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By Tony Stirling
WITH the prospect of
a top-level meeting be-
tween the government
and the African Nat-
jonal Congress (ANC)

~on the cards, the ques-
tion of amnesty for
exiled members of the -
ANC is expected to be
resolved soon.

However, informed
government sources in
Pretoria believe that set-
ting the conditions for

â\200\230amnesty and determining criti

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FROM PAGE 1

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Such an argument would
generally only prevail in
the case of a country
which made an uncondit-
jonal surrender, as with
Germany in the last War.

While there were, thus,
problems surrounding the
issue, the question of am-
nesty would have to be re-
solved and resolved rap-
idly.

Otherwise the momen-
tum towards negotiations
could be detrimentally af-
fected. â\200\234Imagine the af-
fect should an ANC del-
egation arrive in South
Africa for talks and its
members taken before
the Harms Commission to
testify, which would be
within its mandate under
present circumstances.â\200\235

Major General Her-
man Stadler, the police
expert on the ANC, says
there are no- members of
the ANCâ\200\231s highest policy
making body, the nat-

jonal executive committee, known to have been directly involved in acts of terrorism in South Africa.

But he confirms evidence given at a number

number of NEC members in the planning of terrorist acts over the years.

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of trials which implicate aâ\200\231

just how wide it will ex-

~ tend presents the govern-

ment with the thorniest political problem it has yet faced in democratising South Africa. .

From the ANC point of view, as with the lead-

~ership of the allied South

â\200\224 which also wants to send a delegation to

- South Africa â\200\224 nothing

short of a complete amnesty will suffice.

If this demand is met, it will undoubtedly fuel

ism from â\200\230Conserva-

The sources said that while the security forces had a case to answer in respect of claims made by former security policeman, Captain Dirk Coetzee, and allegations surrounding the alleged activities of the Civil Co-operation Bureau, there was abundant evidence that the ANC, including the members of the NEC, as the organisationâ\200\231s policy making body, had a case to answer.

The statistics show that of the 1350 targets attacked since 1976 by the ANC which have caused 237 deaths â\200\224 320

were civilian targets.

While the ANC has denied a policy of attacking civilian targets, its publications show that its definition of what it regards as â\200\234legitimateâ\200\235 or official targets extends well beyond persons connected with the security forces.*

It includes all who work for the system as civil servants, those whom it accuses - of collaboration, such as Black councillors, and those formerly linked to the ANC who have given evidence against ANC members at trials.

As far back as 1983, the ANCâ\200\231s official mouthpiece, Sechaba, declared

S00

tive Party and other elements on the Right, as well as among those who believe that the perpetrators of terrorism cannot be pardoned. :

The sources said that on the other hand, it would also raise the question of whether or not a general amnesty on both sides of the fence should b.e appi~\201ed0 Y S
â\200\234The argument here is that if the perpetrators of terrorist acts, including

â\200\230murdcr, are to be freed

_under an amnesty, which

crimes are regarded as political acts by the ANC, then consideration has to be given to freeing persons like Barend Stry-

- dom in that the murders

he committed had a pol-

itical motive,â\200\235 the sources

e argument that amnesty should only apply to members of the so-called liberation ~ movements

- would certainly not be ac-

ceptable to a large :

portionâ\200\235 of the Whites.

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that it had carried out attacks and assassinations on 35 such targets.

Farmers in the border areas â\200\224 many of whom are obliged to serve in commando units â\200\224 were also targetted. It was in fact NEC members and the ANCâ\200\231s chief of intelligence, Ronnie Kasrils, who first enunciated the ANCâ\200\231s policy of laying mines on farm roads in the border areas, which resulted in the deaths of a number of civilians, both Black and White.

South Africa underwent its worst period of bomb attacks in the months surrounding the municipal elections in 1988, with a large number

of these acts directed

against civilians, and several incidents occurring in Wimpy Bars.

It was at this time that the chief of staff of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, Chris Hani, and the then political commissar of Umkhonto, Steve Tshwete, who is likely to be named as part of the ANC delegation at talks with the government, issued statements directing ANC terrorist attacks against civilians in White areas. Both are NEC

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members. Joe Slovo, general secretary of the SACP and also an NEC member, who was Haniâ\200\231s predecessor in Umkhonto, has according to the records been named in numerous trials as the planner of terrorist acts for which others were brought to trial and convicted.

Precisely how deep into the ANC ranks the question of amnesty would have to be considered is not known. The South African Police have records on thousands of trained ANC cadres, including information on operations in which they are alleged to have been involved.

â\200\234That some form of amnesty is going to have to be worked out is unquestionable, albeit on a limited scale at first,â\200\235â\200\235 the sources said.

â\200\234It is equally without doubt that the subject is going to raise emotions, not least of all among the families of victims, but also in the wider political context.â\200\235 :

It was being expected that in the initial stages, at least, a general formula would be devised for amnesty of those meeting certain criteria. .

Education

by

A Cluster of theologians

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IN 1982, a grant from the Lutheran World Federation for the establishment of a Bachelor of Theology course on the Pletermarltzburg campus was threatened when residents in Scottsville, the suburb in which the university is situated, objected to the accommodation of black theology students in a Lutheran-owned house in the whites-only suburb.

Man in the middle then was Dr Gunther Wittenberg (now Professor Wittenberg). He played a waiting game, weathering the 1982 storm and a subsequent Group Areas row in 1984. The result is that the university got its Theological Studies Department, of which Professor Wittenberg is head, the black students still live in Scottsville and as a South African first, a cluster of theological teaching institutions in the Pletermarltzburg region has been established.

-\ â\200\234The cluster, officially launched last week, is the culmination of a dream that goes back 10 years,â\200\235 Professor Wittenberg says.

The institutions which form the cluster are the Federal Theological Seminary in Imbali (Fedsem), St Josephâ\200\231s at Cedara, and Professor Wittenbergâ\200\231s Department of Theological Studies. A remarkable aspect of the association of these three institutions is that the first is Anglican, Methodist, Congregational and Presbyterian; the second is Roman Catholic; while the third is largely funded by the Lutherans.

St Josephâ\200\231s has for many years been the home of studies of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, the largest Roman Catholic missionary group in the country. Now, 17 different religious congregations have come together at Cedara from all parts of Southern Africa to form St Josephâ\200\231s Theological Institute. There are 96 students and the staff of 18 are South African, American, Belgian and British. The five year course at St Josephâ\200\231s covers the whole range of philosophy and theology with a strong emphasis on the South African situation. .

Fedsem was an attempt to establish theological education on non-denominational lines dating back to 1956, when all the major non-

Representatives of various religious denominations assembled at St J of theological teaching institutions in the

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osephâ\200\231s, Cedara, last week for the launch of a cluster
Pletermamzburu region.

Roman churches were approached, including the Moravians and the Lutherans, to form a united seminary. Although the seminary was constituted on a federal basis, its theological teaching has been non-denominational since its inception. The seminary was also founded

as a protest against Bantu Education and pioneered degree-level theological training for blacks with the introduction of the AFTS in 1964. Its stand on non-racial education resulted in the expropriation of its property:

Pietermaritzburg.

Theology teaching in South Africa has

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been, and is still, nearly always denominationally based, Professor Wittenberg points out. But the Pietermaritzburg cluster will offer exciting possibilities for cross-fertilisation.

As early as 1980, Professor Wittenberg had been talking to the principals at Fedsem about the possibility of working together to establish a common Bachelor of Theology degree programme. This was followed by discussions with representatives of the Catholic church. All this was encouraging, Professor Wittenberg recalls, but it was not really enough to launch a programme which would cost a lot of money.

Not long after these initial discussions, the Lutheran World Federation came up with the offer which would form the basis (a chair in Theological Studies at the university) of establishing a non-denominational Bachelor of Theology degree programme in Pietermaritzburg. :

But a number of problems had to be solved. The most intractable seemed to be the permit issue. Black students, at that time, needed permits to attend the so-called white

universities, but the Lutherans had indicated that they would not support a programme if their black students had to apply for permits to participate. Permission was eventually gained for these students to study without permits about a year before the permit system was scrapped in 1983. A

There was also the issue of residence for black Lutheran students, Professor Wittenberg points out. In September 1982, we were faced with angry white residents of Scottsville who signed a petition to prevent the building of a non-racial Lutheran students' residence. The same process was repeated in 1984 when we tried to establish the residence on upper Jes-

mond Road. There was extensive press coverage of both these incidents. The attempt at setting up a non-racial theological training

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in Alice in |
1974 and its ultimate re-establishment in

programme in Natal University received international notoriety.â\200\235
But the inevitable could not be perma-

|- nently thwarted. In May 1985, an agreement between the university and the . Lutheran churches was signed which led to the establish-

ment of the Bachelor of Theology degree programme, while in 1986 the question of co-operation with Fedsem and St J osephâ\200\231s began again seriously to be pursued.

Dr Jim Cochrane, now a senior lecturer in

_the Department of Theological Studies, sug-

gested that the cluster model, well established in America, should be explored. After talks had re-opened with Fedsem and St Josephâ\200\231s, Professor Wittenberg visited some American clusters which were able to provide valuable information on how to set up and administer a cluster of theological teaching institutions. From then on, it was only a matter of time before the Pietermaritzburg cluster became a reality. :

. But what is a cluster, and what are its advantages? Professor Wittenberg: â\200\234It creates a richer environment for students and staff; it provides for a wider range of courses; and it allows for the rationalisation of resources.â\200\235 In practice it will mean that students registered at any of the three institutions will have access to them all. Credits gained at one institution will be recognised by the others. Five courses

~ are being designed for which the staffs of all

three institutions will share the teaching. For St Josephâ\200\231s and Fedsem, which both currently offer degree level courses, this means that their students will also have access to the university-based Bachelor of Theology degree courses.

While each institution will retain its own identity, the co-operation between the three

. will be extremely close. An example of this is

the planned pooling of library resources, not into a single collection of books and periodicals, but by rationalisation of purchases and the computer linking of catalogues.

The Pietermaritzburg cluster is governed

- by a council made up of representatives of all'

' participating institutions. The council is currently drafting a declaration of intent whose content is hinted at in these words taken from the cluster's brochure. All three institutions are non-racial and committed to working together towards a new paradigm in theological education . . . and to beginning the process of working out a common contextual vision for theological education in the South African crisis.

® Former Natal Witness journalist David Robbins is now Director of Media and Publications at the University of Natal. o .

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LASHE

CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 US
Secretary of State, Mr
James Baker, and
ANC leader Mr Govan
Mbeki clashed yester-
day on the usefulness
of Mr Bakerâ\200\231s visit to
Cape Town to see the
State President, Mr
FW de Klerk, and
Foreign Affairs Minis-
ter Pik Botha.
Addressing newsmen at
the US residency in
Bishopscourt after one
and a half hours of talks
between Mr Baker and

By Sapa and
Brian Stuart

prominent ANC, UDF,
trade union and Western
Cape community and
church leaders, Mr Mbeki
said: â\200\234We are not happy
that he has come here to

consult with the South

Africa Government.â\200\235
Asked what he thought
the role of the US should
be in South Africa, Mr
Mbeki said it was the
most powerful nation in
the world and would have
great impact on South

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Africa, but it depended
on how it used that pow-
er.

The US Government
and people should con-
tinue to impose the press-
ure they had put on South
Africa until the position

was made clear that the South African Government had no way of turning back.

Mr Baker told the newsmen however that many people had told him that "we should take this

TO PAGE 2

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LONDON. "African National Congress Deputy President, Mr Nelson Mandela, has offered to hold high-level talks with Britain,

the Foreign Office said "» yesterday.

xelt suidy Mr Mandela made the proposal when he met Foreign Secretary, Mr Douglas: Hurd, at an independence banquet on Wednesday night in

Windhoek.

Mr Mandela offered to meet Mr Hurd for talks yesterday, but Mr Hurd had to return to Britain, the Foreign Office said.

It said no mention was made of a possible meeting with Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, who invited Mr Mandela for talks "when his 27-year imprisonment ended last month.

Mr Mandela is to visit

London at Easter for an international rock concert and rally celebrating his freedom.

The ANC disagrees with Britains's call for easing â\200\234sanctions against South Africa, following Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s release. and critics of Mrs Thatcher claimed Mr Mandela was signalling his displeasure by not replying to her invitation. â\200\224 Sapa-AP.

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FROM PAGE |

courseâ\204¢ (of talking to the South African Government). His visit was not one of reward but he hoped the United States might_help to â\200\230encourage the South African Government to continue on its reform path and create a non-racial democracy.

After talks with â\200\230the State President and Mr Botha, Mr Baker said South Africa had taken irreversible steps.

US sources said he was â\200\234not amusedâ\204¢ at suggestions he should hear only one side, that of the

NC, -

Mr Baker's statement about an â\200\234irreversible processâ\204¢ was taken to be a diplomatic contradiction of the ANC claim.,

-

Bakei', ANC clash

Emerging from Tuynhuys with Mr De Klerk and Mr Botha after more than an hour of talks yesterday afternoon, â\200\234Mr Baker said the talks had been â\200\234very interesting, candid and constructiveâ\200\235,

â\200\234If I may quote what you told me, Mr President, you are engaged here in South Africa in an irreversible process and will follow it to its logical conclusion.â\200\235

Mr Baker said Mr Botha had told him the government was determined to lift the state of emergency and to release pol-

itical prisoners.

An American journalist asked Mr De Klerk whether it was intended that Blacks should have equal votes and that a Black could * become President.

â\200\234I've just asked for a mandate to attain exactly that, and we are working towards it,â\200\235 the State President replied. *

At the same time was intended to protect minority rights so that there would be neither minority domination nor simply majority domination in the new South Africa.

Asked whether the diplomatic contacts he had this week, including the visit of Mr Baker, were helpful to the reform process, Mr De Klerk said: â\200\234I would hope so, yesâ\200\235.

â\200\234The whole constructive interest in South Africa and Southern Africa by the total international community, and particularly America, is helpful in creating an atmosphere that is conducive to peaceful change and to peaceful reform.â\200\235

Questioned further about the so-called obstacles to negotiation, Mr De Klerk said these would be examined at the meeting with the ANC on April 11, and he did not wish to prejudge the issues. :

is-

. Mr De Klerk, Mr Botha, and Mr Baker all confirmed that sanctions had not been discussed during yesterday's meetings.

- It was a great â\200\230honour to"., be visited by the US Secretary of State, which indicated the interest of the United States as one of the leading world powers, said Mr De Klerk.

They discussed various issues of common concern, including reconciliation in Angola and Mozambique, the bilateral relations between the us and South Africa, and to exchange perspectives on developments in South Africa.

Asked whether his proposed visit to Washington was discussed, Mr De Klerk replied: "The question of the visit was mentioned and certain practicalities were discussed."

Asked whether any date had been set, he replied: "Not at this stage."

"The US-South African talks were also attended by Dr . Piet Koornhof,

South African Ambassador to Washington, Mr Leod Wessels, South African Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Mr Bill Swing, US Ambassador to South Africa.

"Earlier Mr De Klerk

told the media: I was impressed by the positive spirit in which all the discussions took place."

"It is clear that high expectations, have been raised. But, on the other hand, there was marked realism for the complexity of the situation in South and Southern Africa."

The queue of leaders seeking to meet Mr De Klerk continued yesterday. After Mr Baker's visit, the State President received the Prime Minister of Somalia, Mr Mohamed Ali Samanter, and its Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Ahmen Jarna Abdulle. s st

Later he met the Prime Minister of Mauritius, Sir Anerood Jugnauth, .

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SA doespâ\200\231t.deserve Qur

By DAVID BRAUN,
P " The Starâ\200\231s
Foreign News Service
WASHINGTON â\200\224 The Us
should not accept the corporate
responsibility of picking up the
tab for disadvantaged South

Africans, when the country it-
self is so richly endowed with
wealth and knowhow to do this
itself, a leading US Congress-
man has said.

Mr Bill Gray, third-ranking
Democrat in the US House of
Representatives, told a break-
fast meeting of the Carnegie
Endowment ' for International
Reace in Washington this week
that he was increasingly op-
posed to the idea of subsidising
the victims of apartheid.
~It was totally untrue for
South Africans to point at chil-
dren suffering from hunger and
ralnutrition and say that this
was the result of international
sanctions, he said.

" The cause of such suffering
and deprivation in such a beau-
tiful and wealthy land was the
system of apartheid, he said.

Mr Gray said: â\200\234Are we play-
ing a constructive role by put-
ting US foreign aid into the

United States Congressman
Bill Gray.
bantustans created by the re-
.gime to maintain the system of

apartheid? If we are then I
have a problem because wWe are
allowing the South African
Government not to face up to
its own creation.â\200\235

He said the US should not be
doing what the South African
Government could and should
be doing for its own people.
South Africa had the resources,
the technology and the capabil-
ity to'solve its problems.

Mr Gray said even the most
conservative member of the
US Congressional delegation
which recently visited South

Africa would not be in favour of contributing US funds towards building a new hospital for Soweto, when Baragwanath was 300 percent occupied while the white Johannesburg Hospital down the road was never used at a rate of more than 50 percent.

â\200\234Why should the US provide health services or build a new hospital in Soweto? We should

_provide pressure so the hospi;-

tal down the road can be used, he said.

He said that if anyone really believed South Africaâ\200\231s problems were created by sanctions, he had a bridge he could . sell them really cheap.

â\200\234Who created the homelands? Who decides how much is spent on black education and black health care versus Afrikaner education and health care, and then says I am the cause (of black suffering)? We will never accept that argument,â\200\235 he said.

â\200\224_â\200\224

Telp,z US Congress

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Mr Gray said he had been greatly encouraged by his recent visit to South Africa.

In 1986, when he was last in the country, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha had told him that never under any circumstances would the Government negotiate with the ANC, who were Marxist communists.

â\200\234He said I could go back to America and do anything I wanted to, as this would not affect South Africaâ\200\231s internal affairs. He said we should go ahead with sanctions; they would have no effect on the Government. All they would do would be to have an effect on the black majority.

â\200\234This time, Pik Botha said:
â\200\230Mr Gray, won't you please lift these sanctions?â\200\231 The Afrikaner

businessmen we spoke to said
the same thing,â\200\235 he said.

Mr Gray said this was not
the time to lift sanctions
against South Africa. However,
he and other Congressional
leaders had reacted positively
to recent developments in
South Africa by agreeing not to
pursue additional sanctions at
this stage.

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HMolding fast fo

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r the establishment of a one-party State

ugabe still

' : By Robin Drew, The Starâ\200\231s Africa News Service

HARARE â\200\224 Flying in the face of the world trend

. ' "to opening up political systems to competing par-

: â\200\234â\200\234ties, Zimbabweâ\200\231s Robert Mugabe is holding fast to

: " his support for the one party State.

~ Zimbabwe, 10 years after independence, still op-
erates under the multiparty system.

" But President Mugabe has made it clear that

he would like to see the single party concept made

mandatory by law.

â\200\234* He told questioners in a radio interview: â\200\234I can-
not see the multiparty system thriving in Africa

; " "today. It may do so in time, but only after a lot of

! V' upheavals.â\200\235

He said that in African countries generally, and

! "'certainly in Zimbabwe, opposition parties were not

! â\200\234-prepared to act only in the political field.

: â\200\234You will never get peace,â\200\235 he said, referring to

â\200\234â\200\234the fighting in Matabeleland when Zapu and Zanu

v*(PF) existed as separate parties. Two years ago

they signed a pact to unite and the dissident rebel-

! " "lion ended.

He referred also to alleged attempts by the
exiled opposition leader, the Rev Ndabaningi Sith-

. "â\200\231 ole, to foment rebellion and accused the Zimbabwe

- Unity Movement leader, Mr Edgar Tekere, of going

~ along the same road. ;

7" Mr Mugabeâ\200\231s second objection to the existence of

other political parties was that they were often

"â\200\234based on tribal affiliations.

! He believed the one party system could have a

- multiparty functional approach within it.

â\200\234 The one party should encompass as many people

, as possible and as many shades of political opinion.

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MANY DIFFERENT VIEWS

The party would have access to as many views as possible. There should be competition for posts within the central committee and parliament. It would be an open field, though regulated so that

7 tribalism did not dominate. At the end of the day, he said, with one party, the decisions of the majority become binding. We

all move as one.

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rowing against the

\RSD

! after next week's general election (March 28, 29), .

At the recent inaugural congress of the United Zanu (PF) party, congress adopted the following aims and objects including the commitment to seek to establish a one-party State. i 9 Mr Tekere's Zimbabwe Unity Movement, which "is presenting the main challenge to Mugabe, says it is very much against the single party idea.

A Zimbabwean columnist contributing to the debate in the weekly Financial Gazette said: "Let us accept the fact that we Africans are politically different: We cannot tolerate political differences.

If you do not belong to my party but to the other - party, you are my enemy. You are not my rival or opponent, because there is no such concept or word

in Shona and Ndebele. The writer, using the word unipartism, said that above all, unipartism ends the inherent factional feuds and fights that inevitably result from multipartism. The columnist favoured a de facto one-party State brought about by effective organisation of the masses as against a one-party State imposed "by law which, he said, was like a house without doors or windows. . Yo

Prudence demands that we avoid getting into a haste because we shall not be able to get ity demands that we do so.

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STAR AFRICA NEWS 22 March 1990

#

Baker shrugs off ANC's

Political Correspondent
CAPE TOWN - United States
Secretary of State Mr James
Baker said after meeting President de Klerk here yesterday
that he had come to South Africa
to show we approve of the
direction in which South Africa
is moving.

Shrugging off opposition from
the ANC to his visit, he gave little
indication that he had put
pressure on South Africa.

He had not pressed for a timetable
for the lifting of the state
of emergency.

President de Klerk, and the US Secretary
of State in 12 years. Mr Baker said

The Star Friday

ry of State, Mr James Baker,
his visit was to show that America approved
moving.

He believed the Government

wanted to lift it and hoped the
circumstances would arise
which would allow it to be lifted
while ensuring safety.

Mr de Klerk also had meetings
at Tuynhuys with the
Prime Minister of Somalia, Mr
Mohamed Ali Samatar, and the
Prime Minister of Mauritius, Sir

Anerood Jugnauth.

A spokesman for Mr de Klerk
said these were spill-overs from
the round of contacts with international
leaders in Namibia earlier
this week.

Mr Baker had a day of meetings

ings with ANC and UDF leaders under Mr Govan Mbeki, a lunch with Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and other Ministers, and a meeting with Mr de Klerk.

Mr Baker had a meeting in the former Prime Minister's residence, Groote Schuur, with Mr Botha, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee and Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerriit Viljoen.

Earlier, Mr Baker came under fire from the ANC/UDF delegation during a meeting at

talk to reporters after the highest level meeting between the two directions in which South Africa was

position to visit

the residence of the US ambassador.

Mr Mbeki, a member of the ANC national executive committee, said the ANC was not happy with Mr Baker's visit to the Government.

By staying away, Mr Baker would have kept up the pressure on South Africa which the ANC was demanding.

The ANC told Mr Baker that America should not relax pressure until it was clear that SA had no way of going back.

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mean

I read your news report (The Star, March 1) of Mr Mandela's statement in which he said that it was too bad if the Jews of South Africa were alienated as the truth about the similarity between the struggle of the ANC and that of the PLO must be faced squarely by those exploring the possibility of lasting solutions or did he mean final solution,

shades of Eichman, what? i i

" Now, take this statement together with the video of Winnie Mandela broadcast by the SABC a little while back. I heard and saw her shake

something in her hand and shout to a large hysterical audience: We still have boxes of matches and necklaces to give us victory.

I have never in my entire life heard such malicious words of savagery uttered by a woman. The horror of it brought back after so many years what I saw and heard during the last war: a tank on fire and a man scrambling out through the turret, his uniform and hair on fire, screaming in an animal-like voice: Kill me, please kill me.

By the time we ran up to assist in whatever

way, he had collapsed; and died. His face, if one could call it that, had swollen tremendously and burst completely.

I would like to put the following questions to Mrs Helen Suzman: you have devoted many years to standing up and being counted on moral and social issues and have been courageous in your demands for the release of Nelson Mandela against all odds. I am a grandfather, as I am sure you are a grandmother. I am not afraid of death at my age, I have faced it before.

But as a Jew, like you, what do I tell my beloved children and grandchildren, whom I love as wonderful upstanding citizens? I have great pride in them, so I ask you once more, for your comment and advice, or do I, God forbid, wait and meet you on the way to the gas chambers or the necklace

death?

Mandela . . . criticised for PLO statement.

asked to
explain.

Suzman ...

Julius Sher
Hillbrow :

I am moved to commend Kgosisile Mokgosi. for:
exposing the hypocrisy beneath the chartensts:â\200\231
claims of being the â\200\234Mass Democratic Movement'
(Mandela intolerant of many who fought on same
sideâ\200\235). :

By)coincidence, The Star of the same date had on
page 6 a story lending credence to Mokgosiâ\200\231s
claims, â\200\234Azapo claims UDF attackâ\200\235. -

â\200\234The Azanian Peopleâ\200\231s Organisation (Azapo)
claimed in a statement issued to Sapa yester-
day that six Azasm members were attacked anc,i,
another abducted by UDF members in Mohlakeng,â\200\235
part of the report reads. :

Ideological bedfellows of Mr Mandela have in
the past visited murder and mayhem on their ad- .
versaries.) R

Suffice it to say the euphoria sul:round_xng Mr
Mandelaâ\200\231s seemingly democratic behe.fs.wxll soon
be extinguished by the ideological Stalinism of his
bedfellows. Remember, when Azapo came out une-
quivocally against that barbaric form of political
murder, the â\200\234necklaceâ\200\235, his wife attempted to
glorify it with her infamous â\200\234with our necklaces

d matchesâ\200\235 speech. How soon we forget ...
5 peec Dr Gomolemo Mokae

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â\200\230final â\200\230solutionâ\200\231?

Ga-Rankuwa -

THE CITIZEN -

Friday 23 March 1990

- Back

Viva M
â\200\230Viva Mandelaâ\200\231

DURBAN. â\200\224 The

writing on the walls in

some of Natalâ\200\231s town-
ships has changed since
Mr Nelson Mandela
called for residents to
throw their weapons
into the sea.

â\200\234Itâ\200\231s more â\200\230Viva MKâ\200\231
(Umkhontu we Sizwe, the
ANCâ\200\231s military wing),
â\200\230Viva Chris Haniâ\200\231 (MK
commander)â\200\235, notes re-
searcher Gavin Woods.

African National Con-
gress supporters in these
areas cut out the image of
Mr Mandela they had
previously worn embla-
zoned on their T-shirts.
leaving their stomachs
bare â\200\224 this to protest the
peace call and also Mr
Mandelaâ\200\231s acknowledge-
ment that Inkatha Presi-
dent Mangosuthu Buthe-
lezi had played a part in
the struggle against apart-
heid.

â\200\234They go as far as say-
ing 'Mandela-Uteleweniâ\200\231
â\200\224 Mandela is Inkatha.â\200\235

Bizarre

The violence in Natal is
played out in a bizarre
terrain of intricatÃ© â\200\234allegi-
ances, with a simple home
base: poverty.

Mr Woods. who heads
the Inkatha Institute in
Durban, said more than
90 percent of the violence
was caused by youths
frustrated by poverty.
Various elements had
tapped into, and were
continuing to spur on the
killing.

â\200\234Statistics show there

have been no additional
Black jobs created in the
last nine years in the for-

mal economy against a
population growth rate of
about 4 percent in these
areas.

â\200\234So a young person
getting a matric today
stands almost no chance
of getting a job. Karl

Marx said poverty rad--

icalises people. to the
point of violence if they
have expectations for a
better future. That cer-
tainly holds true here.â\200\235
Mr Woods said 50 per
cent of Blacks were 17 or
younger. Many in the af-
fected areas were born
out of wedlock; they had
no stabilising force, no
value system and â\200\234a lack
of appreciation for human
lifeâ\200\235. Violence for them
had become a way of life.

It was a media myth
that it was simply political
elements which had
tapped this situation.
There were also criminal
elements involved.

â\200\234There are groups
called Inkatha and there
are groups called UDF.
â\200\234There are related
groups. Some of them
might be Theleweni or
Telex which are consider-
ed Inkatha-related.

Comrades

â\200\234There are three differ-
ent forms of Comrades:
Comrade Os â\200\224 originals.
Comrade Gs â\200\224 genuines
and. comrade Ts â\200\224 Tso-
sis,â\200\235 terms used by . the
youths themselves.

The Amaqabane were
another grouping appar-
ently with UDF allegi-
ances.

â\200\234These groups might
start off with political in-
put but (then) develop
their own dynamic, their
own identity and go and
do their own thing. Power
comes are important:
wargames. When they

rush over a hill at night to
attack they do it with
great joy. The singing,
the victory, the territorial
gain, the material gain.
the raping of young
girls.â\200\235 ;

There are other groups
involved in the violence
which have never been

â\200\234 politically connected, like

the A-team, the Ninjas
and the Wild Dogs. The
biggest of these groups in
Durban, responsible for a
lot of the conflict there, is
the Amasinyora.

Mr Woods said it was
accepted that people like
Mr Mandela and ANC in-
ternal leader Walter Sis-
ulu were sincere in their
call for peace. Chief Bu-
thelezi had risked his life
toward the same end by
going into troubled areas
against the advice of the
police.

But political instigation
was a major factor in the
violence, nevertheless.
Youth allegiances had
shifted recently toward
the UDF-ANC alliance,
â\200\234because thatâ\200\231s where the
bigger promises are being
made for a better futureâ\200\235.

Inkatha youths had be-
come intimidated.
â\200\234They've lost the war,â\200\235
said Mr Woods. Figures
showed Inkatha losses far
exceeded UDF losses in
the conflict.

Superficial

The majority of youths
fighting under a particular
banner, however, when
questioned, knew little
about these organisa-
tions. â\200\234Their political ap-
preciation is very super-
ficial. They donâ\200\231t know
the ideologies, they donâ\200\231t
know the policies.

â\200\234Almost always â\200\224 es-

. pecially on the UDF side

â\200\224 they have no formal

connection with those organisations.

â\200\234One must question what is an Inkatha area, what is a UDF area. Possibly 90 to 95 percent, of those people have very little interest in politics.

â\200\234We have a situation in Pietermaritzburg where 200 people have totally intimidated communities

of 15000 and placed a

political label on that whole community. Then the community gets attacked for that label.

â\200\234The tragedy is that the people who often get killed are those that have little interest in politics.â\200\235

The institute had investigated allegations that South African security forces had sought to keep

ground to Natal violence

replaces

the violence going by siding on each occasion with the weaker group. Nothing had been proved, however.

Poverty was worse and more concentrated in Natal and the security forces, which had eliminated violence elsewhere in the mid-80s, had not stopped it in Natal. The excuse had been the difficulty of monitoring the tough, hilly terrain. The institute was not in a position to judge that statement, said Mr Woods.

To end the violence, the leadership of the parties involved had to come together to solve it. Police had to crack down on instigators, both political and criminal. But the biggest effort had to be made on the socio-economic front. â\200\234We have to put something back into the lives of the youth, show them something obtainable.â\200\235

When it began

Mr. Woods said the present violence had started in the late 1970s. A united Zulu front had seemed to pose a threat to those organisations vying for power.

Several incidents in the 1980s, like the killing of human rights activist Griffiths Mxenge, in Um-lazi â\200\224 attributed to Inkatha at the time although now alleged hit-squad members are claiming responsibility â\200\224 might have sparked the violence.

The first violence of the present type had taken place at Sibantu when a UDF faction had killed Azapo members and driven them from the area.

The Star Friday March 23 1990 X 11

Mandela book
vividly portrays
pain of struggle

By ESMARE VAN DER MERWE,
Political Reporter

Mr Nelson Mandela was torn away from more than
the liberation struggle when he was locked up 26
years ago. He left behind his young wife Winnie,

small children and a sad-eyed dog named Kruschev.

The human side of Mr Mandela's life, in and out of
jail, is detailed in a pictorial tribute published
Penguin Books this week.

Mandela: Echoes of an Era could not have
produced by two more fitting people - the
Star photographer Alf Kumalo, who started his ca-
reer on the newspaper Bantu World, and
Mphahlele, now executive chairman of the /Funda
Centre in Soweto, literary editor of Drum
in the 1950s and the author of several books.

Both men have had close ties with the Mandela
family for decades.

Kumalo presents a vivid picture of Mandela the
politician and the family man. More than that,
though, the soft-cover book portrays a struggle from
which Mandela was physically barred for almost
three decades.

Other people who have influenced history in their
own right come to life: Steve Biko, Robert Sobukwe,
Joe Slovo, Ruth First and Walter Sisulu.

POIGNANT

" A poignant picture is of a man clutching his life-
line - a much-dreaded pass book - the only pos-
session he saved from his burning house.

Violent clashes between the police and the black
youth during the turbulent 1970s: cross-border secu-
rity force raids into Botswana,

Succumbing to personal emotion, perhaps, the
book contains a picture of Kumalo and Mandela
meeting after so many years. Remarkably, but self-
flatteringly, accompanied by a letter written by
Mandela to Kumalo from jail.

Mphahlele's sober text beautifully complements
the visual portrayal.

Mphahlele, former general secretary of the Transvaal African Teachers' Association, in 1951 asked Mr Mandela for the ANC's backing for a campaign against the 'immense onslaught on the African children's minds' through Bantu Education.

Mr Mandela, then president of the Youth League,

. Said education would be addressed after liberation.

Said the author: 'When the Bantu Education Act broke upon us in 1953, needless to say, the ANC leadership were caught with their pants down. There were hurried, desperate directives for the masses to boycott the law by pulling their children out of the schools, which were from then on going to be under State control.'

ey BITTER : !

Mphahlele's version of the history of the liberation struggle is accurate and sympathetic, yet unbiased. He notes that the cause for which Mr Mandela and others have sacrificed their lives has at last been

acknowledged by the Nationalist government.

Understandably, his final comments on a circle, nearly completed, are somewhat bitter.

'Yet how many martyrs has it taken and will it yet take to bring down political tyranny of this magnitude, of such-long duration? And what of the men who called Mandela a terrorist, leader of an organisation that stood for violence? Verwoerd, Vorster, both dead, and Botha forced out of power by his party. :

'Can President de Klerk deny that he takes equal

- responsibility for Cabinet decisions taken from time to time to keep Mandela and the other political

lifers behind bars?

'When finally the heart of white South Africa is ripped open for all to see, will its conscience yet acknowledge the irreparable damage it has inflicted on thousands of lives on this side of the colour line?'

It is a pity that some reproductions of Kumalo's

excellent pictures are poor in quality. And that some of the quotations of Mandela are not dated.

'Mandela's Echoes of an era' is published by gugu Books and costs R49,99 (excluding

Nearly 30 years a

Âç

it ... Nelson and Winnie in 1961 (top) and this year

(bottom), two of the shots captured by Star photographer Alf Kumalo.

dh egrgus

The Cape's largest daily newspaper

CAPE TOWN, FRIDAY

| mission in Khoyel

of the ;WvChurd1 and SMer

B y SHARON SOROUR 3

Staff Reporter i

| MISSIONARIES of Â¢ cmity & Mother

Teresa's mission in Khayelitsha â\200\224

has been given R16 000 by the Miss

Switzerland Organisation.

- According to the organisation's di-
rectors, Mr Josef Martin Moser .and -

s wife Mrs Annemarie Moser-Mur- %esad
ach the annual Miss Switzerland -

beauty competition falls under the
auspices of the Miss Switzerland Or-
ganisation.

Proceeds of the gala event â\200\224 about
R90000 â\200\224 are given to handicapped
children worldwide every year, said
Mr Moser. Â£

esa S mission

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.,.,â\200\230_â\200\230For the p

- "for handicap

60c (53 + 7c GST) Country 70c (62 + 8c GST)
MARCH 23 1990

gift for

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â\200\234The organisatwn falls under the
~one of the largest pri-
visions for handi-
the world, the Va-

riety Club Interna
, 10 years we have giv-
rt to diverse homes
children ... as the
is not needed in Svntzerland,â\200\235

*â\200\230The present Miss Switzerland, Kar-
ina Berger presented the R16 000
cheque to Sister Audrey of the mis- 1
sion: â\200\230

The money will go towards a building for mentally handicapped and retarded children, which is already under construction

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i ?l From GAVIN BELL in Johannesburg and RICH MKHONDO in Edondale :

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Â«yand Mr Neson Mandeln, who are Bipeests conerii 1 il

â\200\234wV'both vying for leadership of South J.uppom by sough A[i-\202m secu-

wnl

NricasZulus. will hold their first. . â\200\235{,â\200\231.i-\201?â\200\231â\200\234." mf t
h rl X

-(.meetinglnsoyears on Tuesday to Y . 'nig e rival factions

call for an end to the violence ij thated' gunfire for a fourth day as

between their followers. :

ey nnd hundreds wounded: Â¥

And yesterday Presldent â\200\230De.

Klerk warned that the Soath Afri-{:

can Government would be obllged'7

to use â\200\234the full weight of its powerâ\200\235: |,

-t â\200\230g r:as"t::â\200\231 law and order if .violence. = pedple have been â\200\230hur
t! It's in the

â\200\230I . 7 hu 8" 3

u. Â»Mr De Klerk told the Oupe Tovm * md Y pollce R

i Press Club that â\200\234unbridled protest *

a. -politicsâ\200\235, conflict between rival'\$g

- .groups in strife-torn Natal province iÂ«

,+land threats :of lnti-black action i

.+ from the far'right-meant â\200\234serious i, order werÃ©

gangers for the oo\mtrys reform . night,
â\204¢ â\200\230s gunfire, but no officers were seri-

.The rlght-wlng Cohservative sously hurt, Major Kitchin |
â\200\234 ;:tr'tyml,lâ\200\231:se l;l:umed ' ;2: l)l:cÃ@leas:d Bou{h A;ï~\201canajurmy troop
sg iife
â\200\230natlo strife on erk's i port]n

,.'relorms and the eountrgâ\200\231a laxâ\200\235 â\200\230sup Â\$SpoTiN.. comutions, e

. ,atmosphere, Â¢ - e Bands of between 2000 and 4000
Â»~. More than 1000 people have been! % â\200\230arm

% Killed during the past two years, In, Surives b ity iad s, Spears,
. Â«fighting in Natal province between

W supporters of Mr Mandela's Afri-""

hill country.

in at any time. It's a terrible sit-
Juationâ\200\235 Â©

ambushed during the
Units came under heavy

. CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi â\200\230ouss National Obsigress id-Oietâ\200\235

5 thousands of refugees fled fighting:
T that has left at least 36 people dead -

Pt)elce saidâ\200\231 many moreâ\200\231 probably â\200\231
killed â\200\230or>hurt i{n:the rugged

i/ â\200\234lt's impossible to say how meny i

"â\200\234It's: very' tense.â\200\231 lt could erupt

Police patrols trying to restoreâ\200\231

. Edendale sald:

/knives and clubs had been roaming .
t.he area, attacking and burning vil-
lages. residents sud Police said at

.

least 250 homes had beÃ©n burned.

Mr Mandela and.OChlef Buthelezi
will address a rally at â\200\230Taylor's Halt,
a town on the di of Pleter-
maritzburg that has been a flash-
poini of the intense strife.

Chief Buthelezi, who is also Chief
Minister of the)fKwaZulu tribal
homeland, said yÃ©sterday that the
three-year-old stateofâ\200\231 emergency

should be lifted to help to stop the violence. v esifr

- He said emergency law had be-

come self-defeating and appealed -

to employers in the Pietermaritzburg area to allow workers to attend Tuesday's rally.

An ANC spokesman confirmed the arrangements, saying: "People are dying horrendously in Natal

and that is why we are fighting ahead with this as soon as possible

A priest in the Ntshong town of

cedure has collapsed and the leadership on both sides gave up trying to control its members to restore peace in the area.

N
"One young ANC fighter, John Mbatia, 14, looked weary. At the fighting umpire said:

keeps on running. We have

The legal pro--

:possmvo than that of the Ovambo

a bath or proper food for three days, he said, -

Mbatia's mother and two sisters were huddled in a church with scores of others seeking refuge.

"When I was running away from my burning house I heard our attackers chanting Inkatha slogans as they went from hut to hut, burning, shooting and bayoneting. women and children," Mbatia's mother said. v

Mbatia's friend Annief Bikhakhane said her brother was killed on Wednesday, 21

They broke into his house, shot him at point-blank range. It was four in the afternoon. He was not politically active at all, she said.

The South African Foreign Minister, Mr Roelof Botha, called on the Australian Government yes-

"terday to join several other foreign

leaders in accepting that change in South Africa are irreversible,

' He sald! some Bouth Africans
might have. hoped the Liberal
Party would win the Australian:

. elections because its policy t,owards-

South Africa "â\200\234is ostÃ@sibly more}

ment"â\200\235. '.â\200\230
m "Nines, Reuten AFP

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LN A IR AW 4 nciy 'y - amamac

Lanee -

iâ\200\231. | IT is clear to even the *
%:. | most obtuse observqr
%" | that the orchestrated -

| campaign to stir unrest
in the homelands can be
laid at the door of the
{ ANC.
| The "destruction of
| what could be recalci-
| trant power bases which
{ are anti-ANC can clear-
| ly not be allowed to sur-
vive if the ANC wants to
sit at the negotiation
ble â\200\234on an equal basisâ\200\235

with the NP as has been |

stated on more than one
occasion by ANC repre- |
sentatives.

The fact that the un-|

4 | rest in the TBVC states
. | started at the same time

is clear evidence that a
campaign of destabilisa-
tion . destined to put
ANC puppets into
power in those nationsis |
the ANC's plan.

Few Black govern-
| ments can Tesist upns-
ings based on terrorising
the . local population.
These campaigns can
only be matched by ter-

ror, something which is

clearly not palatable to
some homeland leaders.

The ANCâ\200\231s "denials

1 that they are*behind the

campaign fall on- deaf
ears; - their statement
that unrest "is also
occurring in Kwa Zulu
and Natal (which'is not
independent) holds no
water. The Zulus are the
only real .obstacles to a
complete ANC takeover
(the ANC being largely
Xhosa controlled), and
Chief Butheleziâ\200\231s power
base must be destroyed.
Gazankulu is also being

| destablised because its

|lcader Dr. Hudsoq

â\200\230Ntsanww1 is not cn-;

amoured enough of the |
| ANC. Enos Mabusa of |
Kangwane is being left |
alone because he has |
| come out openly in the

; past as an ANC suppor-
tcr :

Terror

__The wuse of terror tac-

tics to accomplish politi-
cal goals is a trump Âçard
for the ANC revolution-
aries. While Mandela
has been feted both here
and abroad by liberals
who refuse to make the
mental quantum leap
â\200\230between what he says
- and what his cadres do,
the comrades are busy
| taking over the town-
| ships by the use of tactics
| which are almost impos-
| sible to prevent unless
| similar tactics are used.

The use of terror is as
old as Africa itself, and
| this continentâ\200\231s history is
| replete with the coming
to power of tyrants who
sumply terrorised whole
tribes into submission. =
| It would appear that '
nothmg has changed S
{ and unl&ss White South "~
{ Africa can come up with
| â\200\230an antidote â\200\230o terror, it

will not be long before -
| the country is paralysed -
through the use of terror
-in the townshlps and thc ;
workplaces. â\200\230 â\200\230

QUOTABLE QUOTES

Government |s Ready to
Negotiate with This Man

OLIVER Tambo is
still the number one
man in the ANC, with
the released Nelson
Mandela now the
ANC's deputy presi-
-dent. ;

In the not so distant
future, the NP govern-
ment will be negotia-
ting with the ANC's
numero uno Oliver
Tambo, the man
shown to South Africa
as a+ ailing in-
cumbent, as a quiet
and gentle and as a
doting grandfather.

Below are some of
Tambo's recent quot-
able quotes which are
self-explanatory. It
would be interesting to
know whether Mr. de
Klerk and his negotiat-
ing team will challenge
Tambo on them.

people for seizure of
power
Presidential

8.1.8: We must al-
take it as a priority task
to build up the popular
armed forces by help-
ing to root Umkhonto
we Sizwe firmly among
the people and actively
draw the masses into
the prosecution of a

people's war.

World Marxist Rc-'i'. o4

view, December 1975:
This is why the ANC
has decided to raise
the liberation move-
fment to a new and
higher level. Its strat-
egic objective is to
f mobilise the masses of

. manufacture

Mr 'TambÃ© .
Radio Fr

8.5.85: â\200\234Ambushes

must be prepared for
policemen - and sol-

diers. Our people must
~home-

â\200\230Ad-
" dress,â» ANC Executive

. White areas.

c;dom %5

â\200\234made bombs . . . our

people must identify
collaborators and ene-
my agents and deal
with them . . . the
puppets in the trica-
meral parliament must
be destroyed.â\200\235

Dar Es Salaam
6.9.85: â\200\234The struggle

must spread beyond.

the boundaries of the
Black ghettos to the
It will
continue to spread
until it engulfs the
whole country.â\200\235

Washington Post
9.9.85: â\200\234There is going

" to â\200\230be more bloodshed
and the whole country -

will be involved.â\200\235

Washington

Radio
12.11.85:

â\200\230 Times
. 10.1.86: â\200\234I am absolu- |
tely certain many civil- |
ians will be caught in |
; the crossfire. We are |
-saying South Africa
- must bleed and dieâ\200\235

Freedom*

â\200\234It is now
â\200\234time that we take the -

arena of our battle to
the White suburbs .
soft targets may get hit
in the process.â\200\235

New York Times
24.1.87: â\200\234Killing
Whites is an action
that gives hope to
Blacks and makes
White South Africans
used to bleeding.â\200\235

Interview with Brit-
ish journalist Richard |
Dowden 14.6.88:
â\200\234There might be mis-
givings when a bomb
goes off in the wrong
place but generally a-
struggle which hurts is
very welcome.â\200\235

sents â\200\234the system

- when the thin line be-
tween government
power and revolutionary
power has been crossed,

|in the minds of Blacks

who are - now working
. within the system, they
~will simply have to fall in
â\200\234line with the more
powerful of the two sys-
- tems. One cannot expect
" Blacks to be loyal to
| White South Africaâ\200\231s
- system when a gun is
- held to their heads or a.
| panga is placed on their
. throats.

It is clear that the
" ANC intends to esta-
blish military bases in
the independent- and
self-governing ~ home-
â\200\230lands when they are un-
â\200\230der the ANCâ\200\231s control
»and that this, coupled
with their cadres in
South Africaâ\200\231s industry
and mines, will be the
power base necessary to
demand the surrender of

\$the National Party to
\ANC rule

By holding out on ne-
gotiations, the ANC' is
pushing the government |
into making more and
more concessions in or-
der to save face. Having
put â\200\234its ~eggs into the

basket of â\200\234negotiat-
ionsâ\204ç, â\200\230the NP wpust now
find someone with

}_yâ\200\230hom_ 10 negotiate..

Thc â\200\230press is bcnn

â\200\230Used to punt the line that
; â\200\234Vcrwocrdlan

apan-

Anyone who l'epre~

| target for terror, and 3

|_heid has failed, that the
{ "homelands system can-â\200\231
| not survive. -

|~ Of course it cannot
survive when the gov-
| ernment allows ANC
| puppets to. destabilise

â\200\2304 Black nationalists who
'| committed

themselves
to the NPâ\200\231s policy of in-
dependence. A policy -
works if you make it
work; it fails when you
allow it to fail.

Press reports about
corruption, nepotism
and wasteful spending in
South Africaâ\200\231s home-
lands are on every street
corner, but corruption
and nepotism are ende-
mic to dozens of Third
| World countries, espec- |
ally in Africa. One does
| not only find this type of
| thing in the Ciskei.

These â\200\234reasonsâ\200\235 for
the removal of home-
land leaders are simply
red herrings to mask the
fact that the ANC will
soon control the home-
lands, courtesy of the
South African govern-
ment who simply cannot
be trusted to stand up to
the ANC's â\200\230march to
power on the carpet of
â\200\234world opin-

Â»

ionâ\200\235.

NELSON Mandela's intercession with State President Mr. F W de Klerk over a hunger strike by more than 300 prisoners on Robben Island begs the question: what did Mr. de Klerk promise Mandela in order to stop the strike?

Mandela told an ANC congress in Lusaka that after telephoning Justice Minister Kobie Coetzee about the hunger strikers, he (Mandela) was expecting "good news" about the situation. "Af

"Political" prisoners in Pretoria and Johannesburg said they would also join the hunger strikes on Robben Island to demand their unconditional release.

Hunger striking has become a convenient modus operandi by those who do not wish to stay in prison, and many detainees were released last year because of the "bad publicity" which the government feared if prisoners died in jail.

Which brings to mind the question: if it is so easy to twist the government's arm to release prisoners, for what do we have a judicial system which puts them in jail in the first place?

Political perceptions on who will be South Africa's boss in five years time have changed, and it would seem that many Whites are now hedging their bets. Certain members of the judiciary could be included in this group.

The Natal chief of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, Lulamile Xate, received a surprisingly light sentence last week in Durban.

Convicted of, inter alia, attempted murder

Pririer - 23;/3//990-" =

after a bomb explosion at Grosvenor Girls' High School, a lenient sentence of five years imprisonment was given, and this term is to run concurrently with a jail sentence he is presently serving.

In effect, he received no punishment for attempted murder because, as presiding magistrate H.S. van der Walt said, Xate was "clearly an intellectual and a leader" and all his offences were "politically motivated" and they would probably not have been committed "these

daysâ\200\235, given the new <_:Iimate of reconciliation.

Perhaps Magistrate \?â\200\230m der Walt is not aware of the horrors and terrors being committed in the townships by these same ANCâ\200\231s â\200\234these daysâ\200\235 in order to terrorise the Black population into submission. â\200\230

Van der Walit said that bearing in mind the â\200\234frustrations and valid grievances of Black peopleâ\200\235, he believed Xate could argue that he was very angry.

Using the same rcasoning, there is nothing to stop anyone with a political grievance against the government, from the Right or the Left, to plant bombs and sew destruction because they are also â\200\234frustrated and very angryâ\200\235.

Whose justice and whose set of laws is this magistrate applying? What is the use of jail if one can go without a few meals and be released because you may become an embarrassment to the government?

* What is going on in South Africa anywayâ\200\235

The scene at the Grosvenor-Girls High School in Durbar: after it was bombed. Despite the senselessness of an attack on a school and the possibility that innocent children may have been killed, a Natal magistrate gave a convicted ANC terrorist an effective 0 years in prison for his offence.

â\200\224â\200\224

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's diplomatic success at Windhoek has placed him in a strong position to meet the ANC on April 11.

The diplomatic isolation of Pretoria, and the economic sanctions which it has brought in train, have been perhaps the most telling weapons in the ANC's armoury in the last decade.

Now, in the De Klerk era, the ANC's remarkably effective diplomatic campaign is for the first time facing a similarly effective counter-attack which is reducing the ANC's advantage on the diplomatic front.

In some ways, in fact, President De Klerk is beginning to look like the most subtle and resourceful South African leader since General J C Smuts.

And at last there is some hope that this country's standing in the world community will some day again reach the levels it attained in General Smuts's heyday as a world statesman.

So how do we stand as the first NP-ANC talks are in prospect?

President De Klerk, in making such rapid strides, has shifted the onus back to the ANC who now must take care not to appear before the world to be holding up the movement towards negotiation.

In Mr Nelson Mandela the ANC and South Africa have a leader of exceptional stature who continues to make a strong impression on everyone he meets. In Windhoek this week Mr Mandela was as active on the diplomatic front as Mr De Klerk, with world statesmen beating a path to their both their doors. [

Ice-breaking

Pressure on both for negotiations to begin is becoming irresistible, with the United States in particular, playing an even-handed yet increasingly insistent role in encouraging the parties to talk to one another.

In truth neither party would start

talking just yet if they had a choice. !
Both the ANC and Pretoria have formidable problems in their respective constituencies, the NP having to soothe jittery whites and the ANC being confronted by radicalism, rank indiscipline and mindless violence among a lost generation of black youth.

i
In Natal/kwaZulu the violence has |
become sheer unmitigated horror, !
going way beyond politics .into the |
realms of nightmare. It may well :
have to run its course. No politician
or leader seems able to do anything
at all to stop it.

Meanwhile, the NP and the ANC ' are still working out their negotiating positions, with Mr De Klerk planning another strategy session in the Transvaal bushveld with his Cabinet. So far his position in the party is : unchallenged. Yet there is still confusion and even some bewilderment in the white suburbs, where people have yet to catch up with political developments, and the far right is making mischief.

The ANC, a broadly-based coalition, has for its part had hardly any time at all to set up internal structures, sort out its political line and communicate it to the masses. There is also considerable scope in its

Diplomatic
â\200\230coup by â\200\234Pe Time
FW de Klerk =

ik

In fact, once the pre-negotiation obstacles have been cleared, the ANC and the NP might find it mutually convenient to settle for a buffer or transition phase of five years or more, setting up an ad hoc government of national unity in which they would include Inkatha and the other significant players to govern while confidence' builds and a democratic constitution is constructed.

The latest statement of the case for a phased transition, coming from Lawrence Schlemmer *, is very convincing.

Yet there is another point of view, as argued by Hans Middelmann on fifteen\2011\230aays ago,

which holds that a protracted transi-

tion would prolong uncertainty, with negative effects on stability and business confidence. Much better get on with it, he says, and forge ahead to the new South Africa.

This approach, let us call it Plan A, favours the immediate election of a constitutional assembly on a basis of universal franchise, as in Namibia, and the use of the excellent Namibian constitution as a working model to be adapted for South African purposes, ushering in majority rule in a year or so with appropriate

safeguards for minorities.

Formidable

In practice, I suspect, the whole process will be much more complex, protracted and untidy. Plan A as it

stands is just not on. For one thing, -

the election of a constituent assem-

: bly at this stage would look to many

whites and others like a total abdication of power, as Marinus Wiechers, a co-architect of the Namibian constitution, has noted.* Meanwhile, the country eagerly awaits the ice-breaking discussions of April 11, in the hope that the pre-negotiation obstacles can be cleared

away and a statement of intent ap- ;

proved.

The key figures remain Messrs De Klerk and Mandela, who are being

drawn steadily closer together by :

their mutual need to be seen to be making headway. May they be spared in health and strength to lead us into the new South Africa.

* In the March issue of the journal Insig.

ranks for tensions over tactics and strategy.

Three ways towards
a new South Africa

From HANS MIDDELMANN (Cape Town):

OBVIOUSLY I did not make myself clear when I wrote about the Namibian constitution (Cape Times, March 21). Gerald Shaw, in his interesting article on March 23, suggests that my proposal, "Plan A", as he calls it. .. favours the immediate

election of a constituent assembly on the basis of universal franchise. .. ushering in majority rule in a year or so with appropriate safeguards for minoritiesâ\200\235.

This, he says â\200\234...is just not on ...' (it would) "...â\200\234look to many whites and others like a total abdication of powerâ\200\235.

What I tried to convey were three propositions to speed us on the way to the new South Africa:

(1) Because we only have vague general statements from all sides about the terms of a new South . African constitution we could use now the new Namibian constitution as a model for discussion and negotiation. This would establish much common ground and quickly highlight the differences that must be resolved.

1(2) For the government of the new South Africa to â\200\230have legitimacy, internally and externally, it must be elected by universal franchise. That franchise, together with the fundamental principles of human rights, must be enshrined in a constitution that is itself entrenched, as is the new Namibian and all truly democratic constitutions.

(3) The critical issue that South Africa faces is the same that confronts all the countries in Eastern Europe today where governments were elected by â\200\234majority ruleâ\200\235. Using this term, as Gerald Shaw does, as the frightening alternative to our present system of electing our government, confuses the issue. This also applies to the use of â\200\234total abdication of powerâ\200\235. In South Africa governments were elected by a minority of the total population. To establish democracy here it will be necessary to get away from that system of election.

! The crucial issue is to establish the Rule of Law | instead of the rule by self-perpetuating governments,'This can -only come about through the expressed will of the majority of citizens to have an entrenched democratic constitution. There is no other way. Instead of expressing fears about the changes that are needed we should face, instead of postpone, the issues at stake to make South Africa a 'de':nocracy. ! :

ie beiden jungen Frauen,
M die sich vor der weltbe-
riihmten Basilius-Kathe-
e mit den Zwiebelkuppeln
grafieren lassen, zichen alle
ke auf sich. Moskauer Pas-
en und sowjetische Touri-
drehen sich um, bleiben ge-
t stechen und beobachten
beiden neugierig.
timrige Babuschkas in
en Wollmintern mustern
ickt Catherines schicke
chmir-Capejacke. Als sich
Polizist spontan fiir ein Foto
den Missen meldet, stellt
ia erstaunt fest: Â«Das war
kurzem bei uns undenkbar.
nost machtâ\200\231s möglich.Â»
atherine beeindrucken auf
Roten Platz die vielen
zeitspaare, die sich vor
Lenin-Mausoleum geduldig
die endlose Warteschlange
len, um -einen Gladiolen-
uss vor dem Grabmal nieder-
gen. Â«Eine Moskauer Tradi-
v, klirt Maria ihre Kollegin
der Schweiz auf. Â«Nach der
uung geht bei uns die ganze
chzeitgesellschaft als erstes
Sightseeing-Tour durch die
dt.Â» Auch Maria will unserer
issÂ» an einem Tag sdmtliche
enswiirdigkeiten von Moskau
pen. Catherine stehen also
trengende Stunden bevor.
Denn die Acht-Millionen-
tropole an der Moskwa ist
th nicht auf die westliche
sumgesellschaft, die alles
den ersten schnellen Blick
iert bekommen mochte, ein-
teilt. Â«Eine Stadt ohne
chtreklamen, Plakate und
owerbung â\200\224 so etwas habe
noch nie gesehenÂ», wundert
Catherine.
Als sie sich im einzigen
nellimbiss-Restaurant Mos-

kaus einen Hamburger holen
will, erlebt die hiibsche West-
schweizerin ihre nachste Uberra-
schung: Drei Stunden warten die
Moskauer geduldig im 500 Me-
ter langen Gedringe, um sich fiir
finf Rubel (ein Monatsgehalt
betrigt etwa 200 Rubel) ein Â«Big
MacÂ»-Menil zu ergattern â\200\224 fir
die meisten Stadtbewohner eine
reine Routineangelegenheit.

Â«Eine Stadt
ohne Plaka-
{e habe ich
noch nie ge-

sehen»

«Bis man hier drankommt, ist man längst verhungert», scherzt Catherine und gibt ihr Vorhaben auf. Doch die gute Laune lässt sie sich trotz knurrendem Magen nicht verderben. Dafür gibt es in Moskau viel zu viel zu sehen.

Auf dem Kreml fühlen sich Maria und Catherine in eine andere Welt versetzt. In dieser «Kleinstadt» im Zentrum zeugen jede Kirche, jeder Palast und

jeder Zwiebelturm von Russ-»

lands ruhmreichsten Tagen – und düstersten Nächten. Hier liessen sich alle Zaren krönen, hier wurde Iwan der Schreckliche begraben. Heute ist der Kreml der Sitz der Sowjetregierung. Doch das Arbeitszimmer Michail Gorbatschows können die beiden Missen beim besten Willen nicht ausfindig machen. Statt dessen entdecken sie die grösste Glocke der Welt. Neben der 200 Tonnen schweren Zarenglocke sehen Maria mit ihren 1.78 Meter Länge und die 1.72 Meter grosse Catherine aus wie

Zwerge.

ngsBlick 7. Oktober 1990

im Beisein von

Schweizer Bot-
schafter Fran-
cis Pianca (1.),

Maria Keza

(M.) und Cathe-

rine Mesot (r.),

übergibt «Miss

Schweiz»-Or-
ganisator Josef
Martin Moser
(2.v.r.) der
Kinderärztin
Olga Alejniko-
wa einen sym-
bolischen
Check über

20 000 Franken
für die Tscher-

nobl-Opfer.

Ein Bewunde-

rer unserer
Â«Miss
SchweizÂ»
schenkt die-
ser spontan
einen Schal.

Einer der zahlreichen Mos-
kauer Maler, der in der Nahe
seine Staffelei aufgestellt hat, ist
anderer Meinung. Ohne zu wis-
sen, dass es sich um die offiziell
ansehnlichsten = Frauen der
UdSSR und der Schweiz han-
delt, mochte er die beiden
Schonheiten auf der Stelle por-
tritieren. Was seinem Kenner-
blick verborgen bleibt: Maria
Keza, die aus Marc Chagalls Ge-
burtsstadt Witebsk stammt, ist
selbst eine leidenschaftliche Ma-
lerin.

Â«Ihr erstes Portrit hat Maria
als Dreijährige gezeichnetÂ», er-
ginkt die stolze Mutter Walenti-
na Pawlowna. Seit der Wahl ih-
rer schdnen Tochter zur Â«Miss
UdSSRÂ» letzten Juni begleitet
sie die 17jährige zu allen offiziel-
len Auftritten. Â«<Marischa> fand
sich selbst eine hisslische Boh-
nenstange. Um ihr das Gegenteil
zu beweisen, habe ich sie zu
einer Â«Miss>-Wahl angemeldetÂ»,
gesteht uns Mamotschka Walen-

una. Â«Dass sie nach Â«Miss Wi-
tebsk> Â«<Miss Weissrussland> wird
und jetzt sogar noch Â«Miss
UdSSR, das hatte ich allerdings
nie gedacht.Â»

Auch Maria hatte ein ganz an-
deres Ziel vor Augen - und hat
es immer noch: Â«Wenn ich in
vier Jahren mein Studium als
Modezeichnerin abgeschlossen
habe, mdchte ich als Designerin
arbeiten. Da gibt es in der
UdSSR viel nachzuholen.Â»

Ein Leben im Westen kann
sich Maria nicht vorstellen:
Â«Dazu bin ich eine viel zu grosse
Patriotin.Â» Eine friedliche Lb&-
sung der Nationalititen- Konflik-
te unter den 290 Millionen So-
wjetbiirgern in den 15 Republi-
ken liegt ihr besonders am Her-
zen. Aber auch die Opfer der
Reaktorkatastrophe von Tschern-
obyl. Â«Dafiir mdchte ich mich
als Â«<Miss UdSSR> in erster Linie
einsetzenÂ», erklart sie. Den ge-
samten Gewinn aus ihrem
Â«MissÂ»-Wahl-Sieg, 10000 Ru-

Â«Bis man

hier dran-
kommt, ist
man längst
verhungert»

bel, hat Maria den Kindern von
Tschernobyl geschenkt. Dabei
hatte die Ingenieurstochter das
Geld für ihr eigenes Studium
dringend brauchen können.

Als Maria von Catherine den
Grund ihrer Moskau-Reise er-
fährt, freut sie sich ganz beson-
ders: Die Repräsentantin aus
der Schweiz und »Miss
Schweiz«-Veranstalter Josef
Martin Moser haben den tod-
kranken Tschernobyl-Kindern in
Minsk einen Koffer voll Medika-
mente mitgebracht, die in der
UdSSR nur schwer aufzutreiben
sind. Dazu kommen 20000
Franken aus dem Erbe der letzt-
jährigen »Miss«-Wahl.

Nach der feierlichen Überga-
be der Spende in der Schweizer
Botschaft will die schöne Russin
unserer Immobilienhändlerin
aus Lausanne unbedingt die sie-