for the
central government. Not in one
instance, from horse racing and
other gambling through to
health care and education, ai=
the regions it is so graciously
prepared to create going to be
ultimately exempt from
Pretoriaâ\200\231s dictates, assuming
that the Union Buildings are go-
ing to remain the place from
which state orders and largesse

are dispensed.

The difference between a unitary and a federal form of state is a big one. Massive and complicated philosophical arguments come into whether national unity â\200\224 the ultimate ideal â\200\224 is better served through strong central government or through recognising and giving

proper protection to the diversity from which that unity needs to grow.

One is tempted at this point to use examples like Natal rugby, AmaZulu, Kaizer Chiefs and other sports, where there is a subtle but deeply meaningful shift from the near-fanatical support people give their regional teams to the quieter, but no less passionate, feelings they have for the national teams selected from these home sides.

- The trouble with unitarianism and federalism is that both are so sullied by history and by the sectarian political interests at stake now that South Africa at last has the opportunity of shaping a new future for all its people that it is going to be hard to get people to make coherent choices between the two.

On the practical side the hardest for the federalists is going to be to draw their state

boundaries. KwaZulu/Natal

would be no difficulty, for apart from the Drakensberg range -

and the regionâ\200\231s diverse, though

conversely unifying, cultural ..

make-up, it has Swaziland -and

â\200\230.Mozambique bordering it up

north, the Transvaal and Free State to the west and Lesotho and Transkei to the south-west and south.

But what about slapping a federal border round a Western Cape with Cape Town as its capital, with about a third of its population still maintaining strong ties with their Transkeian and Ciskeian places of origin, and taking in those

vast, sparsely populated west coast and Karoo regions?

More difficult, try drawing a line between a Pretoria-dominated, predominantly Boer state of the Northern Transvaal and a Witwatersrand state in

| which Johannesburg, like New

York city, is bound to be the

massive metropolitan tail wagging the federal dog.

.But to get back to the politi-

" cal sully of what, for the fu-

ture's sake, should now be

â\200\234iturning into a serious and pref-

erably dispassionate argument.

Again, it is the Nationalists who, as white dominationâ\200\231s most vulgar exponents, should serve as an example of what nei-

ther unitarianism nor federal-

ism should be. s

It' was Hendrik Verwoerd who gave federalism its worst name by making it ethnic for the sake, vainly, of making â\200\234white South Africaâ\200\235 more white and, more successfully, keeping the ethnic states poor and backward. Yet, it was he and his predecessors and successors in the Nationalist regime who showed just what a self-serving, destructive and patently disuniting thing zt.rong central government can

e.

Those who want federalism

should be asked whether they want it for the sake ultimately of serving the national good or for their own immediate sectarian needs.

Those who want power concentrated in the central government should explain how they see that serving the cause of unity in a country as highly diverse as South Africa. Or they should say whether, like the Nats, they also think they will remain in control of that highly empowered central government forever and a day, with the right of deciding for all and sundry

what is good for them wherever
they live or find themselves.

Only once it is clear where
selfish political motives end and
where true concern for the
greater good of the entire coun-
try begins will it be possible to
get a decent debate going on the
relative advantages and disad-
vantages of unitary and federal
forms of government.

The Natal Mercury Friday March 12, 1993

BARRY STREEK reports on a new SAIRR survey

It's still difficult to remove apartheid's legacy

HE considerable difficulty in removing the legacy of apartheid

had again been demonstrated in its annual survey, the South African Institute of Race Relations has said. Almost every chapter of the survey, published this week, contained evidence that most black people continued to live without the basic amenities necessary for their advancement, it said in a statement. At the same time, they had to contend with the fear, anxiety and disruption caused by unemployment and political violence.

South Africa's chances of rectifying the situation seemed dismal, the statement said.

The associate professor of political studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, Professor, Tom Lodge, was quoted in the survey as saying that whatever economic policy a new government faced, it would struggle to find additional revenue to finance social spending as taxes could not be increased any further.

Savings from reduced defence expenditure and the

elimination of duplicate government departments would not amount to very much, Prof Lodge said.

The institute said the survey had recorded the following inequalities:
As much as 25% of the economically active African population was unemployed, as

opposed to 17% of coloured people, 13% of Indians and 4% of whites;

Â® The average monthly household income of Africans is R779, of coloured people R1607, of Indians R2 476, and whites R4 679;

Â® Even though the level of poverty among whites was the highest since the 1920s, Africans still earned as little of 17% of the average monthly household income of whites;

Â® 58% of African households earned below R700 a month while 51% of white households

earned over R4 000 a month;

Â® About 66% of the African population and 50% of the total population of South Africa lived below the poverty datum line.

During the last two years there had been little or no improvement in housing and

amenities in the townships and rural areas.

Not nearly enough houses for Africans were being built, and there were still continued racial inequalities in housing provision.

Between 1986 and 1992 the value of the average house built and the number of houses completed for whites increased, while the average value and the number of houses built for Africans and coloureds declined.

It also said that while conservation was as important as economic development if the

quality of life in South Africa was to be improved, no unified environmental strategy existed and apartheid has alienated the majority of South Africans from environmental issues. h

The survey also revealed that for rural black people, soil erosion was as serious a problem as unemployment, while air and water pollution directly affected the health of mostly black people.

Yet black people were seldom consulted on environmental Issues during the last decade, the statement said.

1 Congress, according
A rto the South 'Africanâ\200\231
{ Ko ."{ Institute of: Raceâ\200\231Re-

s!lations, has divided 'South
i|iÂ¥Africa into 16 regions and has

--_â\200\230i proposed that'the. countrysv
â\200\230.larger. metropolitan areas,â\200\231 in-

Â» Â»cluding:
and Jo

. Durban, ' Cape Town
annesburg, be treated

| ,as .regional - governments _be- .
% cause of the size, budgets and :

k innuence.-...,v.p, g
Â¥ The institute, in'an'article:
i â\200\231*ion *â\200\234Map-makingâ\200\230and match,
making" refered to an ANC re-;
â\200\230|%.vised "draft regional policyâ\200\231
'; 1 document of November.1992;
â\200\234'It*also 'said that only anâ\200\231
; .elected constituent â\200\230assembly:

|*could arrive at a final decision

â\200\230|â\200\235on the â\200\230powers, role functions
[.and boundaries of the regions

W In an earlier discussion doc-.
{ument on regionalism (Febru-
"aryâ\200\231 1992) the ANC called for~
:the country to be divided into, -
10 â\200\230regions â\200\230based largely on.

the nine development regions :
LE However the organisation.j

also wanted the northern:
-Transkei area to be removed

ifrom KwaZulw/Natal or Re-.

â\200\230gion E and in addition it pro-:

â\200\234posed a tenth region which .
~would â\200\230include â\200\230Border, Ciskei '
â\200\234and the â\200\230Transkei, with the ',
-, northern boundary | "of the newâ\200\231

-region coinciding with the.::

~1910 frontier of the Cape
;Province... ..

tute said.â\200\235

tAVU), as-indicated by: it
* leader, Mr. Andries" -Beyers
".wanted to.establiishâ\200\230aâ\200\231.Volk- '

' staat in the northern part of

- the country and that Pretoria .

proposed Volkstaat, the insti

LR A A F e

. making provision for the rec

ognition of ethnicity for. vthose

* However, - according to- he

1 Afrikaner Vryheidstigting, the

- 'western Cape was the cradle
of the Afrikaner and with this i
.;, as a basis, Avstig would nego-s

Fin

'fr' rhete institute said tha

Avstig had favoured the situa:
tion of its 1994 Volkstaat, Oranje

AT 2

el + in: the: "sparsely populated

- State and the northern Cape. 4
i L. "Mr- Beyers' said the borders
should be drawn in such a way
that the Afrikaner; people
were in the majority.":

; ciliation of. the Afrikaners by

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leader of Avstig said while the .
wide" distribution of Afrik-
aners made it difficult to:
claim a distinct piece of land;; 4
the' western Cape was the cra
dle of the Afrikaner, . w544
"He said his~ organisatlon
stood for secession and a new:
constitution would have to
make provision for: the draw- ",

ing up of new, borders for this

g 8,
w5

lL

said the "whole of South
Africa," excluding . the home-"
lands, should be the extent of .
its: proposed Afrikaner
homeland. " v 4% s TR B

S CP's spokesman Woute

Hoffman, :said the party con-:
ceded that "this ideal" might
not be attainable: and was-
therefore willing to negotiate

for a smaller Afrikaner home-
land, adding that as a basis, it: *

wanted the areas covered by

the constituencies won by the i .. -

party-in the, 1989 general
elections, - ' . s

â\200\234: In October. 1992 the DP g
published its revised constitu- . :

tional proposals in which it ar--:
gued for 10 "states based on
the nine official "development-
regions, together "with a new .
'region comprising most of the.â\200\231
Ciskei," the Transkei and
Border.: .. :*)

i, The party had earlier said it

favoured -2 federal system i .â\200\230

)

Gt e
al

b

.. with eight to 12 federal states, |

_adding that as yet it did not "â\200\231 /
â\200\230" have a map depicting its pro- |
. posals.â\200\231 The executive direc-
tor, Mr James Selfe, said the |,

! DP's proposals were similar.to

{ the ANCâ\200\231s earlier map depict-, |
: "ing â\200\230its â\200\230proposals for dividing_ 4
. the country into 10 regions. & |â\200\231

"The IFP, through its head of ,

. _administration Mr M:Z |*
~ Khumalo, said the party had

;. not developed a map depict-

. ing its proposals for the dxviâ\200\224

. sion of the country.

* He said this was because â\200\230it
â\200\234dx did not want to be accused of |;
doing things unilaterally.â\200\235 Mr

: Khumalo said, however, that
- his party still stood by its poli-â\200\231

cy which called- for the- divi-i

sion of the country intoâ\200\231nine/

â\200\230regions â\200\224 based largely on the
nine official development re-
. glons with the possibility of a
"â\200\230tenth -region made up of .Jo-
hannesburg and its surrounds :

"The IFP said cultural, eco-
. homic, linguistic and political,
factors should play an impor-

.u-tant part inâ\200\231 determining fu-

ture state boundaries.
â\200\234The National Party last year

',â\200\230unveiled a â\200\234draft technical
"plan" for a strongly federal
. 'South Africa with seven

7 autonomous - â\200\234provincesâ\200\235 in-

b " stead of the nine development

- 'regions previously favoured -
"by the party.-All 10 homelands

â\200\230were to be re-incorporated. .

Cimtlh Al et gt

; African National Congress Nata} Mig-
 chairman Harry Gwala admitted this
 /â\200\230 week that the organisationâ\200\231s supporters may ;
 have been responsible for the first ambush -
 in Mboyi in the Table Mountain area early last
 week which left six children dead after heavily
 : armed gunmen fired on a bakkie they were travel- *
 ing in, : i s l
 And indications are that Inkatha followers were |
 behind the two subsequent ambushes, in which 14 -
 people died. The death toll in the three ambushes
 stands at 20 with another 26 injured. .
 Gwala believes that police have put the wrong
 men â\200\224 all of them ANC members â\200\224 on trial for
 the Mboyi massacre and the murderers, unknown
 to him, are still free. . - T
 He suggested that the murder of the six children i
 W was a mistake and that the real target was Inkatha |
 â\200\234 killers â\200\235 in the area. He said: â\200\234 Inkatha killers gen- ' i
 erally use the bakkie when they move to kill. It is
 never mentioned. The impression is being created
 that this was a cold-blooded murder. â\200\235 e
 Gwala claimed the bakkie was driven at the time.
 of the ambush by a kwaZulu policeman, Phikali- ;
 thethwa Ngubane. Among the six dead were three
 K; â\200\230 li icz' : en of Inkatha regional chairman Bernard -

Gwala admitted: â\200\234 It may be ANC people (who
 did the massacre) but not those in custody. â\200\235

Last week Gwala issued a statement suggesting
 that the killings were as a result of an internal feud
 within Inkatha. However, he did not reiterate this
 claim in the interview this week. But another ANC
 leader in the Midlands, regional executive com-
 mittee member Mpume Sikhosana, repeated the
 charge. He argued that police involvement could
 not be ruled out either â\200\224 even if ANC supporters
 were behind the massacre, . :

" â\200\234 It did happen before. Police supplied weapons
 to both ANC and Inkatha supporters at the height
 of war in Table Mountain, â\200\235 Sikhosana said.

Three ANC members â\200\224 Sibusiso Zulu (19), 2 |
 17-year-old who may not be named and Jeremiah |
 Zulu (33) â\200\224 appeared in the Pietermaritzburg |
 Magistrate â\200\231s Court on Monday in connection with
 the massacre. : :

â\200\234 I â\200\231m not sure they are the right people. They are
 innocent victims of what â\200\235 going on there (in the
 L . et AR S \â\200\230, f. " \â\200\231-. t â\200\230. ? i â\200\230. ' { : \â\200\230. ? ; â\200\230 : â\200\230 x m . . ' : . - â\200\230. Â » , - , . . |

Table Mountain area), â\200\235 Gwala said. He argued:
 that the ambush had to be seen in the context of the
 â\200\234 â\200\230 on-going war â\200\235 in Mboyi. ' :

He added that he had no intention of launching -
 his own investigation to track down the culprits.

However, he still has faith in one policeman, !
 Captain Frank Dutton, who he believes should |
 investigate all three ambushes â\200\234 and the cover-

ROUK CH _& A

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Gwala said Dution â\200\224 whose splendid work led |

to the successful prosecution of policemen for the Trust Feeds massacre in 1988 â\200\224 would have the : ANCâ\200\231s â\200\234maximum co-operationâ\200\235. i -If ANC members were arrested and found guilty they would be expelled from the organis- * tion, Owalemd, - " o -t - T o Judge Richard Goldstone, meanwhile, has * announced that the Natal Investigating Unit of his commission will look into the three ambushes. Gwala appealed for an end to the killings. â\200\234I recommend to people to stop the killings and revenge attacks do not benefit the killer (nor the) killed. The only time you kill is when you are attacked â\200\224 but *donâ\200\231t set up ambushes.â\200\235 ; :

In the aftermath of the Mboyi massacre, two other ambushes followed. Gwala put the blame squarely on Inkathaâ\200\231s shoulders. Last Friday, 10 people were killed when gunmen fired AK47s, - R-1 rifles and shotguns on a minibus while they were on their way from Pietermaritzburg to the Nkanyezini area of Table Mountain, T

. Another three men â\200\224 Mabhungu Absalom :

Diadla (24) of Mboyi, Nkayiso Wilfred Ndlovu

7(21) and Phi Sifiso h&l:hct;e (21), both::N1;ag;?; zeniaâ\200\224 appeared in mperdown Magi

Â» Court on Monday and Tuesday on 10 counts of murder. They were represented by a prominent . Inkatha lawyer, Shane Matthews. The accused were remanded in custody until March 22.

Confusingly, journalists reported that they saw a . man â\200\224 identified as Inkatha supporter Mlungisi - Majolaâ\200\224 being arrested on the scene of the shooting. However, his name does not appear on the |

charge sheet.

In the third ambush on Monday, four people :

were killed when gunmen opened fire on a bus carrying passengers to Pietermaritzburg. Gwala said that the driver of the bus, Mafuta Ndlovu, had been â\200\234threatenedâ\200\235 by Inkatha supporters in the past transporting ANC-supporting passengers.

forNo'a:i'ests h?we been m in connection with this ambush. : s e

An Inkatha spokesman this week refused to

comment on the political affiliations of the people

involved. It is incumbent upon us to stop pointing fingers, he said, adding that the accused should be presumed innocent until proven guilty. »

CH 1993

- THE WEEKLY MAIL, 12 - 13 MARCH 1903

â\200\230Inkathagateâ\200\235â\204ç
Cop promoted|

By BEVERLEY GARSON: Port Elizabeth

A SECURITY police major at the centre of the Inkathagate scandal has since been promoted and is now thie South African Police communi-ty relations head in the Eastern Cape.

Port Elizabeth-based Louis Botha, now a lieutenant colonel, is the same man identified by The Weekly Mail as having channelled large sums of money from the police to Inkatha, police liaison officer Colonel Reg Crewe con-

- firmed this week.

The money was specifically intended to help Inkatha oppose the African National Congress.

Head of the public relations department in Pretoria, Major-General Leon Mellet, said Botha â\200\234is doing sterling work in the eastern Cape and we are more than confident that he will continue to build bridges between the com-munities and the SAPâ\200\235. : :

In 1991, when he was attached lo the security police in Durban, _ Botha was shown in secret documents to have recommended the clandes.-tine payment of least R120 000 to Inkatha to help fund a rally. : ' ;

A 10-page memo from Botha to the head of " security in Pretoria revealed that he had several

Â© secret discussions with Inkatha president Man-gosuthu Buthelezi on ways of opposing the ANC. : :

Botha suggested that it would help Inkatha, which he admitted was losing membership, if there was a strong show of support for Buthelezi atarally. Âç

Following these revelations Botha main-tained a low profile untit his appointment in the Âçastern Cape. Botha could riot be reached for comment this week, â\200\224 Pen

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_@THE convoluted logic of the authos of â\200\234A
house of lords in a new SAâ\200\235 (Weekly Mail,

The institution of traditional Jeadership, fun-

meritocsacy (an illiliterate moron by virblue 0
his birth alone becomes eligible o legisate!),

alone non-lacialism nov non-sexism. power?

So what gibberish is Nkosi Holomisaltying | The white eleclorate can doitan
â\200\230to espouse? â\200\224 Probably misguided indige- | alosie; they alone arc responsi
ble.
nous female Cawe Mahiati, kwaBhaca,

Transkel :

Durban

BWITH regaid to your editorial of February
19 1993, â\200\234A Government of Jlorse Tradersâ\200\235,
Jo we really have 10 be stuck with members of
the present government in an inlerim govern-
ment? y

The while electorate alone allowed this gov-
ernment 1o rule for some 40 years. No blacks,
no Indians, no colouseds can be held responsi-
bl for what a purcly white clectorate did to
reduce this countiy 102 financial basket casc.

LETTERS e e

March 5 (0 11 1993) is brcathtaking and : : : "a'

e ver o NO demOCr acy among ï¬\202fâ\200\2311@

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(exclusion of female pasticipalion), e s Uaâ\200\224&(lji:lâ\200\230oâ\200\224ngl/\â\200
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cannot in my view be reconciled with inalien- | Surely it is a debl of honour owed 10 all
able, fundamental principles of demacracy, let Â\$| South Affica to remove this goverament f
rom

dcando it

The Russians did it! â\200\224 Lou Thompson,

Free speech

â\200\230!VIARIKE DE KLERK at Atlantis, Carl Niehaus at Pretoria University the rough receptions accorded to both these diverse figures reflect the same ominous phenomeneon in our public life: intolerance

,â\200\230f.;'e' (" spÂ«.â\200\230xevm an Nichaus emerged well tzâ\200\230-â\200\231.,.-' encounter with right-wing rowdies rho ed disrupt his address, given at l of â\200\230he studentsâ\200\231 council, on ectL 0 rlu O"-lâ\200\230 SYITIDOLS, Â¢1â\202¬'

jority ' "â\200\234â\200\234f!â\200\230 m the audience

But it was ANC pporter." whn:.v ave the

sidentâ\200\231s wife a torrid time when she addressed a National Party tea n,mj; at At-

â\200\230 ' it coast. The Minister who

" U'x:â\200\224,uh.., received death

threats land and outside dev*â\200\231rwî¬\202trar* hreatened tÂ¢ hand. ANC ma '54.43,, to their strained them -~ perhaps having from two previous instances when Â¢t disrupted Democratic Party meeting black areas, in the Cape.

The lesson for radicals of both Left and light is this: tolerance of other viewpoints is the very essence of aemÂ«u-var\' Deny

meone the right to speak and that right will be lerve" to you one dav. Unless the lesson ls widely and rapidly learnt,there

in be no talk of real democracy.

Financial
Mail
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Snĩ-\201h on the face of the figer

The country should not work too desperately for rapid political change. Severe insecurities on the side of minorities. cal consensus, in case it masks problems that will only This is plain commonsense ~ so plain, in fact surface later. To be sure, we all feel comforted and relieved any way the consensus-obsessed media have found : when Roelf Meyer and Cyril Ramaphosa, the chief negotiators with it is to ignore it. Yet it can be argued that South Africa's Unportant 3 works for government and the ANC respectively, emerge ~ reaction to the national constitution should be the response: smiling from the latest round of â\200\234crucialâ\200\235 talks. ability of experts â\200\224 whose work would then indeed have

after so many disappointments and betrayals along the way. It is not directed by an elected assembly. This would already, there is anxiety for peace at any price, It is easy to see. the view of the NP too ~ but such is |

of impatient when parties other than the ANC and bargaining power that it was forced to concede

government raise objections; we agitate for progress crucial point. No wonder Roelf smiles: because 3

In particular, we become impatient (and nervous) when) Â\$ of and must bluff his way the [FP gets difficult. But consider what might happen if the [t is all legitimate objections of the IFP are ignored â\200\224 and legitimate) agreement being reached by the state. mate objections may| be defined as those whose principles at consensus.â\200\235â\200\231 We can be sure that within 12

can be extended beyond the private political agenda of the â\200\230 in elected assembly to see their side IFP or its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthe has the moral authority to decide by majority. The IFP has long objected to the idea that an elected body, whatever â\200\224 on any clause 0

constituent assembly should be entrusted with what a new them. By then, the mysterious <0 institution. The basis for this objection has - Best is probably have the

Â«pressed by Herman Cohen, the retiring US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa - not 3 men. Terorized for We do not need the IFP and Herman Cohen to 1 taking sides in SA, least of all that of the IFP , elected constituent assembly â\200\224 who ever is in

Cohen was c.;umcd_ in Business Day this week as saying ~ would be as qualified to write 3 new Consil that he had no doubt about how a new constitution should be would to perform the work of a rocke: scientist written: â\200\2341f & constituent assembly, which is elected by one- Vet the ANC and the Nats have apparently man one-vote, makes/all the decisions, then you have not had consensus on this. Perhaps it is time for the rest Â¿f

negotiations. And if you don't have negotiations, you have them know it is not sufficient

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DONALD SIMPSON

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sirsom Universily

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An anslysis of the 1991 census, recently
Bresented by Home Affairs Minister Louis

Pienas: in parhiament, |reveals some smpor-
sant electoral facts. |

There is only one afes in SA which does
sor coptain an indiganous â\200\234blackâ\200\235 South
frican majority == that is, of course, the
x The â\200\234kolouredsâ\200\235 make up
the popueistion in this projected re-
gion4see box} and Bl | 5% whites
are Â«n influential 265 and
siections here could B the mast exgiting in
S A with the predompnant coloured group
i be an ANC ma-

elegroral region
ern Cape. wnich wouid mean i0
o SA - ong mare than the ning
sposed by the Development Bank If this
wdal were accepidd, it would leave the
aining casiern Cape vuinerabic to antack
m the ANC viewbalinl, since blacks would
make up just 50% o;; (he ciecidrate in the
remaining castern Cape area
The Nauonal Party apd the Department
of Home Affairs favqur enly seven regions.
The Nats basically ageept the mae develop-
ment regions but fombine the western
Transvaal with the nprthern Cape and the
easiern Transvaal with the northern Trgns-
vaal. ;

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and Coud e i ihe wesjern
Transvaal (157 iegs which the

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that will hoid the
-cgional assembly. In

African majority do not
party wil give the
chance lo clect par
balance of power in 2
Nata!, for example. an cven IFP/ ANC spint
af votes could leave ihe iricameral electors
able to decide the arzaâ\200\231s goternment

In the westÃ©rn Trensvalg1 and morthern
Cape. a compariscr can be made with the
southern part of Numibia I s 1989 ciec-
tion. The liberation ement squivaient 10
the ANC (Swapo; {a:.ed 10 get even 20% of
the black vote in Â® he

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Regional

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The regions the ANC can mas!
sount of in an eisctoral bamtle for 54
Border, cagrern Transvaal nonhess
vaal and the Witwatersrand, Thers Â»
substantial vote. if not an egsy mawni
ine-eastern Tape, Free State, Nata! and
northern Cape and this will guaraniee *ne
ANC 2t Jegst 50% of the total vote snd. wu
sroportional represeatation. the sSame
amount of seats.

1f five regions do not have an ANT =
ity = ipeiuding the wesiern Cape, 1
2nd castern Cape. Natal and western 147

vaal Â»= this would
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the ANC. asaioyou
10 the pesitan Frisi

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against b
and covering haif the ares of the
could be formiidable opposilich.
Blacks comprise 72% of the toual Â¢
of voters Bui this estimate, whieh
many guesses in the TBVC states
100 high. Black birth rate projecuc
past 20 years have beef Overesumaiss
The fricameral voters will provids
Mational Parr, with about 28% of ali
SA and any gres of votes far
he IFP 3
total vote from figure
The ANC could score 3 maximulr
of likely votes â\200\224 But it could be muc:

38 Â« FINANDIAL WAL