

| CHRIS WHITFIELD reports on the op  
WZiceind

FWâ\200\231s spee

HE ANCâ\200\231s Pallo Jor-  
dan was blunt in his  
dismissal of Presi-  
dent de Klerkâ\200\231s spe-  
ech at the opening of

â\200\230. Parliament in Cape Town

Xesterday, describing it as  
. â\200\234extremely disappointingâ\200\235

< and lacking in states-  
-~ manship. â\200\231

But he was surely playing  
to the gallery, which has re-

.~ cently been exposed to  
. claims that the â\200\234eliteâ\200\235 of the

- | ANC were climbing into bed

with the National Party.  
The reason the President  
was limited in what he could

| say or do is that progress in  
'| many crucial areas is now de-  
pendent on organisations

such as that to which Dr Jor-

| dan belongs and which wait

â\200\230| outside Parliament.

On the constitutional front,  
for example, the President

| was restricted largely to the

dismantling of exisiting  
structures, and in doing so  
giving another signal that

| the tricameral Parliament is

< on its way out.

He announced the rational-

. - isation of the race-based own

affairs departments of agri-

- culture, health and local gov-

PRI

- TANC c 11 to â\200\234join I

. ernment by the transfer of

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their functions to the rel-

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evant general affairs depart-  
ments on April 1.

Remaining own affairs  
functions â\200\224 among them  
welfare and housing â\200\224 would  
also lose their own affairs sta-  
t\_:us â\200\230â\200\234as soon as possibleâ\200\235.

The Presidentâ\200\231s Council  
yllll also be phased out with

some or other temporary  
arbitrating mechanismâ\200\231â\200\231.

Mr de Klerk baulked at  
pronouncing the death sen-  
tence on the self-governing  
territories and the TBVC  
states â\200\224 which drew a sharp  
blast from both the ANC and  
the Democratic Party â\200\224 but  
would probably argue that  
those are also the subject of  
negotiations.

Crime and violence are  
areas which remain the re-  
sponsibility of the Govern-  
ment of the day.

What the Government now  
proposes is a moratorium  
during which AK-47s, other  
automatic weapons, their  
ammunition and explosive  
devices can be handed in  
without risk of prosecution.

Once that lapses a mini-  
mum penalty of five years in  
jail without the option of a  
fine will be imposed.

Special procedures for the

trial of serious crimes and in-

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ening of Parliament 7  
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crease of penalties are also  
proposed.

\_The Government is also re-  
viewing its position on the  
death penalty and Mr de  
Klerk suggested that a num-  
ber of factors â\200\234make it diffi-  
cult for the Government to  
allow the moratorium (im-  
posed in November, 1989) to  
continue indefinitelyâ\200\235.

Dr Jordan said the ANC  
would oppose this and imme-  
diately reverse the policy  
should it come to power.

Mr de Klerk said better use  
would be made of the Police  
Reserves, the Neighbour-  
hood Watch System, Busi-  
ness and Farm Watches and,  
significantly, it is planned  
that the self-defence units of  
the extra-parliamentary  
groups be transformed into  
self-protection units.

Observers yesterday point-  
ed out that what Mr d}; LI){ler:'k

was trying to do was to  
mobilise the whole nation in

the fight against crime and-

these steps should dovetail  
neatly with the SAPâ\200\231s  
avowed emphasis on commu-  
nity-oriented policing.  
Legislative steps in prep-  
aration for the transition pro-  
cess were also announced

Qâ\200\231AN C  
but were, again, to be/ the  
subject of negotiations.

The other subject which  
the President addressed at  
length was the proposed in-  
troduction of a Bill of Rights.

He announced that a mo-  
tion asking Parliament to ac-

cept the principle of a Bill of Rights would be tabled. This

he explained would amount

to accepting the principle of a â\200\234Rechtstaatâ\200\235, a constitu-

tional state in which the rule |

of law is supreme.

At present Parliament is supreme and the courts only have testing powers. Therefore acceptance of the Bill of Rights would mean accepting the end of parliamentary sovereignty â\200\224 a cornerstone of the Westminster system.

Obviously the actual contents of a Bill of Rights will have to be negotiated, but the acceptance of this principle is at least an indication of a desire to establish the rule of law in South Africa.

If anything, the speech is an indication of movement away from the present dispensation and an acknow-

ledgement of the part the

extra-parliamentary players have in creating the new

FP to save livesâ\200\231

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Nl o\ el  
| THE\ANC in the Ozwatini  
| area is'calling on i  
| to join Inkatha â\200\234to save their  
| livesâ\200\235 after a recent wave of

members

killings claimed the lives of

' more than 20 ANC members.

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EARC

Ozwatini, which lies

" roughly between Tongaat and  
~ Greytown, has been one of  
. Natalâ\200\231s worst trouble spots for

more than two months.

Now people in the area are

| being forced to stay indoors

after the imposition of a cur-

â\200\230| few by the Inkatha Freedom

Party, according to Mr Sim-

| phiwe Mgoduso, a member of  
| the interim ANC committee

in the area. :  
However, the head of the  
Inkatha Instituteâ\200\231s violence

| study group, Mr Kim Hodg-

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son, yesterday denied the IFP was involved in enforcing a curfew at Ozwatini.

â\200\234The ANC claims are totally incorrect, but there has been some measure of volatility in the area,â\200\235 he said.

In the latest violent incident, a family mourning the death of a relative were attacked by a group of more than 100 armed men, resulting in the deaths of another three family members.

A meeting of the regional dispute resolution committee, chaired by Archbishop Denis Hurley, took place in the Maphumulo Magistrateâ\200\231s

concrete improvements in the situation have resulted yet.

Representatives of the ANC, the IFP and the SAP were at the meeting.

Mr Mgoduso said the decision to call on ANC members to take out IFP membership for â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230survival reasonsâ\200\231 was taken to â\200\234save the lives of our membersâ\200\235.

He said roadblocks were regularly erected and that all pupils wishing to enrol at local schools were expected to produce IFP membership cards before their applications were approved.

â\200\234Anger is building up in the community at the continued killings,â\200\235 he said.

Court on January 2, but no

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ovt pledges

no delay as  
talks go on

CAPE TOWN-â\200\224-The  
government last night  
warned that it would  
not postpone this  
weekâ\200\231s vote in Parlia-  
ment on the new consti-  
tution, even if the  
Freedom Alliance re-  
mained outside the  
process.

Constitutional development  
minister Roelf Meyer made  
the warning shortly before en-  
tering 11th-hour talks with a  
delegation of alliance negotia-  
tors, led by Bophuthatswana  
foreign minister Rowan  
Cronje.

â\200\234We will not postpone the  
vote ... we are not going to

. change any arrangements,â\200\235  
. said a subdued Mr Meyer.

While holding the door open

.~ to a solution, he said a deal

would have to be finalised if it  
was to be inÃ©iuded in the con-  
stitution to be voted on by  
Parliament on Wednesday.

A more optimistic Mr

. Cronje said his delegation â\200\224

which included Inkatha nego-  
tiator Ben Ngubane, Ciskeiâ\200\231s  
Mickey Webb and the Conser-  
vative Partyâ\200\231s Frank le Roux  
â\200\224 had a joint responsibility to

. avoid building the future on

enmity.

Mr Cronje, nevertheless,

By Donwald Pressly  
& Steve Matthewson

said certain National Party  
cabinet ministers were being  
obstructive.

He said great progress had been made in negotiations on outstanding points with home affairs minister Danie Schutte and land affairs minister Andr   Fourie on Saturday.

The government team last night included intelligence boss Neil Barnard.

. Mr Meyer said the government still insisted that the alliance commit itself to participating in the April election before any agreements could be made.

The alliance continues to demand 13 amendments to the Republic of SA Constitution Bill.

The alliance is also seeking two ballots per voter â\200\224 one

for regional and-one:for-pro--vincial government.

Mr Meyer indicated that there was already agreement on all these issues except the single ballot, which he said would remain entrenched, and the poll commitment.

Inkatha sources last night emphasised that no agreement on the constitution and participation in the elections of the transitional bodies

could be formalised until the partyâ\200\231s general conference on January 9.

@ Despite these indications . that negotiators were on the verge of a breakthrough, IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi insisted yesterday that his party would not decide on participation in elections until January.

Dr Buthelezi addressed about 5000 supporters at an IFP youth brigade rally at Mtwalume High School on the Natal South Coast.



If Parliament adopted the

â\200\234defective constitutionâ\200\235 as it -

currently stood, he would rec- |  
ommend to a special general  
conference of the IFP that it  
should not take part in the  
April 27 poll.

This conference is sched-  
uled for January 9, some time  
after the interim constitution  
will have been passed.

Dr Buthelezi would only

participation in the elections  
if the IFPâ\200\231s â\200\234now well defined  
minimum demandsâ\200\231â\200\231 were  
met and conditions for a free

- recommend to the conference |

and fair election were created.

â\200\234We must not be intimidat-

ed into accepting the situa- |

tion ... (we) can never back

down on our minimum consti-  
tutional demands. Whether -  
these are met must be the de- |

termining factor.â\200\235

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Zulu king a pawn

HE ZULU king has be-

come a pawn on the

South African political

chessboard while two  
key players essential to a consti-  
tutional settlement â\200\224 ANC  
leader Nelson Mandela and  
Inkatha Freedom Party leader  
Mangosuthu Buthelezi â\200\224 ma-  
noeuvre for position.

For King Goodwill Zwelethini  
himself, the position he finds

- himself in must be hugely  
- frustrating.

It is now many years ago since  
the king lost the political power  
struggle he tried to wage  
against Dr Buthelezi over who

~ would control KwaZulu, after

the homeland was given inter-  
nal autonomy by the Govern-  
ment during the heyday of

apartheid. It ended with the

kingis somewhat humiliating

flight from the Legislative As-:.

sembly chamber on August 6

1979, when he jumped a tall en-

' closure for diplomats, burst

through a closed door and dis-  
appeared into the night, leaving

-+ Dr Buthelezi the unchallenged

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political leader from then on.

But the king retained his royal status as a symbol of the Zulu nation, and Dr Buthelezi did much to boost the king in that role, thus offering considerable compensation for the loss of political power. From then onwards there has been an amicable truce between them. The king's position remained unchanged for many years after this, but suddenly this year he became a political chess piece Dr Buthelezi chose to play. From being banished from a political role, he was urgently thrust into one again, specifically to strengthen the hand of Dr Buthelezi in demands he made for the position of the Zulu nation to be addressed in any new constitutional agreement and to harden demands for regional autonomy instead of the ANC-favoured centralised governmental system for the whole country. The harder the Inkatha Freedom Party delegation at Codesa pushed for the king to be repre-

ented at

sented at the convention, the more firmly the ANC opposed the idea. When Codesa collapsed in May, it was still an unresolved issue.

Of course, the idea had ramifications. If the Zulu king (supposedly above politics) were allowed at the table of political organisations, how many others would demand a similar right? Paramount chiefs, chiefs, headmen, business organisations, trade unions, religious groups ... an endless list.

But the IFP quoted authoritatively to show that kings had been involved in constitutional settlements all over Africa as colonies gave way to independence. And they argued forcefully that King Goodwill was the only King in SA.

So the person of the king, in terms of the role he was manoeuvring that way, progress, was clearly seen as being a trump card in the IFP camp, with the ANC lined up against them.

And so he remained, for

on the politica

months of deadlocked politics  
... until Mr Mandela surprised  
everyone at the funeral of slain  
midlands leader Reggie Hadebe  
by appealing to the king to help  
end the bloodletting in Natal.  
The move was significant, be-  
cause for the first time the ANC  
acknowledged a role for the  
king in reaching some kind of  
harmony and accord between  
the IFP and ANC. It could be in-  
terpreted as a peace gesture,  
even as an acceptance of the

-kingâ\200\231s royal authority in a re-

gion â\200\224 all points the IFP had

â\200\230 been striving to attain from the

ANC ard for the king for many  
months. -

Why then did Dr Buthelezi  
give the plea such short shrift?

The answer really is that Mr  
Mandela made a move, which  
for the first time in months,  
threatened to wrench the politi-  
cal initiative from Dr Buthelezi,  
who has played his politics with  
consummate skill in recent  
times. ;

Not only has Dr Butheleziâ\200\231s  
withdrawal from negotiations

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undone all the good work Mr  
Mandela and President F W de  
Klerk thought they had done in  
bilateral talks, forcing them to  
recognise that no deal can work  
without the IFPâ\200\231s being party to  
it, but he has also demonstrated  
his contempt for those deals by  
staging cultural-weapon  
brandishing IFP marches  
through city streets and has  
prevented township hostels  
from being fenced.

The cruel Natal power war  
meanwhile continues, with  
bloodshed on both sides. And  
while Dr Buthelezi wants peace  
and an end to bloodshed as  
badly as anyone in the ANC  
wants it, he does not want peace  
at the expense of political  
position.

He saw Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s move as an attempt to drive a wedge between himself and the king, therefore as a threat to his power base, of which the king has been made a part.

Various ploys were used to disparage Mr Mandela for trying to involve the king. The plea for

an insult. It was attacked as an attempt to drag the king into |

party politics. It was even said = that Mr Mandela, as a commoner, had breached protocol because a commoner should not =

appeal to the king directly.

But all those arguments were mere rhetoric aimed at covering

up the fact that Mr Mandela had ;

actually touched a chord that

could threaten Dr Butheleziâ\200\231s aggressive but essentially unstable political game plan and ~wrest the political initiative

away from him.

In spite of Dr Butheleziâ\200\231s self-protective, negative response to Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s plea to the King, there may be some political

light that Mr Mandela has succeeded in generating. The ANC

cerns too. Dr Buthelezi should

consider using the king as a bargaining chip, not locking him

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away out of reach. ~

has shown flexibility in changing its stance to the king. Perhaps it may show flexibility towards the Zulusâ\200\231 regional

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the kingâ\200\231s help was portrayed as ~

| chessboard

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~ the â\200\230whiteâ\200\231 house

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CAPE TOWNâ\200\224The seat of  
white power for 83 years  
closed up shop yesterday.

With most of the 178 white  
MPs present, the House of As-  
sembly, established in 1910  
under the Union constitution,  
unanimously passed its last  
white own affairs law, the De-  
velopment and Housing Am-  
endment Bill.

Leader of the house Adriaan  
Vlok said he saw the occasion  
as a new beginning â\200\230â\200\230with  
wonderful opportunities for  
LS

It was here too â\200\224 a fact  
mentioned by Mr Vlok â\200\224 that  
former premier Dr HF Ver-  
woerd was slain by Dimitri  
Tsafendas on September 6,  
1966. A

Two Conservative Party  
MPs, Daan van der Me; &  
and Willie van der Mery | |



wore hats â\200\224 a passing tra  
tion for the last day of b |  
session.

The leader of the -opposi,

' momentous year in its his-

He will be opening what  
should be an historic last full  
session of a South African

| Parliament dominated by  
| whites amid increasing uncer-  
- tainty and flux both inside  
. -and outside Parliament.

This was highlighted yester-  
day by the defection of veter-  
an National Party MP for  
Vryheid Jurie Mentz to  
Inkatha â\200\224 he will become  
Ulundiâ\200\231s first representative  
in Parliament â\200\224 and nine  
House of Delegates MPs join-  
ing the NP. - L

The ANC will again be re-  
presented by the five MPs  
who last year defected from  
the Democratic Party.

This week Government  
sources have been attempting  
to dampen speculation about  
Mr de Klerkâ\200\231s speech, saying  
it will be largely a â\200\234State of  
the Nationâ\200\235 exercise.

The Presidentâ\200\231s ability to  
deliver much in the way of  
fireworks is limited in that the

LRI s oo e e â\200\224

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F m t.g;alâ\200\224g!  
"Äï¬\201111S\_ VISION

. CAPE TOWNâ\200\224President  
+ de Klerk will today map  
- out his vision for the fu-  
~ ture as the country faces a

By Donwald Pressly  
Political Reporter

tion, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg,

was far less enthusiastic about the end of the house, which ruthlessly implemented the apartheid programme of the National Party after its 1948 election victory.

Its disappearance signalled the Afrikaners' loss of freedom.

It was in the assembly that the Group Areas Act, Population Registration Act and a host of other bills calculated to entrench racial segregation were passed.

He said the Afrikaner, who has dominated the house since Union, was back to the position he was in in 1902 apparently referring to the Treaty of Vereeniging which ended Boer rule in the republics.

Dr Havrvtvzenberg, leader of

. to join parliament.

the CP which gained official opposition status in 1987, said

a new house of assembly for

the Afrikaner would be achieved.

Democratic Party leader

Zach de Beer said the barriers

of race were falling all around us. The principles of real democracy were being es-

tablished in the country.

ANC-aligned MP Dave Dalling said it was the last meeting of the last white Parliament. He paid tribute to his former colleague in the Progressive Federal Party, Mrs .

Helen Suzman, who taught us principle.

Mrs Suzman was the strongest liberal voice in Parliament from 1960 to 1974 the

period of high apartheid.

Inkatha Freedom Party :

parliamentary leader Jurie

Mentz, MP for Vryheid, said  
MPs were ready to sit with  
black people who were poised

WMmï¬\201ï¬\201cURY

The end of

bl Tss o

n affairs

TEN YEARS after Mr PW Bothd

ushered in the tricameral Parlia:  
W ment and its compartmentalised  
~ System of â\200\234own affairsâ\200\235 administra- =  
tions for whites, coloureds and Indi-  
ans, Mr F W de Klerk has announced  
its death knell. Except for the army  
~ of bureaucrats and political office- =  
- bearers, which this duplication of ;  
- functions spawned, no South Afri-  
- cans will mourn its departure. AT  
In his speech yesterday at the  
opening of what is widely expected -  
will be the last full session of Parlia- -  
ment in its tricameral mode, Mr de :  
- Klerk announced that own affairs  
\_ functions of agriculture, health and  
- local government are to become gen-  
- eral affairs on April 1. This coincides  
â\200\230with a new financial year, which  
- makes the transfer of duties, person-  
nel and funds orderly. P  
. The conversion of education to a  
â\200\230general affair is, however, not SO

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\_ Parliament: Last session dominated by whites

ap out  
i-\201r SA

By Chris Whitfield  
Political Correspondent

stricted unilateral action, but  
he is expected to address sev-  
eral key areas.

The first is the reform pro-  
cess â\200\224 the issue destined to  
dominate politics in the coun-  
try this year â\200\224 and Mr de  
Klerk is expected to deal at  
some length with negotia-  
tions and where the country is  
going.

He will want to convince  
the outside world that a new  
dispensation is imminent but  
also reassure whites about  
their future in the country.

A resume of recent develop-  
ments â\200\224 the Government is  
now very aware of the need  
for â\200\234transparencyâ\200\235 in negotia-  
tions â\200\224 can also be expected.

Mr de Klerk should confirm  
hopes for a resumption of  
multi-party talks in March  
and the installation of the  
transitional executive council  
-- a multi-party advisory  
body that will effectively sig-  
nal the beginning of interim  
government â\200\224 around the  
middle of the year.

stitutional issues the Presi-  
dent is expected to announce  
moves towar '\* the rational-

isation of tiÂ« cumbersome !

and costly Own Affairs de-  
partments â\200\224 with emphasis  
on education. .

It has also bÃ©en speculated  
that an increasing say in edu-

cation will be given to parties and organisations not represented in Parliament.

Violence and security matters will be high on the agenda. The ongoing slaughter in the country continues to hamper progress and Mr de Klerk is expected to announce a tough crackdown on illegal arms.

The future of the SADF has become a burning issue and Mr de Klerk may address this as well as delicate developments surrounding the future of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

He should also dwell on this year's crucial Budget, perhaps repeating warnings of increases in personal taxes and VAT and emphasising the need for austerity.. .

It is also expected that Mr de Klerk will flesh out the NP's proposals for a Bill of

- easy. Therefore Mr de Klerk has created yet another albeit temporary administration with its own minister (bringing the country's total number of education ministers to 16) \* to manage the reunification of the o

| country's vastly fragmented education service. AR

That it takes more red tape to get rid of the red tape is an indication of how much damage apartheid's own = affairs has inflicted on the country. = ' Mr de Klerk also addressed the burning issue of law and order, a

question which obsesses most ordinary South Africans as society is gripped by unprecedented levels of murder and mayhem. It is encouraging that the Government intends cracking down on illegal weapons, but one cannot help being cynical about the proposed mandatory five-year jail sentence for the mere possession of illicit firearms. The jails are already overflowing, so where would this new class of criminals be detained? i

As for Mr de Klerk's hint to reintroduce the death penalty, that would be a mistake. All over the world the trend is away from capital

negotiations process has re- While he is addressing cond . Rights. - = \_ \ ; A ; 3  
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. the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF), an alliance part-

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- CAPE TOWNâ\200\224Negotiations to reach a

-of the five-a-side ANC/government/-

| any agreement reached at the talks should be

â\200\224

Talks swa

N M 21//9/?3

Parliament: National Party set to seize HoD majority

Indian MP fo

|

By Donwald Pressly, Political Reporter

constitutional settlement were still on a  
tightrope late last night with members

Freedom Alliance task force locked in  
talks. \_

Hopes of a breakthrough waxed and waned as a  
news blackout on proceedings was imposed on  
the talks.

There were signals, however, of a truce between

ner, and the ANC agreeing to sign a memorandum |  
in Johannesburg today to explore the possibility  
of establishing a volkstaat for Afrikaners.

AVF leader Gen Constand Viljoen held behind-  
closed-doors talks with President De Klerk at  
Parliament to discuss the tripartite discussions  
taking place last night.

Mr De Klerkâ\200\231s spokesman Richard Cartger said  
agreement to hold a summit of leaders â\200\224 1pcludâ\200\224  
ing the allianceâ\200\231s Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Gen  
Viljoen and the CPâ\200\231s Ferdi Hartzenberg â\200\224 would  
depend on the progress made by the task force.

Task force negotiators were apparently bogged



down on a demand by the Freedom Alliance that

ratified by the homeland cabinets, parliaments and governing bodies of the five alliance parties, - before they could agree to sit on the transitional executive council and fight the April election.

This has been a sticking point since the government made commitment to participating in the election a precondition to amending the constitution.

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ment has already warned that the alliance would have missed the boat. :  
~ Agreement has to be reached in order to place any constitutional amendments before the negotiating council today and then before Parliament. A joint standing committee on constitutional affairs.

While Parliament is scheduled to vote on the constitution tomorrow, government sources yesterday indicated that Parliament could again sit from January 10, which would give negotiators breathing space to reach an accommodation.

However, ANC task force negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa said last night that the ANC would

ily

If agreement was not reached last night, or at least before today's cut-off of 8am, the government

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S ALV

'Hopes of breakthrough wax and wane

y on a tightrope

CAPE TOWN 224 More MPs

. are poised to join the

quatha-Freedom Party with at least one coming from the House of Delegates, says IFP MP for

. Vryheid Jurie Mentz,

His claim comes against in-

| Creasing turmoil in the HoD,

with a second Ministers Council member yesterday defecting to the National Party from Solidarity.

Three National People's

~ Party members are under.

stood to have also signed for  
the NP, giving it 22 votes and  
a clear majority in the House.

" It is almost certain to win to-

morrow's\200\231s censure debate in  
the House and take power.

Mr Mentz said yesterday he

. had been approached by

ph\_rge HoD members about  
Joining the IFP since his de-  
fection from the NP last week.  
He was later joined in the IFP  
by the DP's\200\231s Pietermaritzburg  
North MP Mike Tarr

One Indian MP, a Natalian,

would definitely be joining  
. the IFP sometime this month,  
- said Mr Mentz. But it was  
| 's\200\234unlikely's\200\235 at this stage that

any of his former white NP  
colleagues would follow him  
soon. :

Mr Mentz said an Indian re-  
presentative in Parliament

- could help convince others in

the community that the IFP

not accept a delay of the vote on the constitution.

Meanwhile, the Institute for a Democratic Alter-  
native for South Africa confirmed yesterday that  
the ANC and the AVF, a member of the alliance,

S

' By Chris Whitfield  
Political Correspondent

is a viable option.

~ He also said he was con-

vinced he could win a general  
election in his Vryheid con-

stituency 's\200\224 including all -

ances if one was held now.

Yesterday the drift towards

the Na}ts in the HoD continued with Housing and Agriculture Minister PI Devan defecting from Solidarity.

He and Education and Culture Minister Kisten Rajoo

have resigned the seats on the

Ministers Council but could be reappointed on Friday if

the NP takes power.,

Â® The IFP knows of several e L including members of the Government, who are contemplating fol-

political figures,

lowing MPs\_Jurie Mentz and

Mike Tarr into the organisation.

tion.

lipped on the identity of the

The IFP remained tight-

possible defectors, but it is thought some presently white -

constituencies are prompting their representatives to shift

their loyalties to Ulundi.

IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos said they knew of other office bearers who agreed with Ir\_llgatha's liberal democratic vision of a federal South Africa. | ocoimmas T

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latfor

DR MANGOSUTHU  
Buthelezi will share the  
platform with King Good-  
will Zwelithini at a prayer  
gathering at Isandlawana  
battlefield on December 16

| while the ANC plans to

hold a massive rally for  
Umkhonto we Sizwe in

- Durban on the same day.

The Inkatha president has

" called on all Zulus to con-

verge on the Anglo-Zulu War

- site to pray for peace and for  
| the Zulu nation which was un-  
- der threat.

It will be the first time that

| he and the king will have ap-

peared publicly together fol-  
lowing the royal rumpus over  
the monarchâ\200\231s controversial

on Zulus

wit

he appeared to have criticised  
Inkatha for walking out of  
multi-party talks.

However, the king has since  
accused the press of distort-  
ing his remarks.

In a statement issued on

the kingâ\200\231s behalf, Dr Buth-  
elezi said that Zulus every-  
where should go to â\200\234moun-  
tainsâ\200\231 in their neighbour-  
hoods to pray.

â\200\230â\200\234The King feels that  
Isandlwana is the right venue  
for such a prayer gathering  
and that December 16 is also  
an appropriate day for such a  
pr\_ager meeting,â\200\235 Dr Buthelezi  
said.

to come togethgf R

i to share

Kâ\200\224 lo.-g%

puzzled by the call to hold =

such an event on the Day of -  
the Vow, when Boer forces  
made a pact with God before  
defeating Zulu king Dingane  
at Blood River in 1838.

ANC spokesman Themba -

Rubushe said his organisa-

~ tion was planning events on

January 22 next year to com-  
memorate the 115th anniver-  
sary of the Battle of Isan-  
dlawana, where a massive  
Zulu force crushed the Brit-

ish. ik

On Thursday, December 16,  
at-Curries Fountain stadium

in Durban, the ANC will bid -

farewell to its armed wing  
Umkhonto we Sizwe before it  
is incorporated into a new

speech last Friday, in which

= =

But the ANC in Natal is

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= \*;\200\230 SR  
defence force. SR

e e  
king

had been holding talks for several months.  
e â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

~. ~ {

> LAY

lished its proposed Bill

stitutional issues.

posed Bill

' unknown in SA.

. But â\200\234the death-bed conver-  
. sion of the NP to those rights  
. they systematically trampled  
| upon and whose existence.

they denied for 44 years

â\200\230vPr'oposals: Restrictions on

CAPE TOWNâ\200\224The Gov-  
ernment yesterday pub-

Rights which outlines con-  
siderable restrictions on  
State power but which  
falls short of addressing  
many contemporary con-

The introduction of the pro-  
would close a chap-  
ter in apartheid-style abuses  
of state power and bring  
inindividual rights hitherto

s new Bill of Ri

e O S )

Mercury Correspondent

most welcome and refresh-  
ing,â\200\235 DP Justice spokesman  
Tony Leon commented yes-  
terday.

Justice Minister Kobie  
Coetsee said at a media brie-  
fing that the NPâ\200\231s proposal,  
which still had to be negotiat-  
ed with other political role  
players, was based on the pro-  
posed Bill of Rights suggested  
by the Law Commission.

It included protection of hu-  
man dignity, physical and  
mental integrity, equality be-  
fore the law, freedom of  
speech, assembly, worship,  
and childrenâ\200\231s and education  
rights.

of

Bill suggests.

groups.

is

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FW plays  
â\200\230down SAP

Nm 2312493

in KwaZulu  
decision

Political Staff

Klerk said yesterday that  
there was no need to â\200\234drama-  
tiseâ\200\235 the TEC resolution re-

be deployed to secure the  
lives and property of inhabi-

KwaZulu.

a report by the SA commis-  
sioner of police, Gen Johan

concern.

KwaZulu police (KZP) did not  
hold the confidence of ANC

danger.

. minister of police, Dr =

KwaZulu chief minister and

Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said  
yesterday he was deeply wor-

. could prove a recipe for trage- ||

ried by the order, saying it  
dy in the prevailing political

= climate.

He planned to discuss the |

. issue as a matter of urgency

with his South African coun-  
terpart, Mr Hernus Kriel.



However, Mr De Klerk said

yesterday that we need not  
dramatise this, adding:

There is close co-operation

between the two police forces,  
and it is the natural thing to

: . do where there is a greater  
risk of violence, that the SAP

also play their role.

ANC secretary-general Cyril  
Ramaphosa yesterday sharp-  
ly dismissed reports that gov-  
ernment and ANC negotiators  
had, after discussions with  
the Freedom Alliance, re-  
versed the TEC's decision to  
send SAP units into KwaZulu.

. The government also reject-  
ed any suggestions of an

about-turn on the TEC de-

' cision.

Law and order ministry

- spokesman Capt Craig Kotze  
. said yesterday that the minis-

[t o

try had taken note of the TEC  
resolution and that Mr Kriel  
will give their request the  
necessary consideration?

"/ > sit e A5 " 0

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CAPE TOWN President De

questing that the SA Police K

tants in strife-torn areas of |

The TEC decision followed ,;  
van der Merwe, that the secu-  
rity situation in certain areas  
in KwaZulu was cause for -

The report stated that the -  
supporters, especially when |

returning Inkatha-aligned mi- |  
grant workers posed a new !

ol

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State power but more

â\200\234No person shall be favoured or prejudiced solely by reason of race, colour, language, sex, religion, ethnic origin, social class, birth, political or other convictions or disabilities or other natural characteristics,â\200\235 the proposed

The only derogation of this right would be if the sole purpose of the discrimination was to further the development and advancement of specific communities or

The proposed Bill of Rights differs from the Law Commissionâ\200\231s proposal by maintaining the death penalty. The Commission suggested that

ihdividuÃ@l rights

the Bill should not express itself on capital punishment. On private ownership, the Bill says all people will have the right to acquire, possess use and dispose of property. Only a court could deprive a person of his property. â\200\234Property may be expropriated for public purposes, subject to the payment within a reasonable time of an agreed compensation.â\200\235 Failing an agreement, compensation would be in cash, determined . by a court, according to the market value of property. Womenâ\200\231s rights feature prominently in the proposed | . Bill, which would outlaw all | sex discrimination laws. | o e

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AT

â\200\224 PATRICK LEEMAN reports

The PAC:

Wl}\l}% it 15,4

5 s

LARENCE MLAMLI  
c MARWETU, president of

the Pan Africanist Con-  
gress, was born on December  
| 6, 1928, at Cofimvaba in  
Transkei.

He joined the ANC Youth  
League in 1954 and was in-  
strumental in the formation of  
the Pan Africanist Congress

in 1959.

| He spent five years on  
| Robben Island for furthering

the aims of the banned PAC.

In December, 1989, Mr  
' Makwetu became the first  
: president of the Pan  
. Africanist Movement (PAM).  
' The PAC was unbanned on

01-F 2

â\200\230what it wants

Hence the Patriotic Front â\200\224 | there actually isnâ\200\231t an arm  
we are marching together to- | struggle going on, and that  
wards a constituent ass- 1 the efforts of the ANC are car-  
embly. â\200\230 rying the PACuto t;he:1 bal%ot.

3 nâ\200\231t owe

Monitor: The National Peace gâ\200\230na;â\200\230;â\200\230:, :â\200\234;n"ggpâ\200\231lgng  
ï-\201gn A

Initiative â\200\224 you did not sign, how many men we have out-

although you attended. gjde the country, or inside the

Benny Alexander said the | country. To say we are being  
major reason you

jou did not sign'| Âçarried by the ANC â\200\224 well,  
was your policy of non-col- | that is amusing to us.  
laboration. At the National | Monitor: Do you not think  
Peace Conference you gave that the process towards uni-  
two other reasons: first, that yersal franchise is irrev-  
the issue of the causes of vio- | ersible?

lence had not been addressed, Makwetu: Not when De Klerk  
and also that the issue of the | has issued a statement re-

involvement of the interna- | cently that when he talks of  
tional community was also | franchise, he talks of property  
not properly addressed. Are qumers getting franchises â\200\224  
Lhese he en you didnâ\200\231t | that is the qualified franchise.  
sign? â\200\231 i ;  
Makwetu: These are the main \â\200\234We o tâ\200\231 gspug to that  
reasons. The causes of the vio- ; :  
lence, as I said at the confer-

AN oY )

ence, are not ANC and In-  
katha. That might have been  
' the position initially, but it is  
' not SO now. Â¥ i  
We see operating no -  
| cenaries; prr,ofessional killers,  
' who are C g out a sys- |  
| tematic campaign of terror.

| â\200\234Why, if it was Inkatha |/  
| against the ANC, would the | / = -  
gunmen shoot up children, |  
the aged, women, and others  
\mdiscirrinably?

| Monitor: If a document was  
added to the National Peace f.  
| Accord outlining the causes of Â¢  
| the violence would you then |-

' pe willing to sign the Peace

| Februsy % 5o, the PAM | Accarat  
. Mare : , the | s i

. special congress in Bloemfontein | Makwetu: The congress eba; reszt; i-2022 @  
" tein dissolved the front | | there 200\224 We Bon hand with [ -  
organisation, and Mr | working in the  
Makwetu assumed the role of 200\230 { gl:, sp&httime gggilgg  
f the PAC. 204 = . | laws. in

; deg: tvy 200\230, gziie%a 200\230g % esident of Mr Makwetu discussed his | Monitor: DO y  
ou .t, tunkl ftrhe i-2021%

| the PAC in December, 1990 organisation with McGlittggs, glne (i:se 9responslb e fo

R s i 3 L v i n c e ? B

after the death of Ziphans ]Truso 200\234r%'?1 i 4 i-201?; lswetu: If it is pot responsi-

. Mothopeng.

N

\ Monitor: Has the PAC got re-  
| sources 200\224 is it up, is it  
| moving?

[ 200\224

| Makwetu: It has not changed |

we cannot imagine our-

| selves involved with the struc- |  
tures created by the present | gskaris? Why

| ple, who is? I maintain that if  
' they want to put an end to |  
| this: (v,i.olerilce, '{.hey 200\230:, gutli i-2011 @  
C- \$ are they keeping the |  
B are they using |  
us? The regime | .-

' Makwetu: It has no resources | regime. But we have never | them against . :

| ' whatsoever. It is the poorest said we will not negotiate. We | pas an agenda here 200  
\224 W 202 are {

\_ organisation in the country. a i-2021r 200\230e pre\_pare @in t @o &gcmow i-201 | not part  
of it. i 3  
et i - e re (S 2 A | = 3 ition on the I <

b Agfg&%tti i-201grm %; he | bring g;.gloup 200\231 a new constitu- | m&"; i-201g 200\230  
@{ep:os U e

~ international community. | tion. For this we need a demo- | A kwetn: We are continuing /

. They are offering the ANC |  
. millions and millions. Similar- |

| cratically elected constituent |  
assembly. And when we say |

d  
our armed struggle. We regard  
any form of struggle as legiti-

Bl i | this, thÃ©y run away. If you | P foRyd  
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said she would ask Dr Mango-

â\200\234No one could allow this to  
happen indefinitely,â\200\235â\200\235 she

After meeting Mr De Klerk  
yesterday, Baroness Chalker

President De Klerk and Mr  
â\200\230I:elson Mandela had done  
more than enoughâ\200\231 to satisfy  
- the Freedom Allianceâ\200\231s de-  
\_mapgis, but the alliance was  
raising the stakes even

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Suthl\_l Buthelezi â\200\230â\200\230several

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gy when she met him i

Ulundi tomorrow. <)

The British Government

" would do everything possibl  
Â© to persuade the Fregdgm Allief  
ance to get on board.

President De Klerk said  
door to the alliance wouldtlt':?:

main open until the nomina.

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i He said the constituti

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o, Pâ\200\230o!iticarlr Reporter



. ! aimentary leader

1 Jurie Mentz said Dr Buthelezi was not a\_bout to retire. He

was suffering from diabetes,

but was â\200\230â\200\234full of energyâ\200\235.

\_The chief minister would re-sign from politics only if a y party congress to be held in . January to determine wheth-

er the party would participate | in the election contradicated the leaderâ\200\231s political vision.

Mr Mentz, however, said he foresaw that negotiation would be successful and the chief ministerâ\200\231s reservations about participating in the election would fall away.

@ The Freedom Alliance announced yesterday that its leaders would meet today to consider their response to the â\200\234abortedâ\200\235 trilateral meeting in Cape Town on Monday.

Alliance principals were in { - Ulundi yesterday . for urgent |

talks with Dr Buthelezi.

uust cards on the tab

One manâ\200\231s Views O

major concern in South Africa

and its continuance makes an election early in the transitional process urgently necessary. An election would sort out the issue of who represents what and unless

an election is held early in the process violence will escalate.

This is the opinion of Andre du Toit, professor of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town, in an interview on the State of South Africa, in Monitor, the journal of the Human Rights Trust.

Things are now probably, in some relevant respects, better than they were six months ago. The ANC has had its conference and has got its leadership sorted out. The NP has put down constitutional proposals. There thus shouldn't be a reason why we can't continue to the next step

POLITICAL VIOLENCE is the

but it is not clear where the next

step will take us, he says.

There are two possible interpretations of the NP proposals.

The events of February 2, 1990, says Prof du Toit, implied there was going to be a transfer of power to a majority government but if the proposals are taken seriously, they imply that it is not prepared to hand over power and is having second thoughts about fundamental transition.

The other interpretation of their proposals is that they should not be taken literally they are le. They are

the state of South Afr  
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the beginning of a bargaining process.

«If De Klerk unleashed. as he did, all those forces and at the same time he is unwilling to allow

a democratic process to develop  
then he is going to create a lot of  
trouble for himself.â\200\235

In Prof du Toitâ\200\231s opinion a coalition government is very much on  
the cards.

Â«But at this stage the ANC is  
clearly not willing to enter into  
such a pact. So the NP is undoubtedly creating a fallback position

Â» also.

Â«In the field of policy and ideology De Klerk has made a 180-degree turn in a very brief space of time but where he has made little change is in his personnel.

Â«His cabinet is basically the  
  
same set of people who were put  
  
into place by PW Botha.

Â«When the multi-party conference process really gets under way, it is impossible to imagine South African still being run by FWâ\200\231s team which is PWâ\200\231s team in the cabinet and the bureaucracies.

Â«I canâ\200\231t see how the present arrangements can be continued as the process progresses.â\200\235

On the question of the ANC wanting an interim government while the NP does not, he states that President de Klerk and the NP are clear about this.

â\200\234They are not going to accept anything which can publicly be called an interim government.

End of white rule in SA  
British in bid to 2T T SR  
PersuadeÂ\$InkaÂ£ï¬\202a PR

CAPE TOWN-â\200\224-The whole world was eager that all parties, including Inkatha, should participate in next yearâ\200\231s election, British foreign office minister Lynda Chalker

ica. NERISSA PITMAN reports  
  
e â\200\230stuck with each

Â«The ANC can call for mass action and break off the negotiation process but if they miscalculate, and the campaign fizzles out, they will have a political price to pay.

«Returning to the armed struggle is highly unlikely » the armed struggle was probably little more than propaganda anyway.

«The best hope for the negotiation process is that the ANC can return to the armed struggle, and that the NP can return to apartheid and white minority. They are stuck with each other, and under the circumstances they will do whatever deals they can. The outcome thus does not necessarily bear any relation to the original models of either party.»

On the ANC wanting an elected constituent assembly » rejected by the NP in favour of a negotiated arrangement coming out of the all-party conference » Prof du Toit says to his mind political violence is the major concern, therefore an election early in the transitional process is urgently necessary.

«Having an election would sort out the issue of who represents what. Right now people are demonstrating support in the most

undemocratic of ways » violence. -

«I don't think De Klerk and the NP can about-face on this issue, and now accept an elected constituent assembly. Possibly one could devise some kind of system like, for example, the American

primary system. Rather than pit ANC against Inkatha, or such an arrangement, one could have primaries within a grouping.

«Any agreement reached by elites of the political parties could form a very fragile base for the politics of tomorrow. In such an arrangement, some politicians may see advantage in distancing themselves from the process. Just consider the impact of Chris Hani pulling back from the process and debunking it. Then Thabo Mbeki begins to feel that his position in the ANC is threatened, and he

pulls off. Thus the whole process - .»

loses legitimacy.»

The white right is described by Prof du Toit as » demoralised and confused, but dangerous.»

«There are two distinct tenden-

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cies here also. First, the Conserva- .

tive Party constituency, most of whom think of themselves as very good Christians and are conservative in the social and cultural sense. Then you have the wild

ys â\200\224 the strangest assortment, a lot of riff-raff.

Â«gooner or later these two tendencies will split. First, at some stage your wild guys will begin to commit high profile atrocities. Then the respectable

conservatives, the Treurnicht-type S

people, will have to ask themselves whether they can associate with these people or not. The other dividing line will come when it becomes clear that there will not be another white election.â\200\235

V? plans for / o  
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transitional authority be elec- inclusion of black leaders in

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BT SR S S S T 23 CAPE TOWN-â\200\224Presi- By Chris Whitfi

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Report by SIZA NTSHAKALA

AN C celebrates 80t

the birth of Africaâ\200\231s oldest

national liberation move-  
ment, the African National Con-  
gress (ANC) and the rise of non-  
tribal political aspirations.

In 1912 on this day in Bloem-  
fontein, commonly known as  
â\200\234Founders Dayâ\200\235 within the Con-  
gress movement circles, the  
ANC was formed. Representa-  
tives came from all over south-  
ern Africa. The call of the day  
was unity and anti-colonialism.  
The founding fathers of the ANC  
had a vision of a united conti-  
nent, free from racism and  
colonialism.

The ANC founders have been  
described by various historians  
as â\200\234moderate menâ\200\235 whose main  
aim was to secure black partici-  
pation in the South African cen-  
tral government.

However, after 49 extremely  
turbulent years, the ANC was  
banned following the Sharpville  
shootings. But even after 28  
years of legal non-existence  
(which ended on February 2,  
1990) the ANC remained, to  
thousands, South Africaâ\200\231s politi-  
cal alma mater.

During those 28 years this  
countryâ\200\231s politics, particularly  
black politics, became an in-  
creasing enigma to many white  
South Africans. But in reality  
the country was going through  
an enormous black political re-  
vival, central to which emerged  
powerful support for the policies  
enshrined in the ANCâ\200\231s Free-

E IGHTY years ago today saw

R R R R Râ\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

/A JQN â\200\224-â\200\224d

The organisation was formed  
on the initiative of a black law-  
yer, Pixley ka-Isaka Seme, at an  
historic conference attended by  
100 delegates from all four prov-  
inces, including chiefs and re-  
presentatives from the then

British protectorates.

Semeâ\200\231s idea of creating a national organisation to fight for the rights of the African people of South Africa, came to fruition when the ANC, under the name South African Nativesâ\200\231 National Congress, was founded 80 years ago.

According to an official ANC statement released this week, the formation of the ANC was in large measure a response to the 1910 Act of Union. This Act represented agreement at an earlier convention between what the ANC called â\200\234British imperialism and the colonial settlers to unite South Africa on the basis of the racial exclusion of the majority of its people.â\200\235

But the ANCâ\200\231s founding passed unnoticed and unrecorded by â\200\234whiteâ\200\235 newspapers and even by the black-orientated newspaper, Imvo, who editor JL Jabavu (also a senior ANC member) feared it might alienate those few whites who professed sympathy for African grievances.

Looking back over its 80 years, the ANC has achieved a remarkable record of unity, even when its existence was challenged by some internal crises which threatened its col-

lapse Internal squabbles, corruption, fundamental disagreements and power struggles: have for the most part been successfully settled before reaching the stage when members would wash their dirty linen in public.

Oliver Tambo, who was the ANC president during its history in exile until Dr Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela was released from the Robben Island in 1990, managed to knit together the rank and file of this organisation with skill, wit and abundant tolerance.

While the ANCâ\200\231s counterparts in black South African politics were pre-occupied with destructive in-fighting, the ANC went out to capture the hearts and minds of the international community. The ANC thus enjoyed unprecedented world-wide support of a national liberation

movement from Africa. This support was further strengthened by the popularity gained through the formulation and adoption of the Freedom Charter in 1955.

Over the years the ANC has transformed itself from being a conservative, moderate organisation, into a militant and radical mass movement.

It is debatable whether the ANC's military wing, Mkhonto we Sizwe (MK) could have seriously challenged the might of the South African Defence Force. However, one thing is clear it has achieved resounding

h happy return

success as a symbolic army, keeping the morale and spirits high among those suffering during the long years of banning and banishment.

South Africa today is witnessing the ANC which is steadily but firmly transforming itself from an exile organisation involved in revolution into a political party engaged in negotiation. The suspension of the MK activities are also in line with this process.

The ANC has pointed out that the success of the sitting of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) is a great achievement for South Africa, and it celebrates its 80th anniversary after the adoption of a Declaration of Intent containing constitutional principles of apartheid and racial domination.

The ANC will mark this historic occasion in various ways throughout the country. The main event will be a rally at the Free State Stadium in Bloemfontein to be addressed by its president, Dr Mandela, who will deliver the anniversary statement setting out the ANC's main policy thrust for the coming year.

Dr Mandela will also present Isitwalandwe medals to various honoured ANC cadres including its current national chairman, Oliver Tambo. The Isitwalandwe medal, first

awarded in 1955 at the Congress

of the People, to Chief Albert Luthuli, Dr Yusuf Dadoo and Father Trevor Huddleston, is the ANC's highest honour awarded to those who have shown bravery and excelled themselves in battle.

Chief Luthuli was the first ANC president who played a very crucial role to bring the

Chief Albert Luthuli

ANC into international politics. Being a Christian and a traditional chief, Luthuli brought

with him a formidable experience to the organisation which

helped him unite many tendencies and elements within the,

organisation. He managed and -

led the ANC as a true broad

church

CASE TOWNThe Govern- i

ment and the ANC said yesterday that the gap between them on the issue of an elected constitution-making body was narrowing but there were also signals that tough bargaining lay ahead.

The Government resumed its hardline stance at Codesa by bluntly stating that it had no mandate from white voters for a majoritarian constitution-making body, which the ANC favoured.

A document tabled by the

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By Chns Whitfield

Political Correspondent

Government at Codesa restated that an end to violence was a precondition for the establishment of an interim government and the ANC charged that it was trying to bog down negotiations. , The Government wanted an elected bicameral transitional parliament, to be charged with the additional task of constitution making, with

S, AR

closing the gap\200\231(

both Houses of Parliament approving the constitution.

In a significant point of difference from the ANC, the Government wants the composition of the second House to ensure \200\230\200\234\200\230special representation and decision-making ensuring protection of minorities on a regional and political party basis\200\235.

@ Codesa II would convene on May 15-16 to bind parties to substantive agreements on an interim government and

elections for a constitution-

" making body, it was reported last night.

Senior ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa said the ANC would participate on the understanding that agree-

ments would be entered into |

on interim government, the form and date of elections for a constitution-making body, reincorporation of TBVC states, joint control of security forces and independent

y control of the state media

| A NATIONAL united 1 er-  
\* ation front combining all lib-  
| eration organisations, is in  
the pipeline, Dr Nchaupé  
Mokoape deputy president of

: ,n the Azanian Peopleâ\200\231s Organi-

+--sation (Azapo) announced in  
| Durban yesterday.

He also said Azapo com-  
pletely disassociated itself  
from the recent â\200\234attacks on

| white teachers at schools and

1 unnecessary school boycotts  
| perpetuated by some dubious  
; ;\_4 elements at certain schoolsâ\200\235.  
' Addressing a press confer-

5 . ence, Dr Mokoane said Azapo

Liberation front in plpellne saXsAzapoll.

By iza Ntshakala

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had decided to call a confer-  
ence of all organisations  
which had â\200\234a stance on non-  
collaboration and who have a  
proven record in their strug-  
gle to free black people to  
form a liberation solidarity  
frontâ\200\235.

He said the front would in-  
volve trade unions, communi-  
ty and civic organisations,  
church and sporting bodles  
and other political organis-

front as soon as possible.

He said talks had already  
begun with the Workers |  
Organisation of South Africa | |  
and the South African Con- |  
gress of Sport. Azapo had = -  
meetings planned with the | -  
Congress of South African | -  
Trade Unions and the  
National Council of Trade  
Unions.

Dr Mokoape said Azapo S e  
fourth national council in

had officially resolved that

plans on the front. must go  
ahead.

atlons to put together the

Qwaqwa over the weekend



- PATRICK LEEMAN looks back on a significant 12 months for Dr Buthelezi and the Inkatha Freedom Party

What a

5 THE HIGH POINT of  
: KwaZulu politics for the

year was the recent fu-  
re caused by the with-

drawal of Chief Minister:

Mangosuthu Buthelezi from  
the Codesa conference.

His withdrawal was  
sparked by the wavering of  
the Codesa steering com-  
mittee to take a decision on  
the inclusion of Zulu King  
Goodwill Zwelithini as a  
delegate to the talks.

Another significant devel-  
opment was in July when  
the Weekly Mail published  
several articles stating that  
the South African Police  
had made large secret cash  
payments to back Inkatha  
rallies.

In November the newspa-  
per reported that Defence

| Force Military Intelligence  
had funded a front organ-  
isations on behalf of  
Inkatha to the tune of  
R1 million.

The original articles said  
at least R250 000 was paid  
to the Inkatha Freedom  
Party for a rally addressed

Meeting Maggie at Ulundi . .

ear for KwaZulu

ear

by the King at King's Park  
in Durban on November 19,  
1989, and for another at the  
same venue addressed by  
IFP president Dr Buthelezi  
on March 25, 1990.

The Minister of Foreign

Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and the then Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, subsequently admitted that the payments had been made.

Dr Buthelezi said that he had had no idea whatsoever that large secret cash payments had been deposited in a Durban Inkatha bank account to back rallies of the party.

He was unanimously re-elected as president of the IFP during an emotional national conference.

A former personal assistant to the IFP president, Mr Zakhele Khumalo, resigned a few days after the scandal erupted, saying he had withheld information about the money paid for the rallies from his party

-leader.

On January 29 the /KwaZulu Chief Minister met the then deputy president of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, at a Durban hotel. It was the first time in 30 years that the two leaders had met although they had corresponded while the ANC figurehead was in prison.

They called for an end to political violence and indicated that the talks had gone a long way towards facilitating an all-party conference.

Dr Buthelezi and Mr Mandela met in Durban again at the end of March to discuss the violence on the Reef and in Natal.

The IFP president made a strong plea for reconciliation and forgiveness in politics when he spoke at the 18th KwaZulu prayer breakfast in March to mark the official opening of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

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He was in tears when he said :â\200\234 I am sorry for any hurt that I have caused Mr Mandela wittingly or unwittinglyâ\200\235.

Dr Buthelezi scored major political points when he was visited at Ulundi in May by the former British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

Mrs Thatcher was welcomed at Ulundi airport by a cheering crowd of about 10 000 people.

In June he attacked Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans when he visited him in the KwaZulu capital for his Governmentâ\200\231s refusal to supply financial aid to Inkatha and for saying that the African National Congress was the most widely representative

' black organisation in South Africa.

A subsequent week-long visit to Atlanta, Washington and New York marked Dr Butheleziâ\200\231s biggest US public relations offensive since

President F W de Klerk released Mr Mandela from prison and legalised the ANC and other banned opposition parties.

He had lunch with President George Bush and campaigned for sanctions against Pretoria to be lifted.

In London he criticised the ANC for continuing its support for sanctions at a time when all African countries apart from Libya currently traded with South Africa.

Dr Buthelezi also met British Prime Minister John Major and encouraged him to visit South Africa at the earliest opportunity.

In July he met British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd in Durban and said that, if black-on-black violence did not end in South Africa, the country would slide in the same direction as Angola and Mozambique.

In August the KwaZulu leader visited Taipei and said present good relations

poli

with Taiwan would continue if a black government came to power. NG

.. In November Dr Buthelezi

said it was â\200\234preposterousâ\200\235 to suggest that the shadowy elements making up the so-called â\200\234third forceâ\200\235 were orchestrated by President de Klerk, as alleged by the ANC. He was addressing Chief Emeka Anyaoku, secretary-general of the Commonwealth.

Later the same month he

told the Swiss Parliament in Berne that there would be no nationalisation under an Inkatha government.

[ Treurnicht  
' calls on MPs

A% - F&J-yÂ«â\200\234}\_z &

â\200\230to join him

CAPE TOWNâ\200\224Conservative

white MPs who still believed in the freedom of their nation

| to â\200\234join hands with the CP to

protect our own white nat-

Addressing a packed civic centre at a CP meeting at Kraaifontein near Cape

Town, he said the CP believed |  
that the only acceptable constitutional future for South Africa was a commonwealth in which each nation ruled itself, but with member States co-operating on such matters as defence, economics and foreign affairs.

Dr Treurnicht, who received  
;. a number of standing ovations from the crowd of about 1500, rejected the idea of a  
b federation because this would  
still have one central government.  
He said the time had come

' for the Government to â\200\234put its foot downâ\200\235 and state that |

there was only one police force and defence force.

The Government should  
also â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230put its foot downâ\200\231â\200\231  
against the African National |

Party leader Andries Treurnicht last night called on -

Congressâ\200\231 armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe. |

Dr Treurnicht said it was unheard of that President de Klerk could tell the Dutch on his current visit to Europe

that he would be prepared to |

serve under ANC president Nelson Mandela. â\200\224 (Sapa)

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The KwaZulu Chief Minister also told the European Parliament in Brussels that the majority of South Africans wanted a much smaller future government â\200\224 not one that would be able to

amass the draconian powers  
that the ruling National  
Party had gathered over 43  
years.

And then, only a few days  
ago, Dr Buthelezi pulled out  
of Codesa.

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welcomes SA

- JOHANNESBURGâ\200\224The Sheffield

Chamber of Commerce and Industry  
believes the political changes taking  
lace in South Africa will strengthen  
e countryâ\200\231s economy and enhance  
its increasing role in the growth of  
other economies in southern Africa.

Speaking here yesterday the  
Chamberâ\200\231s president Don Lyon said  
South Africa had always been a pop-  
ular market for Sheffield industries  
and it was appropriate that it should  
bring a trade mission of some 25 del-  
egates to South Africa since the re-  
laxing of restrictive trade sanctions.

The Sheffield Chamber has  
brought five trade missions to South  
Africa but the present visit is the  
largest and the first since 1985 when  
sanctions were imposed on South  
Africa.

Trade mission secretary John  
Hambidge said the chamber had al-  
ways believed politics and business  
should be kept separate and that it  
encountered considerable opp-  
osition in the past because of its  
favourable stance towards South  
Africa.

While it was the expectation of the  
trade mission delegates to increase.  
~ bilateral trade, Mr Hambidge said

there were no definite intentions to  
set up joint ventures or investment  
directly in South Africa. ;

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UK trade mission

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But, he pointed out that the Bophuthatswana Development Corporation had invited delegates to the independent homeland territory with a view to establishing joint ventures there.

He was, however, uncertain whether these would materialise.

Regarding trade relations between South Africa and Sheffield, Mr Hambidge said there were opportunities for South Africa in Sheffield and since the recession of the early 1980s the once predominantly steel and engineering city had diversified into other areas, notably the service sector.

He said there was a possibility for South African-made steel to find its way to engineering works in Sheffield but this could prove a difficult task as there was an oversupply of steel world-wide and the industry had become extremely competitive.

He indicated there was potential for South Africa to export steel to Sheffield due to the lower cost.

Trade delegates, essentially in South Africa as an export body are made up from a wide range of industries from engineering to human resources training and non-edible cake decorators.

® They will be in SA until February 14 and will visit Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg. 200\224 (Sapa) i

to lead

JOHANNESBURG 200\224South Africa 200\231s major black and white business groups have returned from an International Labour Organisation-convened meeting in Harare last week committed to the formation of a united non-racial organisation to represent employer interests.

The move is likely to lead to SA business 200\231s re-entry into the international community at the ILO through the Inter-



national Employersâ\200\231 Organi-  
sation (IOE), and its affiliat-  
ion to the Pan-African  
Employersâ\200\231 Confederation  
(PEC) based in Nairobi.

Saccola â\200\224 which represents  
Sacob, Seifsa, the Chamber of  
Mines, the AHI and five other  
large organisations â\200\224- is like-  
ly to disband to facilitate the  
formation of a new umbrella  
body incorporating Nafcoc  
and Fabcos, all of whom were  
at the meÃ@tling. 2

Nafcoc represents largely  
the formal black business sec-  
tor and Fabcos the informal  
sector.

In addition to the interna-  
tional bodies, representatives

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â\200\231Mchury Correspondent

of a number of European and  
African employer organis-  
ations were present at the  
meeting held from January 27  
to 29.

Countries represented in-  
cluded Gabon, Ghana, Ke-  
nya, Malawi, Morocco, Maur-  
itius, Nigeria, Norway,  
Uganda, Netherlands, the UK,  
Tanzania, Tunisia, Zambia  
and Zimbabwe.

SA employers were expelled  
from the IOE in 1983. Unifica-  
tion, along with political  
change, have been seen as  
preconditions for readmitt-  
ance. The SA government was  
forced to withdraw from the  
ILO in 1964.

Saccola vice chairman  
Johann Liebenberg said yes-  
terday his organisation had  
already been talking to Fab-  
cos and Nafcoc about a merg-  
er when, at the initiative of  
Employersâ\200\231 Confederation of  
Zimbabwe director David  
Chanaiwa, the Harare meet-  
ing was proposed.

Mr Liebenberg described

â\200\234Our developing relationship

with employer organisations in other parts of Africa could have positive implications for commerce, trade and industry," he said.

"Clearly they are talking about our coming back into the IOE," said Saccola chairman Bokkie Botha.

Saccola, Nafcoc and Fabcos are to establish a working committee as soon as possible to study and make proposals on the creation of a new organisation.

A document summarising the conclusions and recommendations of the Harare meeting states that the core activities of the organisation would be "social affairs such as labour issues, relations and dialogue with workers and their organisations, occupational safety and health."

But, the statement adds, it should also be active in the development of entrepreneurship, training of managers and staff, job creation, the environment and human re-

The new organisation must =

also be able "to participate effectively in the national tripartite dialogue and contribute significantly to the

development of a national | 21

policy aimed at economic

growth and employment

creation."

The document implicitly |-

addresses fear of big business dominating the new body. "It

states that "to be able to | .-

mobilise, unite, represent and |

speak for all employers, a national employers' organisation | At has to be representative of the various economic sectors, all

types of enterprise and em- | .,

ployers "small, medium and large, domestic and multina-

tional companies.â\200\235

It should be structured, the document adds, so as to ensure representivity and effectiveness. In particular, there must be â\200\234a balanced representation of all sectors, activities and categories of enterprises in the decision-making bodies.

The IOE and PEC have pledged any required assistance to the working party.

the meeting as very fruitful

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sources development.

Ã@w non-racial body likely to\_re-entry into ILO

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' CAPE TOWNâ\200\224The economy

is close to a turning point and the forthcoming upswing will be â\200\234faster and more sustained than recent recoveriesâ\200\235, says. economist Rob Lee, senior

- portfolio manager at the

Board of Executors.

He forecasts, in his monthly Investment Outlook, that a growth rate of between 4% and 5% is possible for 1993.

. overvalued, with plenty of

selective value situations still

\* available. -

â\200\234However shorter term weakness is possible, particu-

larly if further rights issues

are announced, although we

RS

Given this positive view on .  
the longer term growth out- -  
look we do not believe equi- -  
ties are particularly -

SA economy

' |

would not expect major  
downside. :  
Long bonds offer reason-

level, while se-lective pro-  
perty investments should

. prove rewarding on a two to

three year view.â\200\235  
Although long-term growth

in the economy will come

through increased exports,  
Mr Lee says â\200\234in the medium  
term the critical variable driv-  
ing economic recovery will be

| rising investmentâ\200\235. P  
= He thinks the budget next

month â\200\234may contain some  
Important decisions in this re-  
spect. We anticipate for exam-  
ple tpat although the budget  
deficit will probably remain

: high}vavtvaropnd 4;53% of gross

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~ able value at above the 16% '

lose to re  
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Mercury Correspondent# / I~ domestic product (GDP) . or the abolition of the import | lagged  
impac

\_than current spending so that |  
most if not all state borrowing | implications for the individ-

| ated depreciation allowances

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Â¢ of â\200\230nsw;;t ilhtgf-  
st rates and an'end to e in-

inventory destocking cycle\200\235.

there will be a significant shift

surcharge on capital goods  
towards investment rather

' may be announced. i  
\200\234This has some unfortunate He expects MSTE0 i

: growth to be between 3%

will finance investment. ! ual taxpayer, because it is un- 49 this year.

spending. ' likely that anything more BT  
\200\234There are likely to be large = than a gesture in the direction: -

increases in spending on such of relief on fiscal drag will be

areas as housing and roads = possible.

while spending on the bu- . \200\234It also seems very likely

republic will be cut. that petrol tax will be in-  
\200\234Amongst other things this = creased in order to keep the

implies a relatively low in- deficit within reasonable

crease (perhaps around 10%) bounds.\200\235

in the wages of civil servants.\200\235 Discussing international  
On the tax side, Mr Lee | economies, Mr Lee thinks pes-

thinks further measures to Simism about the US econo-

stimulate investment such as. my is overdone and that a

the reintroduction of acceler- moderate economic recovery

can be expected there \200\234on the

E\200\224\200\224

: e fback of longep inflation, \_\_the

- TV J A~  
~JOHANNESBURG\200\224After

the \200\234dismal failure\200\235 of Codesa.  
LIfsthe P an Africanist

. Congress\200\231s priority was to re-  
; conÃ'gerne the Patriotic Front

and get the issue of violence

" to the UN Security Council.

An alternative forum-to Co-

desa was the only way for-

. ward in the negotiation  
process, PAC general secre-

\* tary Benny Alexander told a  
. Johannesburg news confer-

ence yesterday. ;  
The dismal failure of  
Codesa II vindicates the PAC  
assertion-that Codesa can't  
deliver the goods, he said,  
adding: There is no need to  
review our position on Codesa

involve  
wants to involve

2 5 s  
tion confronting this nation |  
is, what is the alternative now  
that Codesa has failed.

Meanwhile, reports Sapa,  
PAC president Clarence  
Mlamli Makwetu has told tra-  
ditional leaders of the north-

ern Transvaal in Lebowak-

gomo that a conference on a  
proposed constitution for  
South Africa was being  
planned by the PAC's depgrrt,-  
ment of legal and constitu-  
tional affairs.

The PAC leader invited tra-  
ditional leaders who have  
been granted observer status  
at the Convention for a Demo-  
cratic South Africa to send

and the only relevant ques-

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delegates to the conference.

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Â»7."â\200\230 Viewpoint

Ã@ome thoughts ab(w% th

N HIS recent visit to Cuba,

ANC President Nelson  
i Mandela had nothing but  
high praise for Fidel Castro and  
the â\200\234great advancesâ\200\235 the Carib-  
bean country had made under  
communism. He particularly ad-  
mired the sacrifices the Cuban  
people had made in maintaining  
their sovereignty â\200\234in the face of  
imperialist-orchestratedâ\200\235â\200\231  
campaigns.

A couple of weeks ago, a  
spokesman for the SA Commu-  
nist Party Natal Midlands  
branch, the same organisation  
which warmly welcomed the  
right-wing (hardline commu-  
nist) coup which temporarily  
ousted Mr Mikhail Gorbachev  
in the Soviet Union last year,  
stated that the SACP saw the  
campaign to save Cuba as ur-  
gent. The campaign, he added,

was part of a wider internation- -

| al strategy to â\200\234expose the impe-  
| rialist onslaughtâ\200\235 on Cuba. The  
| campaign was underpinned by  
| two considerations â\200\224 humani-  
| tarian aid and an â\200\234â\200\230eco-political  
| strategy to boost the Cuban  
| economy.â\200\235  
It is understandable that in

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Â£ I F ANYONE under-

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estimates the new regional  
chairman of the ANC, Jeff  
Radebe, on account of his po-  
liteness and careful'manners,  
they are making a big mis-

\_ | take.

His unassuming demean-  
our masks a razor-sharp in-

| tellect which is being used to

great effect in building the

| ANC in Southern Natal.

He was born in Cato Manor  
and raised in Kwa Mashu,  
and by the time he reached

1 high school he was already

fully involved in the debates  
and activities characterising  
the politics of resistance at  
the time.

their quest to overthrow apart-  
heid the ANC and the SACP  
turned to any quarter that  
would give them help. Unfortu-  
nately, for decades the Western  
democracies cold-shouldered  
the ANC. This was partly be-  
cause the SA Government had  
enjoyed long, close links with  
the West (SA had fought on  
their side in major global con-  
flicts), partly because apartheid  
was practised also in the US un-  
til the 1960s, and partly because  
the ANC, and obviously the  
SACP, were seen to be clients of  
the Kremlin so that to help  
them would have been tanta-  
mount to shifting the balance of  
power in southern Africa in fa-  
vour of the Soviet Union.

The â\200\234imperialistâ\200\235 West was

branded as the buttress of  
apartheid. Apartheid itself was  
labelled as a hybrid of imperial-  
ism. The communist bloc, eager  
to use any opportunity to em-  
barrass and destabilise the  
West, exploited this by  
projecting itself as the true lib-  
erator of the South African op-  
pressed, its own appalling

record of human rights abuse

notwithstanding.

If the ANC and the SACP  
would be honest and say the  
real reason why they show such  
ardent support for Mr Castro is  
simply out of loyalty and grati-  
tude for the support they got  
during their years of struggle,  
one could perhaps understand  
their motivation.



But it is incomprehensible  
that their support is so often  
dressed up as admiration for the  
alleged great advances of  
Fidelism (as the Cuban brand of  
communism is known) or, alter-  
natively, the need to show  
internationalist solidarity with  
socialism (read communist to-  
talitarianism) against imperial-  
ism (read Western democracy).

If Cuba is such a marvellous  
place, why does the Maximum  
Leader (as Mr Castro modestly  
calls himself) not allow a multi-  
party democracy and free elec-  
tions? Why does he not allow a  
free press to compete with his  
party's monopoly of the media?  
Why does he travel about his  
own country in constant fear of  
his life, choosing without notice  
from any one of 20 safe houses  
where he will overnight?

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n the Regional Dispute

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Of course, the communist  
diehards will say these mea-  
sures are necessary because of  
the imperialist onslaught  
against Cuba. But in their  
hearts they know this is a lie.  
The truth is that Mr Castro has  
subjugated his people to one of  
the most brutal experiments in  
social engineering in the history  
of man. In the end, like the di-  
sastrous and equally monstrous

experiment of apartheid, Fidelism will be swept into the dustbin of history. And if the ANC and the SACP should ever attempt to instal Fidelism in SA it will have the same fate.

I visited Havana for a few days two years ago and was able to see at first hand what sort of paradise Mr Castro has created for his people. While it is true that one cannot judge an entire country and system after only one brief visit, certain things were quite obvious to me.

We were told by our government hosts that Mr Castro had devoted his life to creating â\200\234the New Manâ\200\235 (heed that phrase carefully, some of our politicians are using it). New Man is

- ship, everyone is supposed to

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Leader . . .

supposed to be liberated from poverty and materialism (and, what they aonâ\200\231t tell you, critical thought). His fundamental needs are provided for by the state, including food, shelter and employment.

Under Mr Castroâ\200\231s dictator-

have a home. But because no-one is allowed to own property (all houses belong to the state), there is no incentive to maintain them. One has only to drive through Havana to see how people are jammed into decaying houses, shacks even, which were last painted before the revolution. The party elite, on the other hand, lives in palatial accommodation in the diplomatic suburb of the capital.

Everyone has food, but most people are hungry. On a large tropical island that should be a massive exporter of food, the Cuban peopleâ\200\231s food is rationed. Local citizens readily tell visitors about the chronic shortages and the measly quality of even the most basic of foodstuffs such as milk, bread anâ\200\231 meat. They all have â\200\234jobsâ\200\235, but most domestic needs.

. come to power.

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nzania and â\200\230the

â\200\234For strategic purposes we

According to statistics

people donâ\200\231t work. It is quite evident after even a brief visit that in an effort to find employment for everyone the Cuban - economy is one of the most backward and labour-intensive in the world. People do the work Â° of traffic signals while most elevators have operators, for example. The result is the economy is so outmoded that it cannot produce goods for competition on the world markets, let alone

Shortages, lack of incentive, poor accommodation, a decaying economy sliding towards total collapse are just part of the picture. Under Mr Castro the Cubans are governed by one of the most repressive regimes in the â\200\230world. There are countless reports of the abuse of human rights on the island.

Is this really the kind of society the ANC and the SACP find so praiseworthy and worth an international campaign to save? If they truly believe this I fear for the future of SA should they

@ Editor John Patten is on |

degree he did his articles in the practice started by Archie Gumede and Phyllis Naidoo, and became involved in the underground machinery of the ANC.

In 1977 he left the country and went to Tanzania where he underwent military training before working as an announcer on Radio Freedom.

â\200\234Then the movement sent me to the German Democratic Republic where I studied

for a master's degree in international law, he said.

He was then appointed deputy chief representative

Ror

of the ANC in Tanzania before

affairs department and receiving a posting to Lesotho.

After spending three years there, he was arrested in Johannesburg on charges of terrorism and sentenced to 24 years in prison.

He was released in June, 1990.

At the first regional conference of the ANC he was elected deputy chairman and a year later he became chairman.

Radebe was centrally involved in the ANC team given

the responsibility for drafting the National Peace Accord, and he holds a position

on the Resolution Committee.

His task as regional ANC chairman is not easy. There are 67 000 paid-up members and 105 branches making Southern Natal a truly powerful region for the ANC.

In November, 1990, there were 20 branches and 25 000 members, and a year later there were five times more branches, and more than twice as many members.

But remember this growth statistic would have been much higher if it were not for the severely inhibiting effects of endemic violence. . .

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~ahead.

need to bring the violence to an end,â\200\235 he said.

He sees the current peace initiatives in Natal, which now include representatives of the security forces, political organisations, churches, business and other interested parties, as being on the right track.

â\200\230â\200\234We have moved away from the old bilateral approach involving only the ANC and Inkatha and are now locking in one compartment all the parties involved,â\200\235 he said.

He sees a challenging year

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more than 20% of South Africaâ\200\231s population lives in Natal, and plans are afoot to forge unity in all aspects between the ANC regions of Southern, Northern and Midlands Natal.

Recent political history has indicated that the ANC in the three regions have tended to act independently, without co-ordination and with little sense of wider strategy.

The successful galvanising of the whole Natal population could provide plenty of organisational difficulties for

the political opponents of the

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Islandâ\200\231

ANC.

Jeff Radebe says there are several problems which must be confronted without delay, and these include finding funds and employment for returnees and corruption in the KwaZulu Education Department.

Also, according to Radebe,  
the ANC is an organisation  
which has not enjoyed a his-  
tory of participating in demo-  
cratic elections.

This means that many of  
the organisationsâ\200\231 activities  
will be geared toward prepar-  
ing members for elections to  
a constituent assembly.

Dominic Mitchell

\_\\_.\

P e i t TeY -

Political Correspondent\_ CHRIS W/HITFIELD reports from Cape Town

ward the shaping of a new  
South Africa will take place  
today with the opening meetings

- of Codesa's five Working Groups.

Late last night frantic last minute preparations were still being finalised, including a Government meeting with an Inkatha Freedom Party delegation here.

The IFP has yet to sign Codesa's Declaration of Intent, fearing that it will bind the party to a unitary state, and Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi declined to attend Codesa I in December because the Zulu king had not been invited.

= On Tuesday evening senior Government representatives also met an ANC delegation, including the organisations secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

Yesterday Mr Roelf Meyer, the Minister of Defence and Communications and a member of Working Group three, moved to reassure negotiating partners that no

THE first substantive steps to-

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with the ANC.

Some of Codesa participants have expressed fears that the Government and ANC were thrashing out deals behind closed doors and presenting them to Codesa to be rubber stamped.

It is not our intention to make deals outside the Codesa structures, said Mr Meyer.

It was natural to expect talks between organisations on cer-

tain issues but meetings were also taking place with other parties, he said. However, it was important that no organisation

try to pre-empt the deliberations of any working group.

The Working Groups will set up in terms of the deliberations at

Codesa I and described by -

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer as the "real engine room" of the process will today begin probing key constitutional areas at the World Trade Centre in Johannesburg. However, Mr Meyer told a press briefing here he did not

first steps towards a new SA

to "an opportunity to make a big breakthrough". But it would be a "kick-off of very important activity".

He thought the first aim would be to determine the agenda for each Working Group and find common ground "as far as possible".

Issues would be identified and terms of reference found, he suggested. The Working Groups will meet again on Monday and Tuesday next week and for one or two days during the following six weeks.

Mr Meyer said there was no reason at this stage to expect Codesa II "which will report back on progress in the working groups" to take place later than the end of March, as originally anticipated. It will also take place at the World Trade Centre.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delport, asked about possible

- invitations to other groups to attend Codesa, said the intention

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or organisations with significant



support present.

It would have to be decided, for example, if Cosatu amounted to a political organisation, he said.

Dr Delport added that it accepted that Codesa would have to arrive at some agreement on who would oversee the elections to an interim government or transitional authority.

Mr Meyer also confirmed Dr de Beer's assertion this week that members of the public would soon be invited to put forward submissions to Codesa which are relevant to the deliberations of the working groups.

The various working groups will address five broad areas. They are:

• Creating a climate for political participation;

• General constitutional principles;

• Transitional arrangements;

• The future of the TBVC states, and;

• Time frames and the implementation of Codesa's decisions.

ANTHONY JOHNSON reports from Cape Town

Speculation rife about PAC's Barney Desai

SPECULATION was rife in political circles last night that the PAC's national publicity secretary, Mr Barney Desai, was in the process of being sidelined by radicals in the organisation as a result of his pro-negotiation stance. 230

PAC spokesmen dismissed the speculation but offered widely divergent reasons for why the former London barrister would be 234out of circulation 235 for at least the next two months.

Some well-placed sources said that Mr Desai's removal from the political hurly burly was part of an attempt by a dissident PAC faction, operating under the adapted slogan of 234One

intellectual, one bulletâ\200\235, to  
purge the top leadership hierar-  
chy of the PAC.

One source said that PAC  
president, Mr Clarence Mak-  
wetu, and vice-president, Mr  
Dikgang Moseneke, were also  
targets in the attempted purge.

secret deals were being struck

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think the meeting would amount

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was to have all political parties

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d ETER McLean, deputâ\200\231y  
P chairman and chief execu-

tive of Argus Newspapers,  
has called for the involvement  
of editors and publishers in the  
Codesa talks to ensure that the  
freedom of the press is protect-  
ed in the Bill of Rights.

; Mr McLean retires from the  
. Argus Company today after 38  
' years. In addition to his position  
with Argus, he holds a host of  
top posts in newspapers and  
publishing.

He said that the onus rested  
on editors and publishers to en-  
â\200\230sure that, whatever press  
charter was adopted, the pub-  
licâ\200\231s right to be informed was  
protected. :

â\200\234We must have an oar in the  
~ water to ensure that when the

new con-â\200\231)ghltution i?rafted  
there will be no restrictive legis-  
lation to make the job of the  
press more difficult.â\200\235

He was certain that a future ANC government was aware that attempts to control the press would destroy its credibility. There was not a great deal to be gained by reducing the press to propaganda sheets.

Mr McLean paid tribute to newspapers for the role they had played in â\200\234serving the people of South Africa for the past 100 years and moreâ\200\235.

Argus newspapers had never been afraid to expose bad government, unjust laws, maladministration or cover-up jobs. â\200\234They have been fierce propo-

WINNIE GRAHAM reports from Johannesburg

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nents of the freedom of the press and the right of people to know.

â\200\234They have published news, commentary and advertising that have informed readers.

â\200\234They have acted as a public forum in which they have reflected different perspectives of the facts and have carried the views, attitudes and opinions of the public, or sections of the public.â\200\235

A heavy onus rested on our newspapers to ensure that there was no let-up or deviation from the goals and ideals which had driven them.

Mr McLean views the future of newspapers with optimism.

The Argus company, he said, sold about 700 000 newspapers

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lieved of his normal duties, â\200\234temporarilyâ\200\235, following a meet- . '

ing of the PAC's national execu- .

tive council at the weekend.

However, PAC explanations

for the move yesterday varied 5  
from 'he'll be out of the office  
for some time' doctor's or-

ders' to 'he's been asked to do

a special mission'.

Mr Desai's official second-in-

command, Mr Waters Toboti, =  
said from the PAC's Johannes-

burg office that Mr Desai was  
'well' there's nothing wrong

with him' and still a member

of the organisation'.

However, the PAC's foreign af- |

fairs director, Ms Patricia de  
Lille, said in Cape Town that Mr . T

Desai was grossly overworked @ -  
and 'not well' and had been  
told by his doctors to take off for  
between six weeks and two

months.

Mr Desai, who was in Pretoria

Mr Desai was apparently re- - | :s\_,-};

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last night, could not be

contacted. ; Ry

1 'W, Zulus meet over

daily, more than half of which

were bought by black readers.

The market of the future  
would be black, and the com-  
pany was geared for it.

The company's black ad-

vancement programme had made a good start. A number of training programmes were in place.

Though there were few black men or women in key positions, the process of advancement had started.

â\200\234It has been said,â\200\235 he added, â\200\234that the Argus company has appointed its last white editor of The Star.

â\200\234Who knows? All that is certain is that the job will always go to the best person â\200\224 white or black.â\200\235

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; Klerkâ\200\231s historic speech on

Âç : N A T @ Ã©  
ingâ\200\231s Codesa delegatio

THE whole constitutional process in South Africa could be in jeopardy if the king of the Zulus, King Goodwill Zwelithini, is not allowed to lead a separate delegation to the next meeting of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

This is the view of political

' .pbservers, in the light of to-

.dayâ\200\231s meeting in Cape Town between King Goodwill, Kwa-Zulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President de Klerk.

â\200\230They believe that if the Government refuses to allow the king a place at the table, the IFP â\200\234is almost certainâ\200\235 to pull out of Codesa. This could derail all the political initia-

- \_tives undertaken since Mr de

By Patrick Leeman

February 2, 1990.

It is thought unlikely that Codesa would be able to survive without the input of the IFP as well as the Conservative Party, the Pan-Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation, which have all refused to attend the talks so far.

Meanwhile, the members of

the KwaZulu Legislative As-

sembly caucus, meeting at

Ulundi yesterday, endorsed the decision not to sign the

Codesa declaration of intent

on December 20; the proposed amendments; and Dr Buthe-

lezi's decision not to attend, =

following the exclusion of the

KwaZulu Assembly and the G

king.

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" DAVID GREYBE reports

HE ANCâ\200\231s constitutionalâ\200\231

principles were released  
yesterday, proposing a unit-  
ed, multi-party State in which  
the diversity of languages,  
cultures and religions â\200\230â\200\234shall  
be acknowledgedâ\200\235. ;

An ANC delegation to Cod-  
esa, headed by secretary-gen-  
eral Cyril Ramaphosa,  
presented the document to a  
meeting of Working Group  
Two, on constitutional  
matters.

=1 Sapa exclusively obtained a  
~ copy of the ANC proposals  
when the working group held  
its second meeting yesterday

- at the World Trade Centre

~ near Johannesburg.

mmpy i  
SA Communist Party  
yesterday unveiled its pro-  
posals for a new constitution,  
and said it supported a multi-  
party system based on pro-  
portional representation with  
entrenched checks and bal-  
ances.

Regions would not have the  
| right to secede or to separate  
| from a united South Africa,  
and there would be a clear de-  
| lineation of power between  
the legislative, executive and  
judiciary, the SACP said in its  
- position paper.

5 The SACP released the doc-  
ument behind closed doors at  
Codesa yesterday.

Sapa exclusively obtained a  
copy of the position paper.

The future constitution  
should not prescribe or de-  
limit the balance between pri-  
vate and State involvement in  
economic activity, the SACP  
said.

N Codesa therefore should not  
prescribe economic constitu-  
tional provisions which would  
pre-empt a future parliament

\_from continuing with or de-

parting from the key elements of the existing economic system.

The SACP said it stood for an undivided, multi-party country and a constitution

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â\200\234There will be a multi-party democracy with the right to form and join political parties and with regular elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage on a common votersâ\200\231 roll,â\200\235 the ANC document said.

â\200\234Each vote shall be of equal value and, in general, the basic electoral system shall be that of proportional representation.

â\200\234There shall be a separation of power with appropriate checks and balances.â\200\235

The ANC said the constitution should also allow for the application of affirmative action â\200\234in order to help redress

t party â\200\231t;avours

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ateâ\200\235 checks and balances.

It also called for the en-

trenched protection of cultural, language and religious rights of every individual.

The SACP said it accepted

that provisions had to be made for a role for traditional leaders.

All electoral processes un-

der a new constitution had to be based on the principle of proportional representation, and the SACP said it supported the devolution and/or dele-



gation of defined powers to regional political/administrative entities.

In general, regional entities

had to be delimited primarily according to geographic and economic considerations.

â\200\234The powers of these enti-

ties and the degree of autonomy shall be entrenched in the constitution requiring a special majority both in relation to the enactment of such powers and any amendments thereof.

â\200\234The regional entities shall

not, as entities, elect or appoint representatives to the central legislative structure.

â\200\234Alternatively, if a regional-

ly connected second chamber is decided upon, it shall be made up predominantly of re-

- which entrenched â\200\234appropriate representatives elected from

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on two constitutional proposals

tion and Bill of Rights â\200\224 in-

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the racial and gender imbalances created by past discriminationâ\200\235. .

â\200\234Within the context of an undivided South Africa, government will function at national, regional and local levels; the appropriate division and decentralisation shall be such as to encourage non-racial, democratic participation and administration at all levels.

â\200\234The diversity of languages, cultures and religions of the people of South Africa shall be acknowledged,â\200\235 the ANC paper said.

â\200\234All shall enjoy universally

the regions on the basis of proportional representation.â\200\235

Elections of regional entities had to be governed by the principle of proportional representation based on universal franchise.

On the issue of affirmative action, the SACP said:

â\200\234No constitutional provision shall prevent a future parliament from addressing the process of rectifying racial discrimination, racial injustices and the racial imbalance of wealth through affirmative action. The same applies to gender questions.â\200\235

There was no need for Codesa to prescribe the entrenchment or institutionalisation of political power sharing â\200\224 enforced coalitions â\200\224 between political parties as a principle to be enshrined in a future constitution.

The protection of political minorities would be sufficiently addressed by:

@ â\200\234A system of proportional representation which will guarantee representation to political minorities who obtain a minimum percentage of votes;

Â® â\200\234By the requirement of special majorities to adopt or amend a justiciable constitu-

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lative.â\200\235 â\200\224 (Sapa)

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/ANC to, offer â\200\230united, multi-party Stateâ\200\231zf\Ã@zapQi-\201Q@ (

accepted human rights, freedoms and civil liberties including freedom of religion, speech and assembly protect-

ed by an entrenched and justiciable Bill of Rights and a legal system that guarantees equality of all before the law.

â\200\234South Africa will be a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist State in which

sovereign authority is exercised over the whole of its territory.

â\200\234The constitution will be the supreme law and will be guarded over by an indepen-

dent, non-racial, non-sexist

and impartial judiciary.â\200\235 â\200\224 (Sapa)

proportiOnal plan

cluding provisions relatingK | the powers of regional enti-

ties; and

Â@ â\200\234â\200\230The issue of political power sharing in any transitional executive structures leading up to the adoption of the future constitution remains negotiable.â\200\235

A Bill of Rights should provide judicial remedies to individuals against other individuals or groups, especially in the sphere of preventing the perpetuation of â\200\230â\200\230private apartheidâ\200\235 and the practice of gender discrimination.

It should also not place any constitutional restrictions on the powers of the legislature to address racial and gender discrimination in any area of social life.

As for the role of traditional leaders, the SACP said that such a role had to be guided by functions relating to their traditional jurisdiction, taking into account new socioeconomic realities, and that those functions which they exercised historically relate only to local matters in specific traditional areas.

â\200\234There shall be no special representation of traditional =

leaders in the central legis-

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S E Azanian People's Organisation

(Azapo) is due to hold its fourth national

council meeting since its 10th bi-annual congress in 1990. The council will be held at Bonamelo College of Education, Phutaditjaba in Qwaqwa this weekend. The council will among other things review and re-strategise Azapo's position on critical political matters such as the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) and the organisation's involvement in the Patriotic Front (PF).

Azapo leadership has also hinted that the organisation will re-affirm its commitment to scientific socialism as its guiding ideology for the liberation of the black working class.

Mr Strini Moodley, Azapo's national publicity secretary, said the council will be faced with a difficult task of evaluating the current political events since its last general council held at Bronkhorpruit in KwaNdebele in November last year. He said it was unlikely that Azapo will change its stance on its rejection to have anything to do with the proposed interim government.

Mr Moodley said the council will be attended by a minimum of 200 delegates representing about half a million people countrywide. He said Azapo will particularly concentrate on the developments relating to the Codesa and the PF. He said Azapo will also evaluate its policy on controversial stance on matters relating to the cultural boycott such as the recent Paul Simon tour and ITP Tennis tournament.

The council will assess the current political situation and re-strategise our policy and work out new tactics to consolidate our grassroots work. We will also review our recruitment drive and community development campaigns. This will include revisiting our literacy, farmworker and self-help projects. It has become almost impossible to get funds to support these projects these days, Mr Moodley said.

He said: We will also examine ways and means by which we can disseminate information about the current political development, Azapo and its programmes in the light of the negative attitude of the media in general to

fake stock

Codesa. S1 o 3

Mr Moodley said: Azapo will not be intimidated by the negative and misleading analysis of scientific socialism as presented by neo-political commentators who by and large are committed to capitalism.

Commenting on the role of the black consciousness Mr Moodley said: "Now more than ever before black consciousness has become a necessary tool to protect black people from the programme of destabilisation being mounted by the FW de Klerk regime through its use of violence."

He said the overwhelming intellectual onslaught has frightened black people into denying themselves and their true aspirations. He said only black consciousness can give black people the courage of their convictions.

Responding to questions on "non-racialism and black consciousness" Mr Moodley said: "At this stage it is inconceivable that black consciousness can play a role within a non-racial milieu. Until white people have learnt that this country belongs to the black working class and that they (whites) are capable of relinquishing power and privilege, black consciousness will always be antithetical to non-racialism."

He said Codesa will not be able to satisfy the aspirations of black people.

"First and foremost Codesa is a creation of the De Klerk regime designed to contain the struggle of black people. Secondly, Codesa is made up of a preponderance of apartheid apologists who are only there to secure their personal privilege and interests.

"The only organisation in Codesa that has some credibility is the ANC and its allies. And they alone will not be able to achieve any significant gains for blacks. The recent De Klerk speech in Parliament has proved our argument," said Mr Moodley.

Confronted about the repeated failures of Azapo-organised campaigns Mr Moodley said: "We don't accept that we have not made significant gains in our campaigns. What we have attempted to do is to reflect through those campaigns the mood of the black

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wards its attitude on Azapo's position Agn

people.â\200\235

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24 â\200\224 04 â\200\224q),

â\200\230HE SPLIT in the Democratic Party, trau- alition between them. Both have assumed AN  
C will not restore unity. In fact, wĩ¬\202( it : I

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matic internally for the party concerned, adversarial positions against the other po- will  
do is make the party face up to a predic-  
may also be the first outward sign of a litically, even while working as joint spon- ament  
that has been growing more acute  
trauma awaiting the whole of South Africa. sors of the Codesa talks. ever since President d  
e Klerk reformed the  
The DP has been aware for a long time, There will be only one winner from that NP policies.  
perhaps even from its inception, that the confrontation, and that is the ANC. The It is bei  
ng widely acknowledged that the  
new South Africa it was working for would most the National Party can expect to DPâ\200\231  
s liberal principles have been annexed he ANC may have continued  
mean it would have to become involved in achieve, by trying to get as many other po- by the  
NP. It is also apparent that, in most to hold and abuse prisoners  
alliances beyond its own ranks to remain ef- litical parties as possible to join it in stan  
d- details of policy, the Inkatha Freedom Party - - in Tanzania even after it stat-  
fective and an active player in a difficult po- ing together against the ANC, is to deny th  
e also shares those same liberal principles. g A ast Mavidhas o ;  
litical scene. ANC a two-thirds majority. This would force But supporters of the DP, the NP  
and the â\202¬d last May tha such detain-  
Therefore it has been part of the DPâ\200\231s mis- some constitutional concessions to min  
or- IFP come from different backgrounds and = ees had been freed, the US State  
sion to sound out other parties and groups, ities, but would probably not rescue the mi- se  
e the politics of power very differently. It - Department asserts in its latest  
to find opportunities of working together, so norities from the political wilderness after  
would be naive to assume, because their . annual human rights report.  
that the arrival of a new constitution would that. principles are similar, that there is an  
abso- | = e  
not result in the party simply being side- The forced defection of the five DP MPs lutely n  
atural political allignce to be formed . =~ The report also notes that  
lined. shows the centre coalition plan has taken between the NP, the DP and the IFP. ~ â  
\200\234young South Africansâ\200\235 are still  
The five MPs who have now crossed the what could be a }moqk-out blow. They are Tactically,  
such a line-up â\200\224 specifically . being sent to â\200\234training centresâ\200\235  
| floor, becoming the countryâ\200\231s first ANC the first to take sides in a confrontatio  
n be- aimed at opposing the ANC â\200\224 could only I ilinzonia and Zambialfier  
' members in Parliament, were involved in tween the ANC and the rest led by the Nat- height  
en political tensions and probably in- - Â«feeing violenceâ\200\235 at home  
this work. Others with more conservative ionalists. ! crease the level and scope of politic  
al vio- ;  
leanings are doing similar work in seeking li- Not only does it weaken the DP internally, l  
ence. { Â«Numerous credible reports of  
aisons with the National Party and other but the defections point to a further weaken- It i

s to the credit of the National Party - torture and mistreatment b  
: politi i . Even ; : : y  
parliamentary political groups. ing that may become unstoppable that it has foreseen the se  
rious danger of g0- - ANG security personnel of ANC-  
.~ While that reaching-out process was tak- MPs and DP supporters who want the party ing in  
to a new political system with the main y D  
- ing place to both left and right of the DPâ\200\231s to survive as a separate entity may  
feel parties in confrontation with each other. Its - defector detainees and alleged  
liberal base, there remained the hope that it obliged to seek a securer political home for  
plan to have a collegial presidency and an South African Government spies  
could sucosed in engineering a central coali- . themselves, either with the NP or with the  
gl-party executive is meant to address that, ~ at ANC refugeeÂ@ camps in Tanza-  
tion, spanning the biggest parties, to run the ANC. 4 ; although such a solution builds pol  
itical | \* nia continued in 1991, even after  
country when the new constitution has been When a parting of the ways comes, it does direct  
ionlessnessness â\200\224 possibly even political P RN G s antiouncement in Moy  
\_â\200\234instituted. The DP would have had an excel- not help to stand uncertainly at the  
cross- paralysis â\200\224 right into the decision-making i R e e  
\* lent chance of being part of that coalition, roads. areas of government. ] 4â\200\231 th  
o  
- part of the government. But the split this = This is.not to say there is not a role for t  
he It would have done better to develop its | \*â\2027aSâ\2027d, e report states.  
week suggests the partyâ\200\231s initiative for a sta- â\200\230DP at present, and certain  
ly does not mean working relationship with the ANC, as dem- â\200\230 R P  
ble transition is beginning to fail. there is no place for the defence of liberal onstrated  
in its negotiations over the past | thomtiae h e A  
The odds were always long. The ANC is go- principles. But it does mean that the DP as two y  
ears, into a potential coalition of self- | ave â\200\230â\200\234refused to inter-  
ing for power, undiluted by federal restric- an influential political player may already st  
anding parties. The opportunity now looks | VÂ@ne when cases b brought to  
tions or all-party Cabinets. The National have been mortally wounded. j as if it will be mi  
ssed. the1.r attentionâ\200\231â\200\231 because  
Party, for its part, has been trying to cover Politics is not only about principles. It is  
The DP, which could have done such use- [- â\200\234national liberation movements  
its retreat from political domination by in- also about power. Good as the DPâ\200\231s lib  
eral ful work to keep the hope alive, has suc- | in Tanzania enjoy a kind of  
sisting on a system that will ensure its con- principles are, it is now losing an limportant  
cumbed to internal tensions, defeating itself. | extraterritorial statusâ\200\235  
tinued presence in the executive. area of influence through telegraphing that It should nev  
er have forced the defection of | ;  
But neither the ANC nor the Nationalists there is severe dissension in its ranks. the five  
MPs to the ANC. It has lost more [ The report says that the Inter-  
have accepted the possibility of a central co- The departure of the five defectors to the t  
han five good men. It has lost.its way. ' national Committee for the Red  
Â¥ \_ Cross has been asked to investi-  
mocratic Part J 7 gate.  
9}â\200\231 DR ZACH DE BEERâ\200\231 leader Of thf: Deâ\200\230 R b it R e e S / However, t  
he US is satisfied

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that the ANC is no longer hold-  
ing prisoners in Zambia where it  
- noted that the organisation â\200\234has  
xi G : Sl s SRR S e g i et U Sy ~ imprisoned defectors and detain-  
e T la e iEmaRd e s e P E e A e L : = . ees...inthe pastâ\200\235.

My S Soatapata Sy S S e R e n e e S A SR R el ; L S rndatel o et - â\200\234Most of the app  
roximately  
~ 2000 ANC exiles departed Zam-  
- bia in 1991,â\200\235 the report says,  
- â\200\234althought there was an influx of  
~ young South Africans fleeing the  
- violence in their country.â\200\235



SIMON BARBER reports from

Many of these refugees fled

first in small groups to Swazi-

land, whose Government, in con-

junction with the UN High-

Commission for Refugees, =

worked to send them on to their =

desired destinations, normally =

ANC training centres in Zambia =

and Tanzania.

The report records that 30 for-

mer MK operatives who had -

been detained in Tanzania and

Uganda over the past decade .

claimed to have been tortured

on the orders of MK Chief of =

State and ANC National Execu-

tive Committee member Chris v -

Hani and other top ANC offic- r

ials.

Upon the return of these de- =

tainees to South Africa, (ANC

President) Nelson Mandela said

the ANC would attempt to Tec-

oncile with them, implicitly ad- -

mitting the truth of some of

these claims.

Common torture methods al- =

legedly used by both the security

forces and opposition groups in-

clude severe beatings, prolonged -

periods of solitary confinement,

suffocations, sleep deprivation ik

and forcing detainees to stand =

for lengthy periods of time.

ANC detainees claimed they

were put in solitary confinement -

in a ditch for long periods of -

time, beaten and interrogated.â\200\235  
Similar abuses also occurred  
inside South Africa. â\200\234Forms of  
torture were meted out by self-  
appointed groups of township  
residents known as â\200\230peopleâ\200\231s  
courtsâ\200\231.â\200\235

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ViÃ©WpOint e G T ol Patien | ANC â\200\230may have  
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old prisonersâ\200\231

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country run by an ANC-SACP

alliance.

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CAPE TOWNâ\200\224The Conserva- e

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Political Staff

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And, it is understood infor-

He was speaking during the  
mal talks have been held be- =~

debate on the State Presi-  
â\200\234We maintain that we have  
meaningful, viable, accept-  
Mr Langleyâ\200\231s overture to  
coloured and Indian MPs fol-

lowed a statement by the lone  
presentatives in the other two

tween MPs in the CP and re- |  
Houses.

sharing model of one horse  
Freedom Party MP in the  
HoR, Mrs Soheir Hoosen,  
where she expressed concern  
about freedom of religion in a

ANC-SACP <alliancesâ\200\231 power-  
equals one rabbit.â\200\235

tive Party went on the attack  
yesterday, front-bencher Tom  
Langley (Soutpansberg) stat-  
ing that the partyâ\200\231s doors  
were open to members of the  
dentâ\200\231s address, and said the  
â\200\234doors are open to the par-  
tiesâ\200\235 in the HoR and HoD.

able, alternatives to the NP-

House of Representatives and

CP

House of Delegates.

â\200\231

ish the  
1 tongueâ\200\231 4

Political Staff

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â\200\234The emphasis must be on  
Â® The Labour Party leader  
yesterday challenged the

English rather than a laager-

type Afrikaans.â\200\235  
Although most people clas-

Afrikaans should enjoy the  
status of regional language,  
along with the various indig-

Mr Hendrickse said English  
was an international lan-  
guage and would become the  
sified coloured in South Afri-  
for the House of Representa-

tives predicting that not one  
â\200\234Brown Natâ\200\235 would retain his

President to call an election  
seat.

ENGLISH would be the sole  
national official language in a  
new South Africa, Labour  
Party leader Allan Hendrick-  
se said yesterday.

enous African languages, he  
told a briefing of local and for-  
eign journalists.

predominant medium of com-  
munication in South Africa.  
ca spoke Afrikaans, they did  
not identify with Afri-

kanerdom.

â\200\230off

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end up with a government |

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Political Correspondent

He said he had witnessed

â\200\230â\200\230an enormous convergenceâ\200\235  
in strategy and policy be-  
tween the NP and the ANC  
since President de Klerkâ\200\231s  
opening of Parliament ad-  
dress in February 1990.

He said the issues most like-  
ly to cause problems at Code-  
sa were the questions of trans-

He said that his greatest  
fear for a future South Africa  
was that the country might

in order to run an interim gov-  
which would print money to  
satisfy the aspirations of the  
electorate. â\200\230 {

ernment.

lematic. He also thought the

stitution writing, with the  
latter being the most prob-  
issue of property rights may  
become controversial.

itional government and con-

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â\200\230Only ANC,  
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â\200\234That is the bottom .line

and that is why so much de-

Dr de Beer, chairman of the  
Codesa steering committee  
until last week, said: â\200\234Codesa

Discussing the principle of  
â\200\234sufficient consensusâ\200\235 operat-  
ing at Codesa, he noted pro-  
ceedings continued when In-  
katha declined to sign the

He said he was â\200\234all forâ\200\235 an  
alliance or marriage between  
the Nationalists and the ANC

Declaration of Intent.

C

stroy the process by walk-  
ing out, Democratic Party  
pends on them,â\200\235 he told a  
briefing of journalists here  
yesterday.

leader Zach de Beer said

yesterday.  
ANC agree and not when they

and National Party were  
the only Codesa members  
â\200\234who had the weight to de-  
works when the NP and the

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YOUNG people have to  
stop terrorising teachers  
at school and parents  
should stop encouraging  
their children to loot and  
steal because such actions  
undermine the current  
peace initiative, a joint  
ANC and IFP rally was  
told at Mpumalanga near  
Hammarisdale yesterday.

Addressing hundreds of

township residents, speaker  
after speaker praised Mpuma-  
langa community members  
for the unique display of soli-  
darity, tolerance and determi-  
nation they had shown in  
their fight against violence  
which had engulfed this small

black township for three |

years. 5

The youth was also told  
that not a single country in  
- history had ever been ruled  
. by young people. They were  
told it was crucial for them to  
educate themselves in order  
to prepare for their critical  
role as future leaders.

In an interview, Mr Me-  
" shack Radebe and Sipho Mla-  
ba, ANC and IFP local chair-  
men, said it was important to  
thank community members  
for their effort in bringing a  
lasting peace to Mpumalanga.

It was only through their  
commitment to development  
and a piece that the  
reconstruction project of the  
township succeeded, Mr  
Radebe and Mr Mlaba said.

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gsters urged to behave: Inkatha submits

wie e  
tough conditions  
GNP T Febâ\200\224 2  
for interim govt

~

CAPE TOWN-â\200\224The Inkatha  
Freedom Party yesterday  
submitted a tough set of pre-  
conditions for joining a transi-  
tional government â\200\224 which  
could either threaten the  
Codesa negotiations or pave  
the way to the Conservative  
| Party entering the talks.

CP leader Andries Treur-  
nicht, after seeing the IFP  
document presented to Cod-  
esaâ\200\231s Working Group Three,  
said: â\200\234On these rocks Codesa  
will be shipwrecked.â\200\235

Another CP MP indicated  
that if the IF'P pre-conditions

e accepted the way coul

g participation in Codesa.  
The IFPâ\200\231s 18-page docu-

{ [ | ment also made it clear thatit -

envisaged a transitional gov-  
ernment far removed from  
that proposed by the ANC or  
the Government.

- agreement:

4 the talks;

ration of Intent to ensure

a unitary state;

â\200\224 Hssibly be cleared to the par-

~ that King Goodwill and other .  
- traditional leaders will be in-  
)] vited to the talks, it is im-  
It listed seven preâ\200\224.cto.nd;i;fi  
jons to joining a transitiona. . -  
: tgovernnient. They included :

: On the presence of Zulu 5  
Kiâ\200\231lg Goodwill Zwelethini at

Â® To amend Codesaâ\200\231s decla-

- | Codesa was not committedto . - 0o

By Chris Whitfield S1  
Political Correspondent S  
tutional statusâ\200\235. In other  
woxjds, itâ\200\231s said, â\200\234no self-gov- |  
erning territory should be de-  
prived of its current status| - Â°  
without its consentâ\200\235; and Sk  
.â\200\234.In respect of the dis- |  
banding of all private and lib- | .  
eration armies and the  
surrender of arms cachesâ\200\235. {3  
Yesterday Bophuthats- |  
wanaâ\200\231s delegation to Codesaâ\200\231s |  
Working Group Four â\200\224 deal- - - .  
7 lng with the future of the e  
TBVC states â\200\224 also duginitis = -  
heels on the issue of self-de- -  
â\200\234, termination,

The IFPâ\200\231s pre-conditions -  
3Â\$ w1.11 amount to a serious stum :  
- | bling block for Codesa.

| Although it now appears -

and organisations that have -~  
already signed Codesaâ\200\231s Dec- . =  
laration of Intent will agree to - :

i haying it changed.

- probable that the 17 parties .~ '

S e S SR AL B

Police said there had been @ For proper consideratiol, & -

g â\200\235 ; % \$ e i esa to â\200\234the claims ofa -~ .. - /

remarkableâ\200\235 progress in yesterdayâ\200\231s peace meeting was like a dream come true for Mpumalangaâ\200\231s IFP chairman, Mr Sipho Mlaba (left) and the &fi-\201g P saiding Hedilam Beo s o LT SR D e peace initiatives in the area townshipâ\200\231s ANC chairman, Mr Meshack Radebe. Picture by ALAN COXON Site matlon to exetpise | Jnes 20 2 aage (L ni i o o few Tt ey ' : ' 7 iggaigblflt of selfsdetermining- =7 o et pi el e se p i s lence and intimidation had = apout plans for rebuilding homes, shops, recreational fa- tive s have put international conducted joint beauty con- | | fion S encouraging partici- = - - Slaa sl s been reported during the past schools and a community cen- cilities and schools were focus on this formerly little- tests and friendly soccer | | Stion by presently exeluded oÂ¥7 5 i sn it o six months. tre. During the bloody Mpu- destroyed. known township. matches at Mpumalanga fo r | . golitiÃ©al parties and organ-, 5L Âfy \_\_\_\_The rally was also told malanga political conflict, Mpumalanga peace initia- The IFP and the ANC have the first time. ; INations e gl PRESCEE Se s R T T e o v e e S e g T atithe provisions of thebeese gt S s > s oy SR Sl g Â© . gelf Governing Territories .

Constitution Act of RNEE G Tk ek = should be scrupulously ob- % : e o '+ served and that the prqu:iple P s | of sufficient consensus â\200\234â\200\230can- . - '} not be used to override a self |- g governing territoryâ\200\231s objec- { tion to a change in its constl-

A vetrer

Business  
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critical of

JOHANNESBURGâ\200\224Two key  
â\200\230South African business repre-

| sentatives criticised ANC

president Nelson Mandelaâ\200\231s  
speech, made in Switzerland  
- yesterday at the World Eco-  
| nomic Forum, as not contrib-  
uting to foreign investor

| confidence in the country.

Afrikaanse Handelsinsti-  
â\200\230| tuut vice-president George  
| Huysamer, in a debate on  
| SABC TV last night â\200\224 less  
| than an hour after Mr  
| Mandela had spoken to the

WEF â\200\224 said he was surprised  
that Mr Mandela could still  
| make such remarks about  
| nationalisation.

- Mr Mandela said in his  
speech that nationalisation in  
. certain cases could be consid-  
ered as an alternative policy

. in South Africa.

SA Chamber of Business  
chief executive Raymond  
Parsons said even if the state-  
ment was pure rhetoric, it  
- nevertheless could affect the  
' investment climate in the  
country. The question would

be which would be the next.

industry to be nationalised if  
there was to be selective na-  
- tionalisation.  
~ He added that the national-  
â\200\230isation statement could be re-  
garded as the sword of  
Damocles which would hang  
over foreign investors.

The SA economy would  
have to become compatible  
with that of the leading world

. economies,â\200\235 Mr Parsons said.

. â\200\234â\200\234These economies have  
shown that Adam Smith has

triumphed over Karl Marx,

and the market economy is

â€” now on the side of right.â€”

What should be decided

. now was whether national-

. isation would be one of the key issues to be debated in the new dispensation, Mr Par-

- sons said. â€” (Sapa)

DAVOSâ€”ANC president Nelson Mandela said in an interview yesterday that he and President de Klerk had devised a joint strategy for the World Economic forum special focus on A

Speaking from the Swiss luxury ski resort of Davos in the Alps, he said he had had a meeting with Foreign Minister Pik Botha on Friday where they discussed a coordinated strategy to â€”sellâ€”

SA to some of the worldâ€”s -

most influential businessmen and political leaders.

Senior government sources confirmed this and said if both sides stuck to their arrangements SA would benefit at this important trend-setting conference.

Mr Mandela also said that all the businessmen and leaders he had spoken to had questioned him on the ANCâ€”s nationalisation policy and were pleased to note that the organisation was discussing

â€” this with SA businessmen.

Mr Mandela said he had had a long talk to Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut president Attie du Plessis at the conference and they had arranged a formal meeting to deal with the issue in great depth.

He also said that any statements from ANC people that a future ANC government



would renege on loans trans-  
acted under the apartheid  
government were expressing  
the views of individuals, and  
not those of the ANC.

â\200\234We are obliged to honour  
these loans or else we will be  
in a great deal of trouble, and  
we are still dealing with this  
issue,â\200\235 he said. The main con-  
cerns of businessmen and in-  
dustrialists he had spoken to  
were tt{at there must be a sta-

by Billy Paddock

ble and safe envlronment to  
invest in; profits had to be  
able to be repatriated; there

had to be a safe return on in-  
vestment and social and eco-  
nomic stability was essentlal  
for investment.

â\200\234I accept this,â\200\235 Mr Mandela |  
said.

In the private discussions  
they were having with busin-  
essmen and leaders both the  
SA Government delegates  
and the ANC were â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230concen-  
trating on putting forward  
views and presenting a pic- |  
ture of those things that are  
uniting us rather than our dlfâ\200\224 it  
ferencesâ\200\235, he said.

â\200\234We can make good use of  
this opportunity if we come in

the spirit as a group of South  
Africans committed to peace

and in particular ensuring the

ful plea to the worldâ\200\231s

success of Codesa.

Qâ\200\230Jomtsâ\200\230trgtei¬\201gy for SA o  
ancloder devised by FW, â\200\230Mandela

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PSR, B e

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â\200\234Our message must raise =

the hope that we can solve

our problems. I have been concentrating on putting forward our problems but also stating that the leadership is capable of solving our problems and they are under control,â\200\235 he said.

He said he had not coordinated with Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi but hoped that all the South Africans, including about 35 businessmen would put forward the same picture â\200\224 not a competitive picture of leaders attacking one another but a cumulative one to â\200\230â\200\234arouse confidence, and if we attack each other we will not arouse confidence in the worldâ\200\235.

The picture had to be one of South Africans working together.

He said there was a keenness from people wanting to

ALVESEin BA.

PR TN 1Y o

DAVOSâ\200\224President de Klerk and Mr Nelson  
' Mandela made a power-

most influential businessmen here yesterday,

| day, calling on them for active assistance.

Two years to the day that he irrevocably changed South Africaâ\200\231s political landscape,

| Mr de Klerk said: â\200\234Ignore the plight of Africa at your perilâ\200\235.  
ANC leader Mr Mandela

| called for businessmen to in-

vestigate business oppor-  
tunities in South Africa now.  
Listening at the World Eco-  
nomic Forum focus on South  
and southern Africa, were 35

i heads of state and the chair-

men, managing directors or

â\200\230| senior personnel of almost  
every major corporation in

,:.. the world.

Dl

o

By Billy Paddock

That Mr de Klerk, as a  
white South African, should  
emerge as spokesman for the  
beleaguered continent at this  
arena is ironic, and at the  
same time bears testimony to  
what he has achieved since  
his historic speech two years  
ago.

Recalling that speech Mr de  
Klerk told the audience at  
Davos that it had culminated  
in the Convention for a Demo-  
cratic South Africa.

â\200\234I am convinced,â\200\235 he said,  
â\200\234that from this will emanate  
an accord on which we shall  
build a stable and greater  
South Africa.â\200\235 In spite of their  
differences, Mr de Klerk said,  
he, ANC leader Mr Mandela  
and IFP leader Mangosuthu  
Buthezi had only one mes-  
sage to the world.

This was:

â\200\234We are overcom-

FW and Mandel

N  
W00 world leaders

el

ing the antagonisms of the  
past; we have the desire and  
the will to face the future to-  
gether, and together we will

build a new South Africa.â\200\235

(Earlier, Mr Mandela told  
Journalists that he saw the fo-  
CUSâ\200\231s focus on South Africa  
as a unique opportunity for  
the countryâ\200\231s leaders to show  
they had the ability to over-  
come problems and were do-  
ing so.

It was an occasion that de-  
manded of SA politicians that  
they concentrated on what  
united them rather than on  
their differences, he said.

The ANC envisaged a  
mixed economy in which the  
private sector would play a  
central and critical role.

The public sector would  
perhaps be no different from  
that of Germany, France or  
Italy where public enterprises  
constituted some 11 and 15%

=

of the economy, he said.

For the new South Africa to  
succeed in creating wealth  
and jobs, economic policy  
would have to address securi-  
ty of investments, the right to  
repatriate earnings, realistic  
exchange rates and the rate of  
inflation.

He was convinced South Af-  
rica offered bright prospects  
for investors. :

Inkatha president Mago-  
utho Buthelezi told the fo-  
rum that wise economic  
choices were unlikely to be  
popular ones in situations of  
national deprivation.

â\200\234We must realise that in our  
advocacy today of what will

have to be done tomorrow on

the economic front, we must  
be quite sure that we are serv-  
ing national interests and not  
chasing popularism,â\200\235 reports  
Sapa.

@ See also Page 2

Nick Steele, KwaZulu's director of Natural Resources, looks to the

UG  
conservation a

Africa

- Nick Steele

. mmHE IMPENDING political  
. settlement will almost cer-  
tainly spell bad news for

|

{

nature conservation, when  
the glut of AK47 assault rifles

will be pointed more often |  
. against wild animals and the .

men who protect them.  
This is the fear of Nick

Steele, director of the  
Kwazulu Bureau of Natural |  
Resources and author of the |  
new book, Poachers in the

Hills. 5 S

Mr Steele says there has not  
been a dramatic change in the  
incidence of poaching since  
the 1950s and 60s the peri-  
od in which his book is set.

However, many poachers  
are now armed with automat-  
ic rifles rather than the  
assegais, knobskieries and  
out-dated rifles confiscated

et

of weapons were captured :

from the British at Isan-  
dlwana and soon turned  
against wild animals .. 1

rather sense the same will °

happen again the and our con-  
servation personnel through-

out the country will also be brought into the firing line.â\200\235

But confrontation between poachers and conservation staff is not a new phenomenon.

Poachers in the Hills, Mr

Steeleâ\200\231s fourth book, is based .

on the life of Norman Deane, senior ranger of the Hluhluwe Game Reserve.

However, the book is much more than simply an account of Deane, and as the title suggests, it provides valuable material on the scale of poaching in the reserve as well as a fascinating insight into early game conservation methods.

Steele recalls that poaching intensified in the Hluhluwe

. - Game Reserve during 1962,

by the Natal Parks Board 40 years ago. Many of the new

~ poachers will also have the a . and 39 of their dogs des-

â\200\230advantage of military training.

â\200\234During the Zulu War loads :

e i T A SRR i  
{ ~ Ay , ) ..-~â\200\234â\200\231

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Seif ish.

when 79 incidents were reported, involving several hundred poachers. i

% .. The hills reverberated with the sounds of poachers firearms, game guards calling for support with their shrill whistles, Zulu dogs baying in the kloofs. We were fighting'a - small-scale war with ~determined opposition and the intensity was increasing daily.

In one incident, about 20

Natal Parks Board staff had

o face a hunting impl of 60  
poachers and dozens of dogs. -  
Regrettably, says Steele, only  
three poachers were captured

troyed.

Not long afterwards, game  
guard Mandlenkosi Ndle'pshe  
was Killed in another skirm-

â\200\234Signs indicated that a ter-  
rific battle had taken place.  
Assegais, knobskieries and  
cane knives were spread over  
a distance of twenty to thirty  
yards. Even pieces of leather

had broken away from Mand-  
lenkosiâ\200\231s boots in the strug-  
gle. The brave game guard  
had been stabbed through the  
heart.â\200\235

â\200\230Norman Deane, the central

! character, emerges as a

tough, energetic qnd uncom-  
promising man with a rough

â\200\234frontierâ\200\231 sense of humour.

Soon after Steele started as

| a junior ranger with the Natal

Parks Board}n-l%i-~\201, he  
watched as Norman Deane  
walk silently up to a game  
guard and clouted him with a

. cane knife for the simple

reason that he â\200\234didnâ\200\231t like the  
look in his eyesâ\200\235.

A former boxer, Deane had  
often rewarded belligerence,  
insolence or carelessness with  
2 â\200\234well-aimed blow which  
hurt the pride more than the  
fleshâ\200\235. :

Â«Although such behaviour

~ would be frowned on today it  
was not unusual then,â\200\235 says

records details of a horrific



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nd th

destroyed immediately.  
As a learner ranger in

. Hluhluwe Steele says he ran  
out of ammunition during one. -

such operation and asked

. Deane for more .303 rounds to  
~ finish off another dog, -

â\200\234youâ\200\231ve got a rifle butt  
havenâ\200\231t you, Steele? Club the  
bloody thingâ\200\235 was the reply.

Mr Steeleâ\200\231s book also

proach to conservation â\200\224 in |

which the local tribal author-

ity receives a proportion of | V;â\200\230;f" %

the profits acerui  
wildlife reserves. by

â\200\234We donâ\200\231t want people in

surrounding areas to view re- |

Serves as an alien area. We |

hope they will come to regard | -

the wild animals as â\200\230our cat.

tleâ\200\231 and help us to police . '

against poachingâ\200\235. ...

â\202¬ new

mystery disease which swept  
the Hluhluwe reserve in 1961,  
threatening to engulf the en-  
tire black rhino population in  
central Zululand and ulti-  
mately South Africa.

â\200\234The relentless and insolu-  
ble march of the mysterious  
epidemic seemed unÃ©nding

... Game guards scouted the  
phick bush, watching the soar-  
ing vultures and reporting  
more deaths.â\200\235

Eventually, 45 black rhino  
lay dead. Some of the best  
veterinarians and patholo-  
gists in the country examined  
the corpses, but the cause of  
the epidemic remains un-  
solved.

â\200\234Thereâ\200\231s nothing to say that : .

the same might not happen  
tomorrow,â\200\235â\200\235 Mr Steele said  
this week, â\200\234Fortunately, the  
danger would not be quite as  
serious because the black  
rhino population has now

been spread out to other parts |  
of the country.â\200\235

Mr Steele, â\200\234My impression  
was that it was gcceptgd

' out undue resentment. After

in which

{ i as the era  
oAy settled

differences were

i physicgllly.â\200\235

" Deane is described as a  
great lover of dogs, who was  
devastated by the death of his  
constant companion â\200\224 an al-  
satian called Phantom.

Yet this love did not extend  
to the poachersâ\200\231 dogs. These  
animals were regarded as a  
highly mobile â\200\230â\200\230killing  
machineâ\200\235 which would tear  
wild animals apart in an unre-

lenting and indiscriminate |

manner. As a result, any dogs  
belonging to poachers were

o LT

with-

\_tains a note of warning for  
those people who still believe

that game reserves should be | |

the exclusive playgrounds of  
those who can afford to visit  
them. ]

He remembers that large  
numbers of game were culled |-

to avert habitat degradation.

â\200\234In retrospect this policy [~

seems unnecessarily intro-

Mr Steeleâ\200\231s book also con-  
e - = . paratory discussions to pave

- the way for a meeting of the  
! two leaders.

-  
1  
|

: terday gave qualified support

.- to the proposal that Mr Nel-

son Mandela and Dr Mango-  
suthu Buthelezi jointly

| address peace rallies as part  
- = of a comprehensive strategy

- to combat violence.  
The ANC was responding to

-~ a call this week by the Inka-

tha leader to Mr Mandela to

join him in visits to all strife-

torn areas.

g â\200\234The ANC has no objection

\_ In principle to the ANC and

- IFP addressing joint rallies,  
but such events should be  
part of a comprehensive ap-

cussion.â\200\235

The ANC and IFP have  
. been holding a series of pre-

.The ANC said the delega-  
tions, due to meet again on

|  
S

proach currently under dis-

ture and the past in a fascinating new book. TONYW('ZARNIE feports g SRt

South |

i e )

Political Staff

wide range of matters on  
which agreement was re-  
quired to help end violence.

Dr Buthelezi told a rally at  
the weekend if he and Mr  
Mandela went from one strife-  
torn area to another to pro-  
mote peace from the same  
platform, a massive move-  
ment for peace would would  
arise from their actions which

â\200\230would â\200\234shame violence out of  
existenceâ\200\235.  
But reports from London

. yesterday suggested Dr Bu-

t\_helezi had taken a different  
line when interviewed recent-  
ly for a BBC Panorama docu-  
mentary on South Africa.

Dr Buthelezi said it would  
be â\200\234naiveâ\200\235 to believe that a  
joint appeal by the IFP and  
the ANC could now bring  
about peace because violence

verted in the sense that the | 2

meat was not made available |'

to Hluhluweâ\200\231s protein-hungry

neighbours.â\200\235 :  
Perhaps there was a lesson

in this for Mr Steele, whose

Bureau of Natural Resources |

recently adopted a new ap- o

Bl SL ke >  
â\200\230(â\200\230 5 2 % 4N S L = ; .  
NS B 2 - 2

g -2

â\200\230February 11, had discussed a

-had become endemic.

SN

\ â\200\230AN g/ s upgporwf;za%ll forz\_i~\202  
~ joint peac% .

-~ CAPE TOWNâ\200\224The ANC yes-

Q  
addresses

The Inkatha leader is  
quoted as saying: â\200\234Itâ\200\231s non-  
sense to ask me: Is there any-  
thing I can do. The situation  
of \_endem\_ic violence where the  
thing gains its own momen-  
tum and is not orchestrated

by me or my colleagues in  
IFP.â\200\235 o 5

the IFP and ANC leaders  
could staunch the bloodshed,  
he said:

â\200\234It would be naive for me to  
say the mere addressing of  
rallies by me and Mandela  
would stop this thing.â\200\235

These sentiments were  
echoed by ANC Natal Mid-  
lands leader Harry Gwala  
who said: â\200\234You canâ\200\231t meet  
with them with Bibles and  
sing hosannas to the warlords  
... you wonâ\200\231t end the vio-  
lence. You might contain it,  
but it will continue, because

people are not going to stop 25  
fighting for their rights.â\200\235

Sy

Asked if a joint appeal by .

N s e A TS - s e R L A L e M JETE ST T

IFP and ANC hit at 200\230private armies

Funeral speeches cite violence i o

ee ohy, -200\230 | Political Correspondent CHRIS WHITFIELD on the implications of the Pickard report v |

ats seem set to weather the

2y G ST R ys 3

THE Inkatha Freedom  
Party and the ANC attacked each other over the  
. issue of military wings  
during two separate funerals at the weekend.  
. IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi launched a blistering attack on Umkhonto We  
- Sizwe at the funeral at Umlazi

N1

200\234stormy

partment of Development Aid is pointing accusing fingers at ) i B e 1 M200\230 V  
that they did not come as a members on the opposition ,.200\230]OVt denies COI1111V1ng W  
lth AN

ERHAPS the saddest thing Its speakers in the two-and-a-  
about the shocking revelation half hour special debate xiggr%-

\_ tions of the Pickard Commission | ed to bluster and denial to play

mission reportâ\200\231s findings into down their sins. Some inevita-  
the activities of the former De- bly tried to deflect criticism by

shock. - benches.

:rt:ld(i:gm oftilÃ@glrlninnll{gg?%v?gg: Mr Justice Benjamin Pickard President de Klerk sat  
|| CAPE TOWNâ\200\224The Govern Political Correspondent  
g ingtolnmlsuabelo i found that officials in the em- | through that debate but, sur- | ment  
yesterday reacted h{ AN Jbâ\200\224 O3 â\200\224.  
â\200\234. gunned down in his shop by ploy of the Government were ef- = prisingly, never jo  
ined in other | S{\*;%@ly to suggestions by 2nt would like t0 en  
e fiaits twd fectively stealing from the poor =~ than to make a few .| Inkatha Freedom Part  
y lead- that both the IF  
weeks ago Ron%â\200\231ilâ\200\230Ã@g tg the lc'iicha?tthengselves. \_ interjections. | erMa  
ng Oy .;i-\201gbe md emmf 5 ! fhm:e  
RO And that in a department osten- = As in the past the Nationalâ\200\231 | iU WaS CODIUVIN  
g i nd s \.  
châ\200\230g?r?ng;tl%?b{i-\201Ã@ Smmi?{ Ei-\201: sibly intended as a conduit for = Party se  
ems intent on simply | Scenes with the ANC'andr.;f"F?'Â»pro ST

the upliftment on blacks. ~ weathering the storm Y I using Codesa to rubber-stamp Â¥ R T  
In a report with barely a para- = particular gcandal. Callsofr(1)rttl; }ll: | their agreemen  
ts. 3 ok ?ohemvggglea?;?pf?ggo?:%i% '  
graph that does not contain : head of the fomer Development â\200\234The Government is not  
IS Â¢

Natal Midlands, Mr Harry  
~Gwala, accused the KwaZulu

T Â£ \$ Fran e

Â¥  
A

~ Police of working for the IFP. b ! g aronl B 1 â\200\235 ational politics, and it is  
U Inca â\200\230sâ\200\230tÂ@tÂ@men% read on D criticism, the Judge detailed an Aid Minist  
ers Dr Gerrit Viljoen | busy with any.se(Â@.ret:lg%lgâ\200\231i:l- f;rk?gÂ@fore imgerative  
that bi-  
; a r horrifying orgy of corruption, = and Dr Stoffel van der Merwe .| deputy Constitution  
i lateral talks with various par- .  
. Butheleziâ\200\231s behalf on Satur- â\200\230 . theft and graft possibly running = have  
been dismissed. | opment Minister Tertius â\200\230atera luding the IFP and  
| day, Dr Frank Mdlalose said e 5 - into billions of rands . in doi 1 Delpport said. â\200  
\234And the Gov- ties, including &t  
- MK had never fought any bat- Dr Frank Mdlalose speaking at the funeral service of Mr | .  
sa Â¢ Butindoeing so the party runs |} o ont'q + see Codesa ANC, should continue as part  
' tle of liberati hy i Winnington Sabelo at Umlazi on Saturd ~\_ The routine cries of horror  
, the risk of damaging its single | Â¢ el e R of this process,â\200\235â\200\231 said Dr  
B Ai-â\201'iciâ\200\231lon anywhere n g â\202- of?ic tu?e:%yog Aâ\200\231?Rl;l(.? I?R/ITOLO  
| ~ from opposition politicianâ\200\231s had | most important asset â\200\224 Presi- - as;t  
m%b;r;t&lâ\200\230!â\200\230r%e Govern-. o Delfiorg i  
] - : - a weary ring about them. . dent de Klerk himself, b e added: &l e e ey e  
| â\200\234We know it as the sinister e ! Democratic Party MP for Jo- S T A e s \ \ 3  
. private army of the ANC. It 'Drtâ\200\230Buthfeï-â\201?lssaÂ@dlthï-â\201 agsasi people of U  
mlazi to form an | hannesburg North Peter Soal \_ hOplmqn pollsihave repeaiedly- B 2 Q o8 d  
oia 8.0 Es rÂ@g paEg 3  
must stop doing the cowardly ls)lna 10n o : fa elo had no interim committee of the IFP | to  
uched on the reason for this lsi-â\202ovyn that the Presidentâ\200\231s pop- g P o.â\200\231  
g. pwH A gsâ\200\231-gâ\200\230 P-g- Qe e e  
acts through which Mr Sabelo n A gl%el(â\200\230i BEIC to encourage people to fight | dur  
ing the snap Parliamentary hanty is greater than that of S~EQ5 neod Â@ 2 REFE 4%  
was killed, to be lawful. It VeDge, but a calculated politi- against violence. '\ debate  
on the subject when he = thepartyheleads Communities | &8 o 2g5gas 8 &5pE 4 r :  
must go.â\200\235 cal campaign to intimidate At Imbali, thousands of |' said: which the Nat  
ionalist govern- .o, =g = 23 gega g% o8 Rgs O &  
Dr Buthelezi also said Y ANG followers and represen- @ . .- The Pickard report.is an- | g;g  
rzlgnrgggideglslbrs:ge%ngi;;rllag:â\200\230 2 gÂ\$ a5 a"gzlrrâ\200\231"g 23 gg.g =3 Â\$ i-  
\201.  
ot otk was ke â\200\234This hideousness must t%-tlvestg\_f %veral organis- | - other in a 1  
ong line of revela- e oouted loades EOFE Â\$Â\$Â\$ gne 'g-g â\200\2342RE%] < 2 â\200\230  
something that slithers, sur- St%rs) r}ow.l{t", ; tpelse Rkl iï-â\201%â\200\230slga(fÂ@}. %  
Z&%?rgigf plop e \Sauvelnment That sort of adulation has - =5 g el 35; g B@ 5 8 2 m â\200  
\230  
rounding things and doing agtra% Â@"%l iy l\_gloatlance D i e e e :nrll competence and . .,  
lvpeen possible because - Â@ 58T oâ\200\230%g a 52 g%Â«daï-â\202 = :  
evil thingsâ\200\235 to people at night g I?t' ORRG H e SR ot e Pl y tortre) : Ipiisyapement  
, : ' President de Klerk is apparent- . S3&6 <3 i25 aof = 55 Â£  
and in broad daylight, should y political organisations who ermarivzburg.. Â¥ There was the  
Information ly perceived as being â\200\234clean.â\200\235 In gocosa - -g-g o 9 = ?s",â  
\200\230; & U AN â\200\235  
be'disbanded. signed the National Peace Ac- Mr Gwala said the ANC . scandal, Inkathagate, t  
he De 3 Re ol tlo abartheid bacgasa. Sy eea et %Eâ\200\230 W.:8 =  
i cord, who send their members ~ would participate in peace Â° Loor report which has been i  
g- et ekt G asas EL0lBEgE. 9 w3 g < :  
The ANC should be told to serve on regional dispute talks and sign local peace ;| nored, th  
e Trust Feed judge- Hon: cosge s B L 2 o2 28 SEG g ;â\200\234â\200\231 E\_.g  
that this is what the people resolution committees and lo- agreements, but dismissed as /  
| ment, allegations of State inevitably forces him to carry, = &:Â@g% 2.=5% BÂ\$S Rrosan w  
| think about Umkhonto We cal dispute resolution com- ' naive calls by Dr Buthelezi for O e



lihvaT - " e does not have the corruption Ppamo =R X  
' Sizwe. Tt will not be tolerated mittees, which will finally tear the disbanding of Umko  
ntho ' Security Gouncll involvementin - = (255 5o o ttached to many of . a ! (Â¢â\200\235)  
| at all that the ANC should up the Peace Accord and even Wwe Sizwe. ;| the death of Matt  
hew Goniwe [ 188 318 B M 0 0 during its |~ 2358858 BESHES 5e (y Â°  
| continue seeking fame for its rip the negotiations process He it the IFP had its own . 2  
207 of course;regullar reports of &y s d Âf he-2a g SWREE2ERI Y H  
| machinery of wiping out destroying it,â\200\235 he said. " military wing in the form of |  
the Auditor-Geeneral who ex- Ape e ey (ooih i Ml 9%5 g2e8 â\200\230?ig ZS%E a Â\$ e  
people.â\200\235 He also made a call to the the KwaZulu Police. J ?gsgfomsma%gement and cor  
- & However,asone MPputitin & 99, p\_2g o850 888 |3 [  
e â\200\224 EE LS et e o s \_ I DO AN Yo . private conversation this week, | =05 597 By Enla  
on |2 H  
4 o ~ â\200\234But then the National Party ~ the dirt surrounding the Devel- = ZEogog 22855  
58y |2 O et @  
g i is no stranger to corruption and = opment Aid scandal will stick if = \_f g2 Â¢ a% B4 R8  
E e |o  
N scandal â\200\224 they are old friends he does not act on this issue. @ o%n 5 Eoa 2Â¢ o  
< gï~\202 = e â\200\230â\200\224-UQ <  
, and their association goes back - : N i oo ogy 5'8 o 5.gE L e  
a long way,â\200\235 said Mr Soal : Failure to move decisively = 2,33B55 < Sgg Ã© = ge i 1  
/ m  
y ) - â\200\230 ; Â¥ ScBh no<E =  
. Instead of moving as rapidly . could weaken both 'Presldent dâ\200\231e I PÂ©m-TE8 Boid,Â  
® ) =  
4 as possible to offset any possible ~ Klerk and the National Partyâ\200\231s Â° 53 Â© 55 S  
8 Bgpod B o R \_\O H  
damage the Government.went ~ 2Pility to play a significant role gg BRosg. OBa : Qâ\200\230:  
, g |8 W)  
into classic National Party = inanewdispensation. . 5288 . grolle 5 F= \_  
F maode. ] S R o e e S D BN B S gï~\201ggï~\202dg- gaOggB 1] g >  
Nt T MGy g e N S g Bl o Rl O PR eRoE PEmET e B

CAPE TOWN-â\200\224Codesa  
faces its sternest chal-  
lenge yet over the issue  
| of whether Zulu king  
| Goodwill Zwelethini  
. should be allowed to  
. head a delegation to the  
. negotiating forum.

: The ANC, the South African  
- Communist Party and the  
Transkei Government have  
dug in their heels on the issue  
and a source in the negotia-  
tions yesterday speculated

| that there was an attempt â\200\234to  
' force Inkatha outâ\200\235.

The deadlock â\200\224 confirmed  
- by other Codesa sources â\200\224  
| follows the tabling of the

- | IFPâ\200\231s proposals for a transi-  
tional government, in which it  
said the kingâ\200\231s presence at  
Codesa was a prerequisite to  
\_its joining the interim auth-  
â\200\230ority.

IFP leader Mangosuthu  
Buthelezi refused to attend  
Codesa I in December be-

cause the king had not re-  
ceived an invitation.

The issue was then referred  
to a sub-committee, which  
recommended that the kmg

Zulu ki

next month â\200\224 but the IFP

Challenge to  
Codesa over

â\200\224A

ng

Ibo

By Chris Whitfield  
Political Correspondent

and other traditional leaders

should be allowed to head delegations to Codesa.

The committee's recommendation was, however, re-

jected by the management committee. ECHEng

One source said yesterday that the ANC and its allies, were not prepared to have all the paramount chiefs of the various ethnic groups sitting at Codesa.

The issue has now been referred to an extended sub-committee.

Essentially the row is about the status to be accorded the king, with the ANC wanting him and other traditional leaders to be at Codesa as observers, and not as delegates, said the source. The ANC does not want another 10 ethnic leaders at Codesa.

He said the ANC and its allies appeared to be trying to delay the issue until after Codesa II scheduled for

early

in order to retain confidence.

was insisting that it be resolved now.

The source said the matter

was very sensitive and specific.

ulated that there was a real chance that Dr Buthelezi could pull the IFP out of the

process if it was not resolved -

-to his satisfaction.

There is also some confusion

over the National Party's

position on the issue. Senior NP leaders have publicly supported the IFP position on the king's participation, but the source said there were indications its negotiators were

shifting their stance.

Meanwhile, it is understood  
that another demand of the = '  
IFP â\200\224 that Codesaâ\200\231s declara- -

tion of intent be adjusted to  
ensure it does not commit sig-

natories to a unitary State â\200\224  
1S virtually resolved with a â\200\224 ]

â\200\234statement of clarificationâ\200\235

possibly being appended

soon.  
-IFP national chairman

clined to comment on the  
kingâ\200\231s participation in Codesa  
as he was involved in the

talks and was, as such, bound !

o

R R o â\200\224

~ CAPE TOWNâ\200\224Hopes for  
- Codesa 3 being held before  
- Parliament goes into re-  
. cess next month faded  
yesterday as the ANC took  
a hard line onthe failure  
~ toreach agrÃ¢ :ments at the

- second plenary session of  
" the negot:ating forum.

There is even pessimism in

~ some circles about the third  
~ plenary session getting off the  
. ground this year and the next

two weeks will be crucial as

NC tâ\200\230aken' to task over hard line

gdesa 3 ho

S S D5 S

By Chris Whitfield  
Political Correspondent

mittee holds key talks.

Yesterday newly appointed  
Constitutional Development

Minister Roelf Meyer noted  
with amazement the ANC's  
views on negotiation after Co-  
desa 2.

He added that he found it  
particularly interesting that the ANC now rejected  
the notion that Codesa should

push fading

through mass action and rev-

write the transitional consti-  
tution.

It was difficult to escape the  
conclusion that the ANC was  
trying to renege on a frame-  
work that was no longer in  
dispute and had been agreed  
in Codesa Working Group de-  
liberations, said Mr Meyer.

There have also been indi-  
cations that the ANC may be  
considering a campaign of  
mass action to back up its ne-  
gotiation demands and Mr  
Meyer said: Parties trying to  
determine the rate of change

revolutionary activities will not  
intimidate this Government.

A Codesa source indicated  
yesterday that the manage-  
ment committee would go  
ahead with its scheduled mee-  
ting on Monday to decide on  
what structures were neces-  
sary to resolve outstanding  
problems.

He said Mancom intended  
to set a date for Codesa 3  
within two weeks, adding that  
it would not necessarily be  
on the scale of Codesa 12

] Codesa's management com-

@ovt acwl

' | Party leader Andries Treurnicht  
- | nicht yesterday accused the  
â\200\230 | Government of trying to â\200\234in-  
timidateâ\200\235 his party into join-  
| ing Codesa.

| He was speaking ahead of

| tonightâ\200\231s meeting between  
- | the Government and the CP  
| about its possible involve-  
ment in the negotiation  
process.

.1 CP sources said that to-  
nightâ\200\231s meeting could take on  
a different complexion given  
yesterdayâ\200\231s commitment by  
4 ANC president Nelson Man-

Â¢ jrd

DSâ\200\224  
Political Staff

dela that his organisation  
would not return to the armed  
struggle.

The ANC threat of the use  
of violence for political pur-  
poses has been one of the key  
reasons the CP has offered in  
the past for its refusal to sit  
around the same table as the  
organisation.

CP sources said the failure  
of Codesa 2 to reach accord  
had given the CP some brea-  
thmg space when lt came to

q]g)n the negotiations.

They said this had  
strengthened the hand of  
members of the CP caucus  
who had been urging that the

party take its demands for an o

Afrikaner homeland to the ne-  
gotiation table.

However, Dr Treurnicht  
was more cautlous when he  
addressed Parliament yester-  
day, saying that it appeared  
that the Government was  
bent on abusing the CPâ\200\231s will-  
ingness to talk as a way of  
drawing. the party into ne-  
gotlatlons

TR oA T

Pescriving Codesa as a political auction, Dr Treurnicht said that the Government was trying to intimidate his

party to join Codesa by claim-

ing that it was the political mainstream in South Africa.

He said: "I would rather never have been involved in Codesa than to have sat there and become political biltong."

However, if the Government wanted the CP to help it against the ANC, this sounded more reasonable

Gy

The Natal Mercury Thursday February 6, 1992

CAPE TOWN - Inkatha members allegedly trained at a SA Defence Force camp in the Caprivi Strip were still in the employ of the KwaZulu Police

- Jor Government, the Gold-Frank Mdlalose last night de-

stone Commission of Inquiry

"into the prevention of public violence and intimidation heard yesterday.

. A commission committee chaired by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, sitting in the NG Kerk's synodal centre in

"Cape Town, heard the first witness in its investigation into allegations by the Weekly -

& Mail newspaper that SADFâ\200\230

Men â\200\230still work for KZ

front organisations trained  
Inkatha members in the use  
of firearms. .

The witness, former Inka-  
tha Youth Brigade organiser  
Mbongeni Khumalo, told the  
committee that a group of  
about 200 he had lectured to  
at the Amitigulu youth camp  
had spoken of training in the  
Caprivi.

He had earlier said the  
group, described as young  
men with short hair, had  
come to Ulundi each month

payment personally

to be paid.

He said the men were paid  
an average of R900 in cash at  
a time when the KwaZulu Go-  
vernment did not have suffi-

cient funds to meet the

salaries of Government em-  
ployees.

Mr Khumalo said Inkatha  
president Mangosuthu Bu-  
theleziâ\200\231s personal seretary, Mr  
MZ Khumalo, referred to the  
men as the â\200\234boys from the  
projectâ\200\235 and handled their

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resigned his posxtlon in the  
wake of the Weekly Mail rev-  
elations, had access to a  
special bank account and che-  
que book, which he kept at  
home to deal with these  
payments.

â\200\234He kept a cheque book on  
which was written: â\200\230After  
signing by Dr Buthelezi re-

turn to MZ Khumaloâ\200\231,â\200\235 Mr .

Khumalo told the committee.

He claimed the money for  
these payments was made  
available by Creed Consul-  
tants in Durban. â\200\224 (Sapa)



Sed}Of trylng to intimidate CP{"â\200\230

NEWS e

Mr MZ Khumalo, who latg i

f Political Corr

e  
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HE Conservative Party, bitter about the shift of political focus away from Parliament and towards Codesa, has gone on the attack this year with a campaign which it hopes will wreck the negotiating forum.

At the same time there are indications that it is shifting on its Verwoerdian policy of white su-

- premacy in a partitioned South Afri

ca.  
The twin strategy revolves

| around the party's perception

that self-determination is a viable solution to the country's considerable ills.

It sees leaders of the various independent and non-independent homelands as its allies in achieving this end and has embarked on an aggressive campaign to woo them.

Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has seen six such leaders in recent weeks and came away apparently heartened by the discussions.

Die Patriot, the party mouthpiece, recently speculated that a

coalition

NN LSRN AR O

respondent CHRIS WHITFIELD reports

oes on the attack

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three-way alliance between the CP, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Bophuthatswana government was a possibility.

The CP also took great delight in the IFP's tough pre-conditions delivered at Codesa to entering a transitional government.

Three IFP demands were in particular warmly welcomed by the CP: that Codesa's declaration of intent should be changed to ensure it was not committed to a unitary state; that proper consideration be given to the principle of self-determination, and; that the principle of sufficient consensus cannot be used to strip a self-governing territory of its status.

The homeland leaders' insecurity about their own futures ...d fear of losing power is an area in which the CP can make much mileage.

However, it will need the support of the IFP and, at this stage, this is far from guaran-

teed to make a success of any

alternative forum. Whatever is negotiated at Codesa will be se-

riously devalued if both the CP and IFP are not signatories.

In the meantime, some CP MPs are quietly letting it be known that they are preparing to shed their Verwoerdian dreams and opt for what ap-

pears to be a more pragmatic approach.

They foresee themselves settling for a smaller section of South Africa in which the whites are in a majority. Extensive research, including helicopter observation, has gone into the search for a territory where they can be ensured of a white majority.

Implicit in this is a recognition that there is no region in the country where they could hope for a solely white population. In other words, the CP is now prepared to share its homeland with people of other race groups.

However, the issue of the franchise remains in doubt at this

stage.

A CP MP frankly admitted,  
however, that it would have dif-

Ã©\

ficulty selling this proposal to

many of its supporters and.even | -  
some of its caucus. There are |

many in the CP camp who feel  
the country would be best  
served by a return to the days of  
grand apartheid.

Another problem is that the  
CP cannot hope to call this a

â\200\234whiteâ\200\235 homeland. It will have ;"  
to settle for something along the

lines of â\200\234Afrikanerland.â\200\235

And how does it then accorlni :

modate supporters from the  
English-speaking and other  
â\200\234whiteâ\200\235 communities? e

It will also have to be careful  
about the timing of any an-  
nouncement on the boundaries  
for its new homeland. Those fol-  
iowers it has in the rest of the  
country who cannot, for what-  
ever reason, move into the terri-  
tory may well feel inclined to  
shift their support elsewhere if  
they feel the CP is abandoning  
them.

The CP tortoise appears to be

sticking its head:ever so tenta-  
tively out of its shell. But it does =

not want to be too bold for fear  
of having it chopped off.

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' stacle to a peaceful traqslt10n, and =  
' nc u e ; ... no joint government. will stanq a - -  
; N/ /Y) \_ | chance as long as the forces which  
' formerly served its membersâ\200\231 respec-  
â\200\234AM : tOO tive causes carry on, or are susgeted  
~ â\200\224\_ S â\200\224 of carrying on, their own agend )  
â\200\230 | RE SE?MS someqconfusion The latest example of the dlfg%â\200\230i~\201le  
: â\200\230HE hat the Codesa working ties and the extreme distrust by B  
| ggflp"q Sroposal means that all = present situation gives ?:1% ;(1)1 1Â\$mw i =  
security forces should be placed as a | mmpleger;g?zilgib%rfg 5 b  
- single unified force undelÃ© tge Ã©:ont:"gl ! :v agts the SADF's 32 Battahm'lonn, S

' interim government. A Govern- | Wais . \_ e  
e spocoraan i heen quotedas | BOLEERL M S Sanapont

ing it meant only the olice, ! ) ; ! SRL  
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| whereas the ANC believes it also in- | \$Â\$iciï-\201epf0mpmd R . -  
| cludes Unihon i, E Il report | elart to e Sl SE R G ERE  
'shoufd clear it up when it is tabled at Is)gf:ggliliï-\201gtiï-\201e E;mpe S draaini N  
~ the Codesa plenary session, for sure-

' national attention to their problem.

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tfizgz: . Had all the armies been under one

y : e author- -  
e R Sreport will propose.the | roof and subject lq bR

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. inclusion not only of MK but also of | ity, it â\200\234l"?g%%ehgng?:&? .}?1:: gegotia- :  
" the Kwazulu Police in a single force 10 reso :

: i i " tion parties cannot hope to start co-  
"# tr:)aggl ilrlxtt:rli{rixlgigiï-\201gngyiï-\201om Haes : opergting politically while keepin  
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:â\200\230\t\j p S ! 5

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' ni e side. lS, -  
\_ on all sides suddenly to have to ac- = DINE OIl LHE Sout-f  
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- cept each other as comrades in arms,  
but it is the only way. The security

ulu King â\200\230being â\200\230 â\200\2307\_ Treurnicht: B'lacl-(s will replace retired ge  
nerals

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sedâ\200\231 says

KING Goodwill Zwelithini  
did not want to be at Codesa  
and those who were calling for  
his involvement were doing so  
simply to have more voices at  
the forum, the president of  
the Congress of Traditional

| Leaders of SA (Contralesa),  
Chief Patekile Holomisa, said

| yesterday.

~ Speaking at the Natal University in Durban, Chief Holomisa said by calling for the king's participation in Codesa, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Government wanted to use him for their own

| political ends.

He also blamed the death of King at Codesa over the participation of traditional leaders

| Government whom he said

.| were trying to elevate the

leaders on the IFP and the

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By Simon Zwane

king above other traditional leaders. i

King Goodwill, according to Chief Holomisa, could not say he was a traditional leader above others because he knew there were other traditional leaders equal to him.

The chief said Contralesa supported the proposal that traditional leaders should be

represented at Codesa by four | Sired early will be taken up by

delegations each, per province, and they should participate in deliberations but should not vote.

The chief also called for the establishment of a house representing traditional leaders in the new constitution similar

to the House of Lords in |-

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SAD

- JOHANNESBURG\200\224The  
. \200\230SADF is to merge with the  
" ANC\200\231s military wing

\200\2301\* Umkhonto we Sizwe soon,

Conservative Party leader  
Andries Treurnicht  
claimed yesterday.

â\200\234MK will be taken up in the  
SADF with the understand-  
. ing that it will be proportion-  
{~ ally representative of the  
. population and that the posts  
of generals who had been re-

blacks,â\200\235 Dr Treurnicht said in  
: Johannesburg at the opening  
of the all-white Mine Workers

Â° Union annual congress.  
According to the CP leader  
" the information was given to  
~ him by an informant in the

L A Â£) 4 ~

Britain.

J tailÃ© but undertoo

SADF. He declined to give de-  
to elabo-  
rate during the no-confidence  
debate in Parliament.

Dr Treurnicht warned dele-  
gates that should the SADF  
be taken over by â\200\234communist-  
inspired forgesâ\200\235, whites Wopld  
be left defenceless, making  
self-determination unattain-  
able. . ;

Sketching a scenario of how  
revolutionary forces had tak-  
en over politics in South  
Africa, Dr Treurnicht said the  
establishment of an interim  
government would be a â\200\234dis-  
honourable capitulationâ\200\235 by  
whitesâ\200\235.

To prevent this â\200\234total on-  
slaughtâ\200\235 the only solution  
would be to embark on â\200\234aan-  
eenlopende volksaksieâ\200\235 (roll-  
ing Afrikaner nationalist

(@ A

to merge with MK\*

was â\200\230â\200\234naive and dangerous  
disinformation to believe that  
communism was deadâ\200\235.

The right-wing leader, who found some unlikely allies in the recent establishment of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), including Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, claimed Cosag's leaders collectively enjoyed the support of the majority of the people in the country. !

Dr Treurnicht said a negotiation forum such as the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) would never be able to reach consensus, making another forum such as envisaged by Cosag a necessity.

Regarding the Afrikaner-style rolling mass action, Dr Treurnicht said he looked forward to the co-operation of the Mine Workers Union, which would be important in the mobilisation of the people.

Another speaker, Transvaal Agricultural Union (TAU) vice-president Willie Lewies, said he was not ashamed of being known as a militant: Moderation would only lead to our demise. j

Co-operation between white mineworkers and farmers was therefore needed as a matter of urgency to fight for white survival. ;

«We will fight and fight dirty, to get what belongs to us,» Mr Lewies said. (Sapa)

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~ | plans .  
 . | we have no access agree-

| Libya, the PLO  
 radis(â\200\231:al movements opposed

| 'THE United States is

' deeply involved in con-  
 tingency plans to con-  
 tain any political dam-  
 age that may occur to  
 the West from a change

â\200\234| of government in South  
 â\200\230I Africa,

SA security  
 | sources claim.

The US Government is  
 | moving now to counter the  
 possibility of the new SA

; â\200\230working against Western in-

terests, the sources claim, be-

| Mandela and the ANC â\200\224 who

- could lead a new government |

\_\_ have close links with  
 nes and other

â\200\230to the United States.  
 1 Recent publicity concern-  
 \_ing a US air base in Botswana  
 has touched on part of the al-

| leged plan.  
 | The United States Informa-  
 | tion Service (Usis) yesterday

issued an even more emphati\_c  
 \_denial than.that earlier this

involved in the new air base  
 â\200\230| being built in Botswana.  
 Â«â\200\234The US Government is not

| involved in the construction '  
 of this facility, the US has no |

to use this facility and

ment,â\200\235 Usis stated.

On allegations that the US  
| Government was involved in  
| any growth in SA's military  
'ability, however, Usis

â\200\234 | would say only: â\200\234This is the  
| substance of diplomatic dis- |  
. cussions.â\200\235 1

' SA security sources, howev- |  
)

- . er, are making far-reaching  
- <. claims about American plans.  
% . They include that:

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" @The US will

| dustry

' cause ANC leader Nelson

By John Patten  
The Editor

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occi-\201by thg  
air base in Botswana an

could use it for direct US in-  
tervention in South Africa if

g A run down its arms in-  
i before the political  
transition takes place to pre-

| vent it falling into the â\200\234wrong

handsâ\200\235;

@ The US is putting pres-  
sure on SA to abandon its sat-  
ellite launch programme,

week of allegations that it is %

moves.to contain or counter |

| which has alf\_gady cos\_,tf:, t}hg s

country about R5 billion over  
several years, because it could  
" be converted into a missile

. programme that could be  
used against Western inte-

i rests;

Â® The US extended its arms

. embargo against SA as a

warning to Israel of the sort of | can arms exports and 1mâ\200\224i-â\202 e i Bat iy et

- commemorate the 32nd anni-  
- versary of the Sharpeville  
- massacre, Mr Makwetu said  
. Codesa â\200\234was intended to un-  
| dermine the decisions of the  
| Patriotic Frontâ\200\235.

tough action it can take if any

country works against US mi-  
. litary interests, and specifical-  
. ly to force Israel to abandon  
arms co-operation with SA;  
and

@Â® The US intervened cl.i-â\201rect-  
. ly recently to force Saudi Ara-  
. bia to abandon a massive  
' arms contract it was about to  
sign with SA, to prevent  
. Saudi Arabia becoming less  
| dependent on the US, to en-  
trench the advantage US  
| arms suppliers have in Saudi  
Arabia and to ensure that the  
SA armaments industry gets  
starved of business. 3

Augmenting its replies to

questions submitted to it by

. the Mercury, Usis pointed out

' yesterday that on October 15

last year the t

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SA became an enemy â\200\23099 U81 Usis said the determination  
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OThe US'is demanding |

" determined that Armscor had

: W issi ifera-  
. engaged in missile prol  
Â\$ tiO%l activities after the effec-

ive date of US san(;tio\_ns in-

lt;.i"(1)?:luced in 1990..It lndlcatgd  
at the time that it \_Would dis-  
cuss the matter with the SA  
Government.

' that Armscor was engageq\_ln  
' missile proliferation ac\_tlvltles  
did not alter US-SA t':ulateral  
relations. â\200\234We continue to  
support the positive approach  
pursued by the Government  
of President de Klerk towards  
ending apartheid and begin-  
ning negotiations on a New,  
non-racial constitution for

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posit-

. ment policy and is note-  
. worthy.â\200\235 a0  
On other sanctions agains  
Armscor, Usis said 'xt was  
| long-standing US policy (re-  
i flecting UN resolutions) for  
\_ the US to prohibit South Afri-  
| ports.

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fy 15 also evidence |  
; i?â\200\231;e evolution in SA Govern-

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New SAâ\200\231 fuels Westâ\200\231s fears

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| :

| scathing attack at the  
weekend, Pan Africanist  
- Congress president Clar-

. ence Makwetu accused the

' Convention for a Demo-  
cratic South Africa of en-  
trenching â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230grand apart-  
heidâ\200\235. ;

Addressing a PAC rally at

What is happening now in

| Codesa is not what was

agreed upon by the PF participants in October last

| year, he said.

Mr Makwetu said the PF

| had agreed that no single par-

ty should enter into any talks with the régime, but the Front should be used to confront the regime.

African National Congress national chairman Oliver Tambo on Saturday received

the freedom of Vereeniging in front of about 10 000 ANC supporters who had gathered in the township to commemorate Sharpeville.

Addressing the gathering, ANC vice-president Walter Sisulu said the Government had to do something about the violence racking the townships. Failure to do so would reinforce the ANC's suspicion of Government collusion with the perpetrators of the violence. :

Commenting on the referendum result, Mr Sisulu said there was no reason now why an interim government should not be in place by the end of June and legitimately elected constituent assembly

by the end of 1992.

Cosatu secretary-general Jay Naidoo threatened a mass general strike, the proportion of which South Africa had never experienced, if an interim government was not in place by July.

He said it was time for President de Klerk to leave

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\_ threatening mass ac

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Tuynhuis (the official resi-

dence in Cape Town) and for |

ANC president Nelson Man-  
dela to be installed there.

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200\230grand apartheid 200\231

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SA. SA's accesslon 10 K00 s\ JOHANNESBURG 200\224 I a

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In his address, ANC secre-  
tary-general Cyril Rama- |

phosa said the book of apart-  
heid would be closed only |  
when a legitimiante govern- |  
ment was in power.

He assured the crowd that  
the ANC was scoring victory  
after victory at Codesa. !

No civil servants should |  
lose their pensions as a result  
of being forced to retire early |  
when the ANC took over, Mr |  
Mandela said on Saturday. {

He was speaking to about |  
18 000 people at a Sharpeville |  
Day rally in the Khayeltisha |  
Rugby Stadium.

He said there was a fear, .  
particularly among whites,

2

that if the movement came to

power it would 200\230200\234throw every-  
body into the streets 200\231200\235 and  
that people would lose their  
jobs.

Mr Mandela also repeated a  
statement he made on Friday



Government brought in VA  
on hitherto exegnant basic  
foods. The last time there had  
gone on a protest the ANC  
rallyed 3 million people  
to the streets. people

â\200\234This time we will pull out  
â\202-even more than that, not for  
two days but for long enough  
for (the Government) to listen  
to us.â\200\235

In Uitenhage, the Trans-  
keian military leader, Maj-  
Gen Bantu Holomisa, said at  
a Sharpeville meeting that  
there must not be a third  
round of Codesa. Codesa Two  
must be followed by the pro-  
cess of restoring citizenship to  
residents of the TBVC coun-  
tries to enable them to vote in

an election in South Africa. â\200\224  
(Sapa) o

Beware

WHEN the Conservative Party sprang

to the Governmentâ\200\231s defence yester-  
| day over allegations that security  
forces might have ordered the assassina-  
tion of activists in the Eastern Cape, Rob-  
in Carlisle (DP, Wynberg) thought he had  
~ reason to be doubly suspicious.

- Moolman Mentz (CP, Ermelo), reacting  
to President de Klerkâ\200\231s decision to ap-  
point an inquest and not a commission of  
enquiry, declared: â\200\234We believe the Gov-

.. ernment has acted correctly.â\200\235

â\200\234When the CP supports the State Presi-  
dent on a matter of violence, he should  
know heâ\200\231s in the wrong,â\200\235 retorted Mr Car-  
lisle.

A little later the boot was on the other  
foot when the DP supported the CP in its

| concern that Health Minister Rina Venter

was not doing enough to control air pollu- .

e

tion.

~ â\200\234We have determined acceptable levels  
of exposure,â\200\235 announced Dr Venter. â\200\234We  
have used all the instruments at our dis-  
posal.â\200\235

â\200\234How many more reports from the CSIR  
does she still wantâ\200\231â\200\231, asked Carel  
Schoeman (CP, Nigel). Louis Stofberg (CP,  
Sasolburg) wondered at the morality of  
Sasol spending R20 million on motor rac-

\_ing while childrenâ\200\231s lungs became infected  
from its factory emissions.

â\200\234The member can rest easy,â\200\235 Dr Venter  
said, in an unsuccessful attempt at reas-  
surance.

â\200\234The ministerâ\200\231s stockings are slipping

- down,â\200\235 smirked Fanie Jacobs (CP, Los-  
' berg).

The third interpellation of the day was  
â\200\234about the Governmentâ\200\231s policy on ration-  
alising white schools and retrenching  
thousands of white teachers. Roger Bur-  
rows (DP, Pinetown) wanted Education

.~ Minister Piet Marais to announce that -

with the ending of own affairs schools, it might not be necessary to sack anybody.

The minister doesn't like white education, accused CP member Francois Pauw.

Mr Marais said of course he liked education, whatever the colour. :

After all, I'm also a white, he added. .

You're just white, that's all, snapped a CP member (as opposed, presumably, to being a card-carrying member of the chosen colour). g

Afterwards, on the Housing Vote, the

wretched toilets (the ones scattered about\*

) 4 = ., \ S

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| the empty Transva

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praising the president

veld at a cost of R15 million) once again intruded on Parliamentary proceedings.

David Curry (LP, Pniel) was talking of the need to build mass housing, instead of just producing reports about it.

e also boasted of his own achievements when Minister of Housing in the E. I delivered the goods, he declared. I didn't build R15 million toilets which stand empty. -

Finally he told of houses lights or any other improvements. .  
And toilets? asked Pikkie Coetzee

. (CP, Middelburg). : / ; :  
'\ No, there are not even toilets, replied Mr Curry. -

Why lose more millions on loos? .

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from

ancial Times (FT) here yester-

which the ANC went on to

-/

built without = -

/\I)â\200\230eporï¬\201gsu" e 1  
â\200\230shocksâ\200\231 |  
Marxist leaders

chuficiate: â\200\230We have recom-

how talks with two Cqâ\200\230r\_m\_ngxrlisrtâ\200\230 |

the CP when they "Âç

EL  
â\200\230wagging

| their fingers at each other.

-/ succeeded in provoking him  
. to the point where he could

no longer keep his forefinger  
to himself.

First Mr Hendrickse quoted  
! rumours that Mr de Klerk had  
been influenced by a mini-re-  
i volt within his caucus.

â\200\231

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O Rl

true,â\200\235 protested a Nationalist.

Then he suggested that Mr  
de Klerk had a split person-

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THE si)Ã©ctacle of the day was |  
- probably Allan Hendrickse |  
. and FW de Klerk shaking |

The State President is not

- particularly given to finger-  
' shaking, a form of political at-

-/ tack he prefers to leave at-  
| tached to the memory of his

. predecessor. But yesterday

theleader of the Labour Party .

â\200\230â\200\234Those rumours arenâ\200\231t |

redistribution through

" positionsâ\200\235.

â\200\234Is the minister indicating  
~ that honourable memberscan .

. be bribed?â\200\235 asked Mr Louw.

â\200\234I say it because I can prove .

it,â\200\235 replied Mr Hendrickse.

1 But he withdrew the re-

mark. -

" < The last speaker in the de- "

The. N.ationalists have Dbate, Finance Minister Bar- |\

apartheid in their hearts and = end du Plessis, gave Andries |

. In their blood, but the Labour Treurnicht his almost exclu- |~

3

i Party, the Democratic Party sive attention, accusing the |

i and Inkatha put democratic = CP leader of selective decep- |

. Sense into their heads,â\200\235

: claimed Mr Hendrickse.

. The final straw came when : . 2

| he alleged the NP had started ~ COMpanied by equal rights -

| buying off MPs of colour to without racial discrimination. |

. achieve hidden objectives. â\200\234You are very superficial,â\200\235

â\200\234Thatâ\200\231s not true,â\200\235 protested

Mr de Klerk.

Mr Hendrickse insisted it. |

- was. He and the President be= '

| gan trying to talk each other:

. down simultaneously, with.

Â« much mutual wagging of fin-

: gers. You couldnâ\200\231t hear what; . 3

they were saying above the: = â\200\234will the ANC be banned?â\200\235

uproar. : ~ asked Mr du Plessis.

Finally the new Speaker, Eli

Louw, intervened when Mr

Hendrickse declared that the =

NP would only succeed in

buying off Labour Party MPs

â\200\234whose hearts throb democra-

Âçy but whose minds think pe-

g i SRRy

tional qualification to self- | -

â\200\234If the CP came to power

would it ban the Communist =

Party?â\200\235 demanded Mr du

Plessis. ;

a CP member. :

5

nard (CP, Hercules).

Dr Treurnicht himself, how-

ever, didnâ\200\231t seem so sure.

â\200\234The Member for Hercules

says yes, but his leader

-~ doesnâ\200\231t know,â\200\235 jeered Mr du

=L Plessis. 2

s

~ remain in suspense.

: G , nal ayed. : 's deputy ~.

is determining | mended to the internationa ationalis e id other met . Earlier the CPâ\200  
\231s deputy .

Hgaeliqrgcernational sanc- | community that sanctions be 32Âfed at the world Ecr?;r?d' - t%  
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o should still be applied | applied against SA by eVEIV" pmoym in Davos, Sw.mâ\200\230l',e  
eng the ?râ\200\230lclude tax\_reforms, DAT told President de Klerk that

to South Africa, according toan | pody. And anybody, tht?{}encs)risâ\200\231 Talks with .Mr  
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interview with Mr Nelson | who violates S80S B800 (oppe | Cninese PO, o â\200\234ne said,  
and the encourage d o0 e cowlndn LT

Mandela published in the Fil- { not acting In the

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\235. ort says Mr the ANC is in. If you lose the  
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He was asked what sanctions The fanticleRd esCiins toa Sty faced Wl to reduce St te ' Mande  
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The FT article went on: â\200\234MI Â£ e "y we would not pay the enterprse, o, tyjery. |, U  
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. â\200\234Yes,â\200\235 shouted Salmon Bar-

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tion for omitting the interna- |  
determination that it be ac- =

remarked Dr Treurnicht. s,

â\200\234Yes, and you to0o,â\200\235 shouted o

The ANC would justhaveto . -



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Â¥ KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana \_  
1 and Ciskei was â\200\234volatileâ\200\235 and  
{ that their police forces  
1 â\200\234highly politicisedâ\200\235. -  
- He feared that police from -  
those territories would be  
â\200\230| able to â\200\234hunt downâ\200\235 people  
| who allegedly committed pol-  
' 1 find them in South Africaâ\200\231â\200\235.  
\_\_As he understood 15 =all  
these policemen would have  
| to do was report to an SAP -  
{ station near the border to in-  
form them of their actions.

CAPE TOWNâ\200\224A Bill  
â\200\230debated in Parliament

esterday will give  
waZulu Police the

right to pursue their  
\_citizens into Natal and  
operate with the same  
| powers in the Republic

s the South African  
lice.

e Police Amendment Bill  
kes provision for a bilater-  
agriement between the  
h African Government  
â\200\230hose of the independent  
<4 non-independent home-.

itical crimes â\200\230â\200\234wherever they -

~ He had spoken to people .

1 about the situation in Kwa- -

Zulu and â\200\230â\200\234at the moment

-] there is great unhappiness -

{about the actions of the.\_

-1 KwaZulu police forceâ\200\235. In|

' many instances people would' |

{rather the SAP :

cases.

et

| with such a bilateral a -  
| ment, but wanted det;-xatilsjgree

{  
{ Bill, with Heilbron MP Cehill  
| Pienaar charging that â\200\234for-

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By Chris Whitfield  
Political Correspondent

tone Comm

Mr van Ec  
no problem â\200\234in principleâ\200\231â\200\235

The Conservative Party at-  
tacked the provision in the

eignersâ\200\231â\200\235 were getting th  
right to act with the gsamg  
powers as the SAP, '

k said the DP had\_

i s L5 SRR

. â\200\230Warâ\200\231 refugees

.\_fighting in Umlazl.. ...

ill raise

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ears over KZpP

flee

THE war of words in Natal between the ANC and IFP over the ongoing violence continued yesterday as more than

600 refugees fled renewedw -

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,. 4c Party MP-Jan  
. #% amed during the -  
) ublic committee  
i #at the political cli- |.  
in such territories as |-

investigate -  
3 - 73 .â\200\230\* :

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Â© Deputy Law and Order Minister Johan:..Scheepers re-

sponded by saying the agreement had already been discussed in depth with the .|

governments of the various territories.

Â® The Bill also scraps the

notorious Section 27B of the.

were Police Act, which puts the

onus of proving the accuracy of news reports on police action on the reporter. It was supported by all but the CP. Mr Scheepers said Section 27B had led to few court cases â\200\224 three leading to prosecutions â\200\224 but considerable ad-counter-productive.

Mr Pienaar said the CP would oppose the Bill because the police force, previously

protected, was now being delivered to the ANC.

All other parties supported the Bill, with DP MP Peter Gastrow saying there was no need for police to be shielded from nasty journalists.

W /.:\_\_i =

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ANC want laws to p

JOHANNESBURG The ANC yesterday released its draft media charter, which calls for a constitutionally guaranteed free

| flow of information, sub-

ject to rights of privacy, and the scrapping of all

| pinned by an equitable distri-

censorship laws. The document, which is the

' result of a seminar held last

November, slates the SABC

' and calls for a reconstitution of its board by Codesa and verse criticism and was /|

criticises the print media, the Government's Communication Service (formerly the Bureau for Information) as well as the film industry.

The draft charter, released to initiate debate, says it would be wrong to advocate the establishment of bodies which would determine what society should and should not read, hear or watch.

But a simple declaration on media freedom was not

enough. It has to be under-

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Mercury Correspondent

bution of media resources, development programmes and a deliberate effort to engender the culture of open debate,â\200\235 says the preamble to the charter.

The charter calls for all institutional and legislative measures which restrict the free flow of information or which impose censorship over the media to be prohibited.

While guaranteeing the right to publish information and opinion freely, the charter calls for the â\200\234democratisation of the mediaâ\200\235. !

â\200\234Diversity of ownership of media production and distribution facilities shall be ensured,â\200\235 the charter says.

The charter also proposes that journalists shall be protected by law from having to disclose their sources of information and insists that media institutions â\200\234shall provide fa-

- Y  
K"

censorship  
e scrapped

SR

upgrading of media workersâ\200\235.

In a resolution on the control and regulation of broadcasting in the interim period, the seminar noted that the NP had a â\200\234privileged relationshipâ\200\235 with the SABC because the Government appointed the members of the corporationâ\200\231s board.

â\200\234The SABC has acted as the propaganda arm of the NP Government to promote

apartheidâ\200\235 and has not fulfilled its role as a public broadcaster, the resolution says.

Codesa should appoint an Interim Broadcasting Consultative Committee to be responsible for the control and regulation of broadcasting during the interim period.

Times Media Ltd MD Steve Mulholland said in response that the ANC should be commended for its commitment to freedom of the press, although he found some of the ANC recommendations Utopian and unrealistic.

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â\200\230Speculatibn: FW plÃ©ns resh

\_\_-ional Party should have  
~ control of the House of  
" Delegates by Friday â\200\224

making it the dominant party in all three Houses of Parliament â\200\224 after a week studded with important political developments.

Also on the cards is a widely

| anticipated Cabinet reshuffle,

but NP sources said the President might delay this until

| the rationalisation of own af-

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fairs departments and ministries began in earnest in April. The week will also see the

unveiling of the Govern-  
ment's proposals for a Bill of  
Rights.

On the negotiations front,  
there are hopes for an early

. resumption of multi-party  
talks.

President de Klerk hinted  
at a reshuffle during his  
speech on Friday, saying the  
rationalisation of own affairs  
departments could lead to a  
review of Cabinet responsi-  
bilities.

Apart from former defence  
minister, Gen Magnus Malan,  
who held the Forestry and

. Water Affairs portfolio, who  
resigned last night, Mr  
Adriaan Vlok, the one-time

\* law and order minister who

" was demoted to Correctional

Services, was also scheduled  
for retirement.

Others who may go are  
Home Affairs Minister Louis  
Pienaar and his Regional and  
Land Affairs counterpart Ja-  
cob de Villiers.

By Chris Whitfield  
Political Correspondent

raised speculation are Mr Pik | 20  
Botha (Foreign Affairs), Mr |

Kobie Coetsee (Justice) and

" Mr Gene Louw (Defence). -  
However, NP sources said it - -

was highly unlikely that the  
President would be prepared  
to let valued members of his

team holding vital portfolios . - e  
all go at this time.

The House of Delegates =  
could never be described as =  
settled.

The NP believes it can mus- â\200\230

ter at least 24 votes in the -  
45-strong House by Fridayâ\200\231s

motion of censure â\200\224 in effect -

a no-confidence debate.  
This would lead to Presi-  
dent de Klerk reconstituting

the Ministers Council. It is  
understood he plans to'use - "

the House for an experiment

in power-sharing â\200\224 with top -

jobs being shared between NP  
and Solidarity members.

At present the NP has 14

MPs in the HoD and the rul-  
ing Solidarity Party 21. An-  
other seven Solidarity MPs  
are expected to join those al-  
ready in the NP.

An NP source said three  
National Peoples Party MPs

\_would also probably join the

Nats, leaving Mr Amichand  
Rajbansi as the partyâ\200\231s sole  
representative in Parliament.

Much attention will be on

the NPâ\200\231s Natal MPs to see if =

anyone takes their lead from

Mr Jurie Mentz, who last \_  
week stunned the party by . =

opting to become the IFPâ\200\231s

sole representative in

Those whose future has

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Parliament.

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. CAPE TOWNâ\200\224AnN ag-  
â\200\230reement on an interim  
- government, including  
the scrapping of the  
present tricameral par-  
liament before an elec-  
tion early next year, is  
expected to be tabled  
at Codesa II by mid-  
- May.

Senior negotiators for the  
main parties said at the week-  
end that only the Inkatha  
Freedom Party now opposed  
a proportionately elected  
constituent/legislative assem-

. bly being installed to write a  
' new constitution.

Â©If this resistance could be

| overcome, the tricameral par-  
liament would be dissolved  
and elections held to fill two

- entirely new chambers of par-  
liament, one proportionally

' and one disproportionately re-  
presented. The current

Houses would not be amalga-

mated to form a new upper or

second House in a transition-  
al parliament, they said.

It appeared that smooth

progress could be made in the

' weeks ahead. Unless unex-

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countered, Codesa II would  
be ready to present consen-  
sus-based proposals by the  
middle of May.

Legislation to implement the first preparatory phase is expected to be passed by Parliament before its adjournment in June, with the preparations for South Africa's first non-racial elections completed by December or January 1993.

Only unrelenting violence can further delay the process after that.

Parliamentary parties at Codesa, which excludes only the CP, are said to have accepted the inevitability of their MPs having to vote themselves out of power and to go to the polls in a contest for seats in the two new chambers envisaged.

This follows a major acknowledgement by the Government that the establishment parties would be unfairly advantaged if sitting MPs were simply allowed to become members of a new second chamber. This while their respective parties could also field candidates for seats in a new proportionately elected first chamber.

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es. May 1993

At the same time, the non-system parties would be denied access to the second chamber.

The only real obstacles to an agreement to emerge this week is the executive nature of first-phase interim structures.

Initial resistance to proposals tabled by the National Party in Working Group Three appeared to have eased

substantially by the weekend after explanatory assurances from the NP delegationâ\200\231s leader, Dr Dawie de Villiers.

The ANC is determined to put its hands on some key executive levers which it feels are imperative for levelling the political playing field.

The NP has proposed a system of transitional councils â\200\224 mini Codesas â\200\224 whose consensus-based recommendations in their respective fields will oblige Government implementation. Their powers, Dr de Villiers said at the weekend, would equal those of a Cabinet committee.

â\200\234Their proposals are not so far removed from others that

they preclude finding common ground and agreement,â\200\235 said Mr Ken Andrew, DP MP for Gardens and senior negotiator in WGS3.

Senior ANC negotiators offered qualified acceptance if the councils did indeed have indirect but de facto executive power. However, their preference remained direct participation in a new interim executive.

The precise terms on which all parties can move ahead on a basis of consensus are to be hammered out when Working Group Three reconvenes on April 6.

All parties are convinced the next round of talks would answer the compelling question as to whether there was a real will to find solutions in a spirit of trust and urgency or whether certain parties were going to conduct a war of nerves against the backdrop

of social, economic and political pressure for a settlement.

It also remains to be seen

how the parties deal with the Â© | o meeting.

problem of an increasingly recalcitrant Inkatha on the is-



sue of an elected constitution  
writing body. â\200\224 (Sapa)

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on Codesa

KWAZULU monarch  
Goodwill Zwelithini will  
meet President de  
Klerk on Friday in  
Cape Town to present

his views regarding the  
recent Codesa talks.

This was disclosed yester-

. day after a press conference

addressed by both Dr Andries

" Treurnicht, leader of the Con-

servative Party and Dr Man-  
gosuthu Buthelezi, the Kwa-  
Zulu Chief Minister.

The two leaders held an  
hour-long meeting in Durban  
at which they reviewed the  
political situation . . . and con-  
centrated on the recent Code-

A passionate plea by Dr  
- T e

By Siza Ntshakala

Buthlezi to the leader of the  
CP â\200\234to join hands and partici-  
pate in Codesa because he be-  
lieved that Codesa should be  
as inclusive as possibleâ\200\235 was  
firmly rejected by Dr Treur-  
nicht because Codesa was ad-  
vocating a â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230unitary State  
under a central government.â\200\235

Commenting on his absence  
from Codesa, Dr Buthlezi  
said:; â\200\234If my most natural con-  
stituency is excluded, the  
Zulu people and the king, it is  
not possible for me to attend  
and I have no right to at-  
tend.â\200\235

He added: â\200\234On Friday, I am  
accompanying the king with  
some of my colleagues and  
members of the royal family  
to meet Mr de Klerk, where

i

â\200\230would be held soon

his majesty will present his  
case on Codesa.â\200\235

The CP expressed its con-  
cern over the violence that =  
had engulfed South Africa  
and Natal/KwaZulu, and  
emphasised the partyâ\200\231s rejec-  
tion of terror, violence and in- ...  
timidation as means of  
achieving political ends. o

Dr Buthelezi said: â\200\234Without .

the presence of the CP, I be- c

lieve that we, whose parties '~  
are already in Codesa, do not #.  
have a snowballâ\200\231s chance in  
hell of succeeding in achiev-  
ing that which we are trying  
to achieve.â\200\235 g  
Both CP and IFP leaders -  
said yesterdayâ\200\231s discussions Â°  
took place in a very friendly  
and relaxed atmosphere, add-  
ing that follow-up meetings

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CAPE TOWNâ\200\224The suc-  
| cess of Codesa II is bal-

anced on a knife-edge

| today as negotiators

battle to fashion a last-

| minute agreement on  
| the majorities needed

to carry decisions in an

| interim parliament.

However, there was wide-  
spread anticipation that ag-  
reement paving the way for  
the creation of the historic in-  
terim constitution and genu-

| ine power-sharing would be

reached this afternoon.

The Labour Partyâ\200\231s Miley  
Richards, chairman of Work-

| ing Group II â\200\224 which is grap-  
'l pling with the majorities issue

â\200\224 last night predicted that  
the negotiators would clinch a  
deal this afternoon.

Top ANC negotiator Mo-

| hamed Valli Moosa agreed,

saying that a consensus re-  
port could be laid before to-  
morrowâ\200\231s plenary session.

. In a day of high drama and  
heated exchanges at special  
negotiations yesterday signifi-

â\200\234l.cant agreements were

reached on the key issues of  
" regionalism and the need for  
' two houses in the interim par-

. liament.

And Constitutional Devel-

. opment Minister and top

Â» Government negotiator Roelf

\_â\200\234Meyer said that another

Â¢ stumbling block â\200\224 the role of -  
â\200\230. Umkhonto we Sizwe in the fu-  
| ture defence force â\200\224 was also  
| close to resolution. = .

He told a media briefing  
yesterday that bilateral nego-  
tiations between the Govern-

- ment and the ANC had  
-1 reached â\200\234at least 80% or even  
-| more agreement on the princi-  
i ples upon which a defence  
| force should now and in the

â\200\230| future operateâ\200\235.

Natal

/\ Lol j  
y Chris Whitfield  
Political Correspondent

Progress yesterday was  
such that ANC international  
jaffairs director Thabo Mbeki  
boldly predicted that Parlia-  
ment could start legislating  
for the creation of the first  
phase of interim government  
â\200\230before the end of next month.

But Government negotia-  
tors felt that was only practi-  
cal later in the year, possibly  
in August, when a second sit-  
ting of Parliament would be  
convened.

Negotiators in Working  
Group II, after battling for  
nine hours to thrash out a  
consensus on the minimum  
percentage needed to carry  
the day in a constitution-  
making body, will meet today  
at lunchtime after consulting  
their principals.

The ANC axis at Codesa  
has proposed a two-thirds ma-  
jority is necessary in a consti-  
tution-making body â\200\224 or in-  
terim parliament â\200\224 but that a  
75% majority would be need-

ed for issues relating to a Bill | 3

of Rights.

The Government, IFP and =  
others were holding out for a |

75% majority on all issues.

The resolution of the Working Group' II impasse is seen

as-critical to the overall suc-

cess of Codesa II, because the agreements reached in the other four Working Groups hinge on an agreement on how the second phase of interim rule will be managed.

Another issue yet to be resolved is the status of the Zulu king at negotiations, and Codesa's management committee will meet on the issue this afternoon. A series of cri-

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tions in South Africa signals a happy

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tion,

even though bitter accusations  
may be made against the prison au-

thorities at times. )  
As a watchdog of the public, the '

press has always had an obligation  
to monitor the countryâ\200\231s administra-  
tion and to report on alleged abuses.

In the area of prisons administra

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end to decades of grim confronta-

tion. We trust it heralds a new open-  
ness between the Government and

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several abuses were exposed â\200\224 to

Oh-so-close  
to Codesa  
reement

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sis meetings has failed to  
break the impasse on this and  
IFP president Dr Mango-  
suthu Buthelezi is almost cer-  
tain not to attend proceed-  
ings at Codesa II tomorrow  
and on Saturday.

Yesterday the ANC conced-  
ed to demands for a second  
House of Parliament in the  
second phase of the interim  
arrangements.

Common ground was also  
achieved on the thorny issue  
of regionalism. It was agreed  
that all adults would have  
two votes â\200\224 one for a regional  
and one for a national repres-  
entative. . \_ â\200\230

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to establish a working relationship  
between the press and the prison au-

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ROPOSALS TO GIVE the  
P KwaZulu Police the right to pur-

sue their citizens into Natal, and  
operate with the same powers in the  
Republic as the SA Police, are ill-  
conceived. The Government should  
withdraw these provisions without  
further ado.

The Police Amendment Bill makes Â°

provision for a bilateral agreement  
between the SA Government and  
those of the independent and non-in-  
dependent homelands on â\200\230â\200\234cross-bor-  
derâ\200\235 operations. Opposition MPs are  
fearful about allowing the highly  
politicised police forces of KwaZulu,  
Ciskei and Bophuthatswana the op-

portunity to hunt down suspects  
anywhere in SA. They point out that  
the political situation in those terri-  
tories is volatile and there is much  
dissatisfaction about the partisan-  
ship of their police forces.

If the extension of powers to the  
homeland police forces to operate  
throughout SA was considered a  
quid pro quo for the SAP being al-  
lowed to operate in the homelands,  
then the price is too high. Neverthe-  
less the time must come when the  
SAP has jurisdiction over the home-  
lands also.

There is sound reason to be ner-  
vous about increasing the jurisdic-  
tion of a force such as the KwaZulu  
Police, which has often been accused  
of siding with Inkatha against the  
ANC in violent clashes. :

The Government has gone to enor-  
mous trouble to create the right envi-  
ronment for. constitutional negotia-  
tions based on consultation with all  
the major political organisations. In  
keeping with this spirit, it should be  
directing its efforts to persuading  
homeland governments to use their  
police forces as friends of the people,  
not instruments for asserting politi-  
cal power. There is no room for legis-  
lation of this sort while the country  
seeks to make progress at Codesa.  
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| Police Bill.  
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An inspiration to mankind, says Kissinger

By Billy Paddock & Sapa

PARISâ\200\224President de  
Klerk and ANC presi-  
dent Nelson Mandela  
| were described as an  
| â\200\234inspiration to man-  
| kindâ\200\235 by Dr Henry Kis-  
| singer, former US Sec-  
| retary of State, when  
| they jointly received  
|. | the Unesco Houphouet-  
Boigny Peace Prize  
here yesterday. ;  
Award chairman Dr Kissin-  
ger said no one would have  
thought it possible â\200\234that two  
prisoners of the past could  
transcend history and defend  
|. | a goal worthy of the suffering  
| and aspirations â\200\224 of not just  
1 their country, but their conti-  
| nentâ\200\235.  
| The two leaders had walked  
| into the conference hall to re-

- | sounding applause and when  
~| they shook hands after receiv-  
| ing the prize, the applause  
continued for nearly five  
minutes.

Mr de Klerk said he was  
donating his R400 000 share of  
| the award â\200\234to a cause in keep-  
  
ing with the ethos and pur-

eaders

N~ Febâ\200\224 A

Parisâ\200\224President Francois Mitterrand is flanked by

President de Klerk and Mr Mandela. â\200\224 (AP)

tha leader Chief Mangosuthu)  
Butheleziâ\200\235.

It is understood that the.  
Government had urged World  
Economic Forum president  
Klaus Schwab to allow Dr Bu-  
thelezi to speak at Davos â\200\224  
and had then to pay the price  
by conceding that Lebowa  
chief Nelson Ramodike and  
Cosatu general secretary Jay  
Naidoo should be included in

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â\200\234ional peace, Mr de Klerk said  
 . it had to be remembered that  
 " it was, however, for the dis-

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 " In receiving the prize, both  
 Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela

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steered clear of their differ-  
 ences and spoke positively.  
 Mr de Klerk said it was  
 â\200\234symbolicâ\200\235â\200\231 that the award  
 from the UN family should be  
 made through Unesco, which  
 had led the campaign to iso-  
 late apartheid SA.  
 Acknowledging the interna-  
 tional communityâ\200\231s duty to  
 encourage regional and nat-  
 arties to resolve their

conflicts.

Mr Mandela said it was â\200\234a

hopeful sign of the potential  
 of SAâ\200\235 that this prize was  
 shared by two people who  
 traced their respective politi-

cal ideals to opposing poles â\200\230|

on the political spectrum.

â\200\234It is the hope of all . . . that |

this award signifies the con-

vve'rge'nce of our aims and a  
 - growing consensus ... among |

the overwhelming majority.  
 â\200\234We must part company  
 with policies that render hu-  
 man beings the objects of ma-  
 nipulation by political and ec-

onomic powers for the benefit  
of the privileged few.â\200\235  
Speaking later, Mr de Klerk  
said: â\200\234I should like to believe

that our friends here today,

and all who wish South Africa  
well, will allow South Africans  
to proceed with their negotia-  
tions, unhindered, in an at-  
mosphere of reconciliation.â\200\235  
â\200\234The old stereotypes con-  
cerning South Africa no long-  
er apply. What we need now is  
a positive attitude of general  
encouragement for the pro-  
cess on which we have em-

. barked.â\200\235

law, that anj

Mr Mandela said the ANC  
accepted that South Africa  
belonged to all its people and  
that all were equal before the  
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rowd calls for ANC  
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THE stayaway in Pieter-

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maritzburg called by the ANC  
on Monday in support of its  
demands for the withdrawal  
of security forces from Imbali  
will continue until the end of  
the week, it was decided  
yesterday.

A crowd unanimously ap-  
proved the motion at a mass  
rally in Churchill Square in  
the Pietermaritzburg city  
centre yesterday, called by  
Natal Midlands chairman  
Harry Gwala.

Another meeting is to be  
held tomorrow to review the  
situation.

There was a heavy police

â\200\230\; presence throughout the day

Â© and an SADF helicopter cir-

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. cled the city and townships.

Addressing the huge crowd

~at the rally through a loud-

- hailer, Mr Gwala said thes â\200\234gray their troop carrier over-

ANC was peaceful â\200\224 â\200\234â\200\230but  
donâ\200\231t goad us ... we will re-  
turn to the armed struggle if  
necessary and blood will be  
spilledâ\200\235.

â\200\234How can we stop the stay-

away when Inkatha has  
moved into Imbali?â\200\231â\200\231 he  
asked.

Acting mayor Rob Haswell  
was warmly welcomed by the

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duced by Mr Gwala, who said  
Pietermaritzburg was the  
only city that had â\200\234a deputy  
mayor of the peopleâ\200\235.

Â® An Inkatha convoy,

which attempted to bus work  
ers home to Imbali in defiance  
of the ANCâ\200\231s blockade of the  
township, came under heavy  
automatic fire last night.

Led by a KwaZulu MP and  
executive member of the  
KwaZulu Legislative Assem-  
bly, Mr David Ntombela, and  
escorted by security forces,  
the buses were fired on as  
they negotiated rock barri-  
cades on a road in what is ap-  
parently an ANC stronghold.

@Â® A soldier from 3 SA Infan-  
try Battalion was killed and  
eight others were injured

tfurned in Imbali township  
yesterday, after the vehicleâ\200\231s  
brakes failed. ;

@Â® Police reported yesterday  
that an unidentified bus pas-  
senger was killed when a  
KwaZulu Transport bus was  
ambushed on the Taylorâ\200\231s  
Halt road near Edendale, on  
Tuesday evening.

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JOHANNESBURGâ\200\224T\_he  
ANC has presented flexible

ernment to Codesa, which  
yesterday achieved an unpre-  
cedented degree of consensus  
on a range of issues.

One leading delegate specu-  
lated that so much progress  
had been made by the Codesa  
working groups that it was  
conceivable that Codesa ne-  
gotiations could be complet-  
ed within six weeks.

The ANCâ\200\231s document, pre-  
sented at working group 35  
states that an interim govern-  
ment is not an end in itself  
and the organisation will give

| -serious consideration to any

structure which will achieve  
the aims of an interim govern-  
ment.

The document says the  
main task of an interim gov-  
ernment will be to ensure free  
and fair elections and that  
government is conducted in  
the interim in a way that does

: ! not favour any party.

Meanwhile, working group  
2, which is concerned with  
constitutional principles, has  
drawn up a checklist of items  
on which agreement has been

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| Instead, he said, Cod

achieved â\200\230and on which there  
| is now no need for discussion.

About half the principles

\* have already been agreed on,  
| although several sticking  
| points, including the future of

regional government, eco-  
nomic issues and minority

rights, still need to be re-

| solved, delegates say.

JOHANNESBURGâ\200\224Inkatha  
Freedom Party president  
Mangosuthu Buthelezi yester-  
day warned that Codesa was  
in â\200\234dire danger of being de-  
stroyed by those who want to  
make it a testing ground for  
party political strengthâ\200\235.

Dr Buthelezi, in a speech  
prepared for delivery in San  
Francisco yesterday, said  
Codesa should remain a fo-  
rum in which political parties  
met to discuss how to get ne-  
gotiations off the ground and  
what negotiation structures  
and processes should be de-  
veloped.

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proposals on an interim gov- Â°

ANC presents

flexible ideas  
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on interim rule

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By Tim Cohen

a presentation to the interim'

government working group,  
which outlines the principles!

which should be applied, but,  
does not specify the exact|,

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The Government also made T

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HE SPECTACLE of South Afri-  
caâ\200\231s Big Three politicians sharing  
a platform and speaking virtually

the same language with regard to in-  
| vesting in the countryâ\200\231s economy is

OO andam which should be remarkable testimony of how far we |

implemented. Âf  
|

Finance Minister Barend du|

Plessis said prerequisites for .

the creation of a successful  
transitional mechanism were ;|  
that it should be fully repre-  
sentative, legitimate and that |  
constitutional and legal in-

struments should be respec-

ted. &  
He also argued fora devolu- '

tion and sharing of power and

a mechanism which would in-  
volve minorities and be sub-  
ject to an initial Bill of Rights.



The ANC proposes what  
| other beforehand so that, in the .

amounts to a two-stage inter-  
im government with the first  
structure being appointed by  
Codesa and the second either  
being elected simultaneously  
with the elections for a con-  
stituent assembly or by  
Codesa.

The possibility of an elected

second stage interim govern-  
ment is a significant conver- |

gence with the Governmentâ\200\231s

position, which calls for an |

elected interim government.  
â\200\230This version is also very close

to both the DPâ\200\231s and In- |

kathaâ\200\231s proposails.  
@ See also Page 6

Bâ\200\231luthelÃ@ziâ\200\231s Codesa fearsi

was itself becoming a negoti-  
ating forum.

â\200\234There is also the danger of  
both the ANC and the NP  
conniving with each other

against the other members of |  
Codesa to ensure that the |

world continues to receive im-

ages of the South African |

Government and the ANC  
working together.â\200\235

He charged there were  
times when it was evident  
that the ANC and the Govern-  
ment were conniving behind  
the scenes and attempting to  
use Codesa to rubber-stamp  
the decisions they made in

private. It made him fear for

the future. â\200\224 (Sapa)

erate

Hiâ\200\224 St â\200\224

have come politically in recent years.

Two years to the day after Presi- |

dent de Klerk announced in Parlia- |  
ment that the ANC, SACP and PAC |  
would be unbanned and Mr Nelson  
Mandela would be released, he and  
Mr Mandela, and Dr Mangosuthu  
Buthelezi, appeared before more  
than 1000 of the worldâ\200\231s most influ-  
ential businessmen and politicians  
at a meeting in Davos, Switzerland,  
to plead the case for international in-  
volvement in SA.

The leaders consulted with one an-

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words of one correspondent, Mr

| to the world leaders. â\200\234Our message  
. told journalists.

volte face on key aspects of the

. Mandela often sounded like Mr de

| Klerk and vice versa. Mr Mandela  
and Foreign Minister Pik Botha had  
| co-ordinated a strategy to â\200\234sellâ\200\235 SA

must raise the hope that we can |  
solve our problems,â\200\235 Mr Mandela

Mr Mandela made a remarkable i

ANCâ\200\231s economic policy. He rejected  
any statement from ANC people that  
a future ANC government would re-  
nege on loans transacted under the -  
apartheid government as the views  
of individuals, not those of the ANC. -  
And he toned down the ANCâ\200\231s com-  
mitment to nationalisation, saying

MERCURY Ray of hope

i n/\ L"\ PCÂ»\*â\200\231 .  
HE PEACE meetin?%t  
Mpumalanga between the =  
Inkatha Freedom Party and the  
ANC has brought a ray of hope to an  
otherwise bleak landscape. Localised  
as the breakthrough may be, it could  
serve as an example to other strife-

| torn areas that peace is possible.

It is difficult to say whether the  
peace in Mpumalanga\ will hold. -  
Years of strife, death and'destruction  
have left a vast legacy of bitterness  
which will not be easily overcome. It  
is also possible that outsiders whose  
political agenda dictates violence  
might try to interfere by stirring up

trouble again in the long-suffering township.

What Mpumalanga has shown, however, is that tolerance and good-neighbourliness also among political

" adversaries are not things that can

be dictated from up high. It is best cultivated on the ground by the people themselves. For that reason it is to be hoped â\200\224 fervently â\200\224 that the peace in Mpumalanga will hold, for the sake of the people there as well as that of others who need desperately to learn from them. ;

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' the issue was still being discussed, .  
. but that the future SA economy . /

would probably be only 10 to 15% in i

the hands of the state.

. One jarring note which ran against

| this encouraging trend was Mr  
Mandelaâ\200\231s insistence that it was still

premature to lift all sanctions

against SA. He is wrong to cling to

this position. It does not accord with  
his commitment to prosperity and to

: selling SAâ\200\231s image abroad.  
TR S 7 )

ions

by the ANC that it will renege on apartheid loans made to South Africa, if it were to form the new government, is ill-considered. Â¢

At a time when South Africa is desperately seeking a path to peaceful change via Codesa, this type of intemperate outburst by the ANC undermines confidence, both inside and outside South Africa, and creates a climate which is not conducive for peaceful change to occur. )

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It further creates doubt in

e  
SIR The renewed warning of potential foreign

investors on the security of their investment in South Africa. South Africa has been a net exporter of capital for the past decade which as a developing nation we simply cannot afford.

Many Western leaders have written off Africa as being an unsalvageable basket case and they have directed their attention to Eastern Europe which they regard as having far greater economic potential. The ANC's warnings give cre-

dence to these leaders' opinion-

e T

South Africa has paid a terrible economic and social price for ANC-instigated sanctions. Much of the rising crime rate and violence in South Africa stem from the unemployment created by sanctions.

As participants in Codesa, the ANC should honour the spirit of Codesa. It is time that they start behaving in a more responsible manner.

EF BENARD (Dr)  
Chairman, Sandton Branch,  
Inkatha Freedom Party

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~ Special police â\200\230were warned to go i

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Officer â\200\234suspe

By Ingrid Oellermann =  
5 Pietermaritzburg Bureau

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THE officer who took over the investiga-  
tion into the 1988 Trust Feed massacre  
last year told the Supreme Court yester-

â\200\230 dag that he began suspecting a â\200\234cover  
upâ\200\235 soon after taking over the case.

Capt Frank Dutton said while working on a  
case involving a member of the KwaZulu  
Legislative Assembly he received information  
. about the whereabouts of special constables  
sought in the Trust Feed case: He was subse-  
quently instructed to take over the investiga-  
tl(gl frgm Maj Joseph van Zyl on July 30.

n August 1, former special constable  
David Khambule and former special sergeant  
Dumisani Ndwalande were arrested at Mpu-  
malanga and Mtwalume.

Capt Dutton testified that the men claimed  
they were warned by KwaZulu policemen â\200\224  
allegedly actngg for â\200\234a colonel from Ulundi  
who had received information from senior  
SAP membersâ\200\235 â\200\224 to go into hiding as the  
Trust Fepd investigation had been re-opened.  
. @ Earlier yesterday the divisional criminal  
mvgstlgatlon\_s officer in Natal during 1988,  
Maj-Gen Christo Marx, told the Court police  
could not arrest New Hanover station com-

- mander Capt Brian Mitchell and special con-

â\200\230:,} stables implicated in the murders of the 11  
~ people â\200\234before they had direct evidenceâ\200\235.

. had personally attempted to

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i Once ballistics tests positively linking fire-  
- arms to the men had become available, he  
find the men.

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â\200\230IFP# ari'n?lmed

ULUNDIâ\200\224Inkatha Youth Brigade members  
called at the weekend for the party to form its  
own professional trained armed wing to defend  
IFP supporters from the â\200\230â\200\230onslaughtâ\200\231â\200\231 of  
Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

The proposal was made at the youth brigadeâ\200\231s  
annual conference here.  
. â\200\234We should call for the disbandment of MK and  
if this fails the IFP must form its own private  
army and fight,â\200\235 one youth said to enthusiastic  
â\200\230applause from the audience.

â\200\234The IFP has to form professional, highl  
trained defence units in the community . . . gsalg  
representative Jaco Strauss. â\200\224 (Political Staff)

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. Expect a good fight, Inkatha warns



| maritzburg on Tuesday mo

JOHANNESBURGâ\200\224  
Tensions over todayâ\200\231s  
multi-party planning  
conference were mount-  
ing last night as negoti-  
ators gathered here for  
the most representative  
political meeting in the

\_countryâ\200\231s history.

The immediate future of the

- country goes on the line dur-  
/ ing the two days of talks de-

signed to breathe new life into  
the negotiating process and  
the question being asked last  
night was: â\200\234What is Inkatha  
going to do?â\200\235

The IFP and KwaZulu Gov-  
ernment delegates refuse to  
be drawn on the issue, but  
one said: â\200\234Expect a good  
fight.â\200\235

However, a senior ANC  
source was confident the con-  
ference would be a success,  
saying that â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230on Saturday  
night we will be ready to get  
back to Codesaâ\200\235.

The conference takes place  
in the shadow of the killing of  
six children near Pieter-  
m\_

By Chris Whitfield  
Political Correspondent

ing. Three of the victims pf  
the bloody ambush were chil-  
dren of a local IFP chairman.

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi  
has described the meeting as  
being of â\200\234unprecedented im-  
portanceâ\200\235 but is also under-  
stood to regard the two days  
of talks as inadequate to meet  
the wide range of issues he  
wants addressed.

IFP central committee member and top negotiator Walter Felgate said earlier this week that the shape of the future state would be raised â\200\234very stronglyâ\200\235 at the talks. :

The other major players in the process, the Government and the ANC, see the meetingâ\200\231s objectives only as an assessment of the status of agreement reached in the Codesa negotiations and to prepare â\200\230â\200\234the way aheadâ\200\235. -

In terms of their thinking, constitutional issues will only be addressed at the resumption of full blown negotiations

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However, last night the ANCâ\200\231s Carl Niehaus appeared to extend an olive branch when he said the organisations would have no problem accepting federalism being made a priority item when multi-party constitutional talks resume.

The status of Codesa agreements is also likely to prove thorny, with the IFP on record as saying they should not be binding.

Another problem area could be the presence of the KwaZulu Government delegation. However, both the Government and the ANC are not expected to make an issue of this. :

Dr Niehaus said he understood the KwaZulu Government would be representing traditional leaders from the region and as such the ANC would not have a problem.

Also at the talks will be a

\* PAC delegation in spite of the Governmentâ\200\231s refusal to resume full blown negotiations with the organisation until it

suspends its armed struggle.

Another surprise will be

A\ y

that two delegations will represent Bophuthatswana - one representing the Government and another the ruling Christian Democratic Party.

Also at the meeting in addition to the 19 Codesa parties will be the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie. Azapo has not clarified its position.

"Late last night frenetic preparations were still under way in the cavernous World Trade Centre. Workmen were still laying out tables in the main hall and caterers preparing for the influx of delegates.

. @ Dr Buthelezi told a prayer - breakfast in Durban yesterday that the meeting should be turned into a culminating victory for the black struggle for liberation.

will instruct my team that goes (to the meeting) to work for harmony in the way -

forward, to stand firm on their own and IFP convictions and = ~ only move away from them to JEax compromises we really can - believe in,â\200\235 he said.

@ See also Page 6 & Editorial Opinion

T N T

tions.

N | |  
democrats

et -2

HE DEMOCRATIC PARTY is Tundoubtedly the party with the . best, or rather cleanest, image in South Africa. It is armed with the neatest set of principles and it never got its hands soiled by engaging in the undemocratic and dirty business of apartheid, or the violent resistance to it. But that, conversely and rather curiously, has also been its major drawback in many ways.

Politics essentially being about power, it seems people generally do not care too much about the methods employed by their parties to win or keep it. That certainly accounts for the NPâ\200\231s success over the past four decades. The more suppressive and corrupt it became, the more support it drew from the white electorate. By the same token, from the support the ANC appears to enjoy, there doesnâ\200\231t seem too much concern either about some of the tactics it has employed to advance its cause.

The question is whether the DP has any hope of changing its fortunes now that the situation has changed. Will it get more support for championing the democratic principles now being implemented, and for its promise to uphold these? Or will power remain the motivating factor, with many voting for the ANC to see it as strongly entrenched as possible, and others voting for the NP as the most likely bulwark against it?

It is clear from the DP's national congress in Cape Town that it is sensing the challenge. To shouts of 'yiva Zach!', party leader Zach de Beer pleaded for a DP with muscle, urging: 'We must fight on our claim that we, not the others, own democracy.' And to cries of 'viva DP', only two white males ended up on the party's national council of 10 to counter its image of being well-heeled and white.

The DP is right about wanting to fight a more forceful election campaign. Its best hope is to make people see the real fight for democracy is not over, but is only beginning.

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Pik

claims on

. NEW YORKâ\200\224Foreign  
| Minister Pik Botha yes-  
| â\200\230terday dismissed as an  
insult Mr Nelson Man-  
delaâ\200\231s charges that the  
Government was foster-  
ing violence in black  
townships.

In a speech to the Security  
Council, he said it was beyond  
his comprehension that any-  
one could accuse the Govern-  
ment of fomenting violence  
when its consequences at  
home and abroad were dis-  
astrous.

Mr Mandela on Wednesday  
accused Pretoria of orches-  
trating violence among  
â\200\230. | placks to keep the Govern-  
' ment in power.

Mr Botha said every initia-  
tive taken by Mr de Klerk had  
been aimed at creating a SA  
rid of past antagonisms.

It was beyond dispute that  
the initiatives taken by Mr de  
Klerk had proved his resolve  
and commitment to creating  
| aSAfreeof domination or op-  
~ pression. The violence had

- left an indelible stain on the  
national conscience and had  
to end.

Â«The killings are not only  
reprehensible, but run coun-  
)5 ter to SAâ\200\231s urgent need for in-  
<, vestment, economic growth  
/=1 and job creation.â\200\235

i According to Mr Botha, the  
ANC had admitted it had  
arms outside of the country  
and he had information that  
it had issued instructions to  
| transfer weapons stored in

. Zimbabwe to SA.

. He also challenged the ANC  
| to state clearly whether they  
~\* had shed policies promoted  
. by the SA â\200\230Communist Party.  
The Security Council meet-

. lution that would authorise  
" Secretary-General Boutros  
Boutros-Ghali to send a spe-  
cial representative to recom-  
mend measures that would  
help end the violence and re-  
start the talks. Mr Boutros-  
. Ghali has already suggested  
\ former US Secretary of State  
Cyrus Vance conduct the  
mission. â\200\230

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" ing will end with a draft reso-.

blasts

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The resolution also urges all

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iolence

parties to get back to the conference table and calls on the Government to take immediate steps to end the violence and bring those responsible to justice.

Â® The international community could play a constructive role in resolving the crisis in South Africa, but in the end a new constitution would have to be drawn up by South Africans, the Democratic Party told the Security Council.

DP national chairman Ken Andrew said SA faced urgent tasks: restoring peace and resuming constitutional negotiations â\200\224 and the implementation of agreements already arrived at by Codesa.

â\200\234Codesa remains frustrated not only by the breakdown of the negotiations themselves, but also by the violence characterising our society at present.

â\200\234At best, the international community can help the process. It cannot impose a constitution on SA,â\200\235 he said.

Â® Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope â\200\234yesterday accused the ANC of destabilising political opponents..

He had proof â\200\234the ANC is pursuing a double agenda which involves negotiating on the one hand, and wholesale destabilisation of institutions and individuals, on the other.â\200\235 '

@Â® Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo slammed the ANC, claiming it was no longer a progressive liberation movement, but had changed into an oppressive organisation bent on seizing power . â\200\234through the barrel of a gunâ\200\235.



â\200\234Disagree or oppose the  
ANC in any way and you be-  
come a target for violence.

Â«â\200\234The ANC has openly op-  
posed foreign investment be-  
cause in a prosperous SA,  
they would lose support and  
find it hard to stir people to  
violent action,â\200\235 Brig Gqozo  
concluded. â\200\224 (Sapa)

~Zulu  
~ be use

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. ULUNDIâ\200\224The Inkatha Free-  
i dom Party intends to pro-  
mote Zulu national pride as a  
strong electioneering plat-

| form during multi-  
B g i-party elec-

This was disclosed in the  
KwaZulu Legislative Assem-  
bly yesterday by chief minis-  
ter and president of the IFP,  
Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

â\200\234Wherever there is a Z  
he or she must be made av;gxlâ\200\230lteâ\200\231  
that the final expression of  
Zulu respect for my own lead-  
\_ership and my own line of de-  
sqgnt must be expressed in

ional pride to = |  
P ./ o3 [5G4 f  
in electionÃ@ering

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Political Staff

Zulu national pride in the way  
people vote in elections and  
referendums,â\200\235 he said.

â\200\234If we fail in making the  
people aware of what has tak- |  
en place in the past and what it  
is\_happening now, the ANC  
will finally succeed in smash-  
ing Zulu identity and  
shaming Zulu pride in who we  
are and where we come from.â\200\235

â\200\230Whatever else happened, re-  
gionalism would be en-  
trenched as important in the

new South Africa, Dr Buthelezi maintained.

oy Å¥ -  
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MERCURY

! the right tone  
+ ahead.

. and new initiatives  
. back to the negotiation table. While ,  
. it is true that no  
/. should be allowed to hold the entire -  
. process to ransom, it is equally true:  
' that in order

. â\200\224including the ANC. . &

THE Nâ\200\231ATAL

Mandelaâ\200\231s  
exampc!g

feâ\200\224 00 G â\200\224

OR A man who spent 27 years in-  
Fprison â\200\224 the best part of his  
adult life â\200\224 Mr Nelson Mandela  
oftens shows extraordinary tolerance  
and understanding of the fears and  
uncertainties of others. In recent  
weeks, especially, he has made a  
point of sounding moderate and rea-  
sonable, urging forgiveness rather  
than retribution. i

On several occasions he has called  
â\200\230on whites not to leave the country â\200\224  
â\200\230and urged his audiences to accept  
â\200\230that white South Africans, with their  
|skills, have a vital contribution to

'make towards the future develop-  
'ment of this country. But, politically, -  
it has been his remarks about Chief  
'Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and |  
â\200\230the conservative white groups that  
'set the best example. â\200\230  
. He toned down criticism of the  
Inkatha leader by saying he had a  
soft spot for him, and he displayed  
â\200\230notable political pragmatism when

he said he was worried about the  
right wing because of its capacity not  
only to disrupt the elections sched- ;  
uled for next year but also to sabo-  
â\200\230tage and spread trouble. '

What he is really doing, of course, -  
is articulating the realities of the |  
knows that no |  
government will be able to rule effec- .  
A  
of the disparate .  
the mosaic of

countryâ\200\231s politics. He

tively and constructively without the  
broad consensus  
} groups which make up  
South Africa. Thus he is sounding

of course, Mr Mandela is on the  
election trail. For his sentiments to  
â\200\234gain any real meaning,  
' be translated into renewed attempts \*  
to get everybody

one party or leader  
to engage all the major.

parties there needs to be a lot more  
give and take on the part of-everyone|

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for the brave new era

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they need to =  
i said. :

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BUtĩ¬\201elezi  
| huts back in  
| UN meeting

NEW YORKâ\200\224Inkatha Free-  
dom Party president Mango-

Ag/g Â©

[7-07-F7

suthu- Buthelezi hit back at

yesterday.  
Solidarity Party leader Dr

peace and negotiation.

On a conciliatory note, Dr

— the divided society.

negotiations, repeatedly deviated from his prepared speech

| to attack the ANC.  
â\200\234My people are being killed

by operatives of MK (the ANC

| Sizwe), â\200\235 charged Dr Buthelezi, who was speaking in his personal capacity.

The ANC was bent on seizing power unconstitutionally.

| session of the council that the

ment/IFP as well as the ANC  
tions attempted. â\200\235

was a culture of violence, he

â\200\234there is no way  
in South Africa will stop â\200\235.

fomenting violence against  
.lanybody â\200\235. â\200\230

' <If the IFP actively incited  
the Zulu people against its  
" political opponents, the situation in South Africa would

\* Dr Buthelezi, while he welcomed

— the efforts of the UN body to address the violence . =  
and to kick-start the stalled .

| ANC president Nelson Mandela had alleged in his address to the emergency â\200\230..

1 Dr Buthelezi added that the —  
| IFP â\200\234has never had a policy of

; â\200\230 have been chaotic. â\200\235 â\200\224 (Sapa) =

ressive .

the ANC in an aggressive address to the United Nations Security Council in New York

JN Reddy said the South African

" can question was not beyond  
. resolution, given the will of all  
. political parties to seek a new  
order through the process of

~ Reddy said South Africans  
~ had to desist from the practice  
of apportioning culpability

~ ity, because this only entrenched  
frustrations and further

armed wing, Umkhonto we sise

| IFP had become an instrument and surrogate of the  
| Government in a campaign of \*  
! violence. ;  
Dr Buthelezi said: There is no  
| will be no solution to the problem  
\* South African problem unless =  
| at least the South African = .  
| Government/National Party .  
and the KwaZulu Government = .-

alliance are party to the solution

South Africa's real problem is

THE ANC alliance faces what  
could prove to be a crucial  
test of strength during its  
mass action programme next  
week.

Mounting opposition from  
forces ranging across the po-  
litical spectrum has left the  
alliance standing almost  
alone on the stayaway and  
aware that a poor turnout  
could damage its standing.

Yesterday the Government  
and many business organisa-  
tions were joined by five â\200\234left-  
| wingâ\200\231â\200\231 organisations in  
' rejecting the two-day

stayaway planned by the  
ANC, SACP and Cosatu.

\_ Representatives of the  
National Council of Trade  
Unions, Pan Africanist Con-

gress, Azanian Peopleâ\200\231s

Organisation, New Unity  
Movement and Independent

Trade Unions decided after a  
marathon joint meeting not  
to participate.

They rejected the allianceâ\200\231s  
plans as an attempt to  
â\200\234breathe new life into Codesa  
or to propel the Government,  
into proper negotiationsâ\200\235.

But ANC spokesman Carl  
Niehaus shrugged off the deci-  
sion, saying that â\200\234we feel that  
their non-participation is  
their free choice, and it will  
not really affect the outcome  
of our mass action, so we are  
not really concernedâ\200\235.

The strike has also been  
condemned by the National  
Party, the Conservative Par-  
ty, the Democratic Party, the  
Inkatha Freedom Party and a  
number of smaller parties and  
organisations leaning towards  
the Right.

Nactu general secretary

SNC alligee face

R

Cunningham Ngcukana said  
the decision not to support  
the stayaway had been taken

because of the ANC alliance's failure to consult trade unions and liberation movements outside its ranks.

Mass action is also disruptive of the learning process

and social fabric in the communities of oppressed people,

not those of the oppressors, the five organisations said in a joint statement.

' The Nactu leader said he

Reports by Chris Whitfield, Ingrid Oellermann, Geraldine Malherbe, Simon Zwane, Tania Broughton and Veven Bissetty

|

S crucial test

expected friction between supporters and non-supporters of the planned strike on Monday and Tuesday.

PAC secretary general Benny Alexander said: We regret that the ANC repeatedly ignored our overtures for consultation.

In Durban yesterday the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) called upon students to go to school.

In Pretoria Finance Minister Derek Keys yesterday appealed to all people involved in next week's mass action campaign to act responsibly and to limit economic and political damage.

Mr Keys said he thought it was too late to make a fresh attempt to stop the mass action programme, and prepara-

" strike and protest meetings .

tion had to be made for the stay-away and the costs it would involve,

However, support for the ANQ alliance came from the



national Union of Teachers  
Associations of South Africa .  
(Utas) when it pledged its  
participation in the campaign  
but urged that schooling not,  
be disrupted.

But the National Profes- . .  
sional Teachers' Organisation -  
of South Africa yesterday .  
voiced its opposition to pupils  
striking next week's planned  
black day.

Meanwhile, Cosatu has in-  
vited United Nations envoy '  
Cyrus Vance to monitor the .-

next week, saying it would  
contribute to peace during  
this period. . e

THE NATAL

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7

Black-Dialogue New warmth evident

\

on bid for peace

MOMENTUM for peace in  
the Durban area has  
picked up with the local

- leadership of the African  
National Congress and the

Inkatha Freedom Party  
set to hold a meeting on  
the violence and the re-  
gion preparing itself for  
National Peace Day on  
Thursday.

â\200\230 The meeting between the  
- two organisations, which will  
| be held within a fortnight, fol-  
| lows successful discussions  
' between their respective

Political Staff

youth and womenâ\200\231s wings  
during the past month.

Although the relationship  
between ANC and IFP offi-  
cials in Durban has often tak-  
en the form of a stormy war of  
words in the past, there ap-  
pears to be a new warmth be-  
tween them.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillett  
said both sides were â\200\230â\200\234acutely  
consciousâ\200\235 of the fact that  
they needed to build trust be-  
tween them and that the best  
way to do this was to engage

in dialogue.

ANC southern Natal region-  
al secretary Sâ\200\231bu Ndebele said  
his organisation was pleased  
with the results of the meet-  
ings between the ANC Wom-  
enâ\200\231s League and IFP Womenâ\200\231s  
Brigade, and ANC Youth  
League and IFP Youth Bri-  
gade and these encounters  
had given them hope that  
peace was achievable:

The youth declared a mutu-

al cessation of hostilities |  
while the women produced a

\_peace programme involving  
Jjoint delegations to the. lead-  
ers of their parent organisa-  
tions.

| ULUNDIâ\200\224Inkatha was â\200\230â\200\230ready to  
governâ\200\235 and its preparations for a  
general election were in full swing in  
spite of indications that it will not,  
participate in a poll for a constituent  
assembly.

Speaking at the annual conference

of the IFP's youth brigade here yesterday, Inkatha chief executive officer Joe Matthews rejected as disinformation reports that it would boycott a poll. s

However, the IFP appears to have

set its sights on contesting an election for both a national and regional legislatures in September next year after a constitution has been finalised. ;

Mr Matthews also signalled the IFP's willingness to fight for votes in terms of a proportional representation system which was initially rejected by its president Mangosuthu Buthelezi earlier this year.

We have a very clear plan (for elections) ... we will carry it out. Many people want to see this but we don't want to advertise it, he said. :

Outlining the strategy, he said the party would need 600 candidates to stand for the the national parlia-

ment, which included 200 senators,

hostels had forged ID books.  
pnrslr LA b

Inkatha's election =

Local ANC/Inkatha plans in full swing

leader's page 230Z%T)ark A°

Political Staff

candidate. Hundreds more would be needed for the state legislatures. The IFP also needed about 200 000 volunteers for canvassing and he called on the party's youth to assist. It was also calculated that the IFP

required between R30 and R40 million |

lion to fight an election.

Mr Matthews also criticised the government for ordering the printing of 30 million ballot papers when no decision had been taken on whether to use a system of tokens, bearing the symbol of each party, to assist the large number of illiterate voters.

The IFP was teaching its people both methods of casting a vote.

Slamming the negotiating council for its â\200\234rushâ\200\235 to hold elections in April 1994, Mr Matthews said that only half of the countryâ\200\231s voters currently possessed valid identity books. -

At the rate at which the documents were being issued, two rml11qn people would still not have them in time for the poll. Mr Matthews also revealed that many supporters in

[>- 085 T2  
uandary

THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY

."P in a /

leadership may well be right in saying the party is in no danger .

of splitting. The way things are going - it might simply disintegrate.

The CPâ\200\231s essential problem has - been starkly borne out by recent events. It is that of a party that has finally run out of options. While some of its MPs want it to lower its expec- \_ tations in the hope of gaining a new lease of life, others see it as a compromise that would cost it its life. It is a topsy-turvy debate, and the fact that it is still at stalemate is probably all that is holding it together.

Relatively more realistic Conservatives, led by Potchefstroom MP Andries Beyers, seem to realise that \_ to stay out of negotiations would in the end make the CP redundant. Therefore they might as well try to salvage a much smaller and less independent homeland than they hoped for. The diehards, with deputy leader Ferdie Hartzenberg at the helm, refuse to recognise the new politics and therefore the need to negotiate. CP leader Dr Andries Treur- =Â« nicht straddles the fence, talking vaguely about negotiating as long it is on the CPâ\200\231s terms. L

No wonder CP supporters are con-

fused. If those in Natal and the Cape  
opt for the Beyers proposal, they risk  
being excluded even from any shrun-  
ken homeland that might be  
salvaged. Take the Hartzenberg line,  
and they .could lose everything. So  
stick with Dr Treurnicht in the hope  
the fence holds. ,

ANC economists set out a budget

JOHANNESBURG --The

ANC was not calling for a significant increase in the overall tax rate, nor for an increase in the corporate tax rate, ANC department of economic planning members said at the

weekend

But they did propose cutting public servants' salaries, halving the defence budget,

therefore fundamentally restructuring

the

the scheme of tax incentives

for business and introducing a

capital gains tax. -  
And tertiary education

Mercury Correspondent

share of the total education budget should be slashed from 28% to 10%.

The ANC also believed in food aid schemes, a drought relief scheme, equalisation of pensions, the zero-rating of basic foods and services and an investigation into public works programmes to improve the unemployment situation.

ANC department of economic

planning head Trevor Manuel and budget specialist Viv McMenamin set out proposals in anticipation of the Budget presentation on Wednesday.

Mr Manuel said the one department which needed a significant increase was housing, while the defence budget should be slashed from 4,3% of GDP to about 2%.

While it was not possible to raise the overall tax burden significantly, South Africa's tax struc-

ture â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230could and should be

rearrangedâ\200\235.

The ANC proposed a capital

gains tax to be introduced at |

a â\200\230â\200\234reasonable levelâ\200\235, which |

they said would produce -  
about R500 million in rev- |

enue.

XA

There should be more em- |

phasis on primary education,

with expenditure on primary |

education increased from 47%  
to â\202\20% of the allocation, sec-  
oncary decreasing from 33%

to 30% and tertiary being Â© =

/

STEVE MATTHEWSON of our Political Staff reviews attitudes in Nafal

slashed from 20% to 10%.

]@lection must go ahead

N OPINION survey con-  
ducted on political choices  
and issues in Natal late  
last year indicates that

" violence and intimidation is likely to

' continue throughout the April elec-  
tions and will have a profound affect  
on the result. 3

That this has become an over-  
whelming factor in the lives of black

.| voters is evidenced by the fact that

| the interviewers involved in the sur-

vey had to be withdrawn from one

| area and faced difficulties in several

. others. )

" The bulk of the people interviewed

were black 1 602 while 500 Indians, 402 whites and 100 coloureds

| were also included.

Although 24% of the respondents

| in the poll, conducted by the Human

Sciences Research Council and Date  
Research Africa said there was too  
much violence for the election to be  
held, 64% said it should go ahead  
anyway. ?

This included 47% of the support-

| - ers of the Inkatha Freedom Party,

which currently stands opposed to  
the April 27 election, surveyed.  
However, the researchers regarded

et

Aodi s

'Tal\_ksâ\200\234 â\200\230at critical stage"

Govt may use  
referendum

as striking thgimlimber who did want

regardless of the

the elections to go ahead despite  
deep concerns about violence.

Whites, the least affected by the violence, were ironically the most likely to believe there was too much conflict.

â\200\234Violence and intimidation were  
overwhelmingly experienced by Africans as pressures within their own community rather than as something stemming from exterior forces such as the police or employers.

â\200\234Whites were prone to see greater  
violence as the inevitable concomitant of the election campaign,â\200\235 according to the report on the survey.

Asked who they would fear most if  
their political preference was known,  
17% said the IFP, 11% the ANC, 7%  
merely the â\200\234opposition partyâ\200\235 and  
8% â\200\230â\200\230the neighboursâ\200\235.



Rural black people were considerably more fearful than their urban counterparts with only a third afraid of no one.

The survey also revealed that election campaigns were in full-swing throughout Natal/KwaZulu with 40% of respondents reporting that canvassing was taking place in their residential areas.

tioning, 11% the IFP, 3% the PAC and the SA Communist Party and National Party 1%.

A majority of black respondents felt that violence and intimidation helped the ANC more than the IFP.

About 52% of the black respondents also believed voters would be swayed to some extent by political groups who controlled local areas with over half the rural blacks mentioning their chief as an influence on the ballot choice.

A fear of violence also affected the attitude of black people towards the type of political activity with older, rural respondents preferring that parties "just leave them alone" while younger urban interviewees heavily favouring the "archetypally African" format of mass rallies.

Despite the ongoing conflict and rising unemployment of which they have borne the brunt, black people have begun to say for the first time since 1990 that they are better off.

Surveys during the past three years had monotonously recorded a negative attitude among the majority of people. While the mood was upbeat

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About 22% mentioned ANC elec-

Mr Meyer ruled out "any thought of postponing the election, saying he believed this would lead to more violence.

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approve an interim con-

among 41% to 34% of blacks, whites,

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Indians and iYoureds were fearful that their real incomes have been shrinking and gloomily expected the levels of violence to increase in the wake of an election.

The survey concludes that political competition has assumed unhealthy dimensions in Natal compared to other regions, when neighbours said they could not tolerate each othersâ\200\231 different political views and the control of local areas attested to the territorial nature of political power in the province.

It was also worrying that most whites, a third of Indians and coloureds and a fifth of Africans surveyed were afraid to criticise a new government and that whites and Indians expressed such pronounced feelings of insecurity about their future.

However, aside from other differences, all races believe that the elections will begin an era of better race relations, the report said.

â\200\234Given the uniquely high levels of political violence which Natal has suffered and continues to suffer, this in itself could be seen as a triumph for the notion of free and fair elections.â\200\235

â\200\234We are in a position to ensure the election can take place on the target date.â\200\235

He said the government believed the process had to beâ\200\230 as â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230inclusive as possibleâ\200\235. There had been intensive discussions with the Afrikaner Volksunie last week and these would continue this week as the government looked for a solution to the AVâ\200\231s concerns about Afrikaner self-determination, the boundaries of an Afrikaner state and its powers and functions. o

â\200\234We are trying to see Jv;/hether the AV concerns can be

accommodated.â\200\235 However, he

Mangosuthu Buthelezi, which  
has been billed as a make-or-

â\200\234criti-  
d if

process had entered a  
cal phaseâ\200\235, Mr Meyer sai

Mr Meyer said whereas the  
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TEC bill would be passed dur-  
â\200\234It has to be acc\gpteâ\200\231d,,as â\200\234:ai

tion, including the interim  
, package.â\200\235

all legislation for the transi-  
constitution.

commodation on the basis of  
ing the present short session  
of parliament, it would not  
come into operation until ag-  
reement had been reached on

stressed, there could be no ac-  
discrimination.

d last week

Â¥

The IFP walked out of the  
Walter Felgate sai

Dr Giyane said he was not  
particularly hopeful about  
World Trade Centre on July 7  
that the IFP would disrupt an  
election if it went ahead with-

to drop its tough line on  
â\200\230out the IFP. . - -

break attempt to get the IFP  
negotiations.

Thursdayâ\200\231s meeting making  
significant breakthroughs.  
and has since laid down sever-  
al preconditions for its return  
to the talks. Senior negotiator

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N o V21  
Decision

HE largest trade  
union federation in  
Southern Africa â\200\224

- Congress of South

African Trade Unions  
~ (Cosatu) â\200\224 will be taking  
-~ some of the most critical  
- decisions in its history  
. since its inception during a

- specially convened con-

gress in Soweto over the  
~ weekend.

The congress is expected  
| to map out a clear direction  
" the federation should adopt  
| on future economy policy

and its alliance with the Af-  
. rican National Congress

(ANC) after elections next  
| year.

- Another major crisis con-  
~ | fronting the 1,2 million-

. strong Cosatu is the

imminent departure of key

. personnel likely to be ab-  
. sorbed into a new

- government.

The congress will be de-  
liberating over four key is-

|sues: the role of trade  
|unions in the transition  
- |process, the content of re-  
- |construction and develop-  
ment programme, worker  
]rights and legislative

- |framework and the role of  
Cosatu and its leadership  
in the forthcoming non-ra-  
cial democratic general  
election.

ANC president Nelson  
Mandela, Cosatu president  
John Gomomo, Canadian  
Labour Congress Bob  
. |White, SACP general secre-

|tary Charles Nqukula and  
- |Organisation of African  
Trade Union Unity  
(OATUU) general secretary  
Hassan Somunu were key-  
note speakers when the  
congress was officially  
opened yesterday. About  
1731 delegates represent-  
ing different Cosatu affili-  
ates were allocated on the

basis of current member-  
ship of each union. Dele-  
gates are all workers from  
factories, shops and mines  
and represent 1220 000  
organised workers from all  
over the country including  
the bantustans.

Cosatu has appointed a  
â\200\234six person election list  
committeeâ\200\235 to finalise pro-  
posals to be debated in the  
congress regarding Cosatu  
candidates to be put for-  
ward to stand for general  
election on April 27 next  
year.

The following names are  
expected to be among 20  
selected to stand for politi-  
cal office in the forthcom-  
ing election to support  
ANC: Cosatu general secre-  
tary Jay Naidoo, Cosatu  
general secretary Sam  
Shilowa, and National  
Union of Mineworkers of

South Africa (Numsa) Border region secretary Enoch Godongwana.

The Mercury learned that others on the election list are Cosatu president John Gomomo, Southern African Clothing and Textile Workers Union (Sactwu) general secretary John Copelyn and his deputy

Ebrahim Patel.

After its biennial congress recently no union has matched Sactwu in detailing economic policy.

Sactwu has made the

strongest commitment of any Cosatu affiliate to productivity, advancing concrete proposals around industry restructuring and rejecting nationalisation.

This is in sharp contrast with harsh resolutions adopted at the biennial congress of the country's

largest union Numsa,

time for

[j&

. expected to stand

Jay Naidoo ..

and one of the most powerful Cosatu unions which called for nationalisation without compensation.

Numsa is guaranteed support for its militant stance on economic issues from Cosatu affiliates in transport, chemical and catering industries. However, labour analysts doubted

whether this bloc has

enough majority to sway the tide in the congress. Also critical to note is the position adopted by the National Mineworkers Union (Num), the second biggest SA union, which



. preferred a middle of the

road economic policy â\200\224  
sandwiched between  
Sactwuâ\200\231s social democracy  
stance and Numsaâ\200\231s social-  
ist policy.

However, both Num and  
Sactwu came out fully in  
support of putting up union  
leaders to support the  
ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance  
during the election.

Num is arguing that the  
trade union movement  
should strive to achieve its  
objectives -of economic re-  
construction with the ANC-  
led government.

Sactwu has strongly  
called fqr parting of ways

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NC MIDLANDS deputy  
chairman Reggie Hadebe,  
in his first interview since  
being wounded in an ambush  
which took the life of a col-  
league, has alleged that a con-  
certed campaign is under way  
to eliminate the organisationâ\200\231s  
leadership in parts of Natal.

He also told the Mercury that  
he has yet to be questioned  
about the incident by police, in  
spite of spending four days in  
hospital for treatment to his in-  
jured arm.

Speaking in Pietermaritzburg  
yesterday he recounted how the  
convoy in which he was driving  
from a funeral of an ANC mem-  
ber in Imbali in the early  
noon of August 1 was caught in  
a hail of bullets.

Â«A yolley of shots was fired at  
the buses and cars and we had  
to stop. :

Â«Chris (Hadebe) got out of the  
car...hehadagunandstarted  
firing back. He was trying to  
protect the others in the convoy  
and some of the buses managed  
to get past.

Â«] was waiting there (in the  
car) and then I also got shot.  
The bullet came through the  
windscreen, hit the dashboard  
then went into my arm,â\200\235 he said  
pointing to the plaster encasing

i

his left forearm.

CHRIS WHiTFIELb speaks to ANC Midlands deputy chairman

Flimination campaign â\200\230is under wayâ\200\231  
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ingâ\200\231â\200\231 of cars, Mr Hadebe

LL â\200\224T>  
Cosatu

immediately after the elections and Numsa has even gone a step further, proposing the formation of the mass workers' party, clearly marking a fundamental departure from the current cosy working relationship with 15 apartheid ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance. . .

Num has openly opposed ; the idea of forming yet another political party instead of consolidating gains achieved by the ANC alliance and ensuring that the future government is sympathetic to workers' interests.

Another issue that is likely to draw attention of delegates

at the congress is the bill of rights: Cosatu's concern is that there are provisions in the bill which might have negative impact on labour relations in general and on union activities in particular.

These include the right to privacy, which they fear might deny unions access to information needed for collective bargaining; the right to property, which they fear might lead to restrictions by employers on union access to factory and company premises; and the right of access to courts, which they fear could be used to prevent the use of arbitration to settle disputes of rights, for example dismissals.

Creating new labour rights and entrenching them in a bill of fundamental rights should ideally only take place once it has been exhaustively debated by the affected parties and all likely consequences anticipated and considered,

Cosatu argues.

AN GBI

Reggie Hadebe

«ghakes (Cele) was hit on the head,» said Mr Hadebe.

«After that I just started driving.» He had to use only one arm, with the other hanging at his side and bleeding.

Once he had escaped from the scene he and Mr Cele were rushed to Greys Hospital in Pietermaritzburg.

Only later in the day when they were visited by ANC Natal -

Midlands leader Harry Gwala were they told that Chris Hadebe had been killed in the incident.

Doctors decided not to remove the bullet from Mr Hadebe's arm «NOW encased in plaster» for fear of worsening the damage. Mr Cele escaped serious injury by millimetres when 2 bullet grazed his head.

The people who fired on the convoy, says Mr Hadebe, are a well-known gang of criminals in the area. He believes their services are «for hire» and they are acting on behalf of others.

«Basically they are being used to conduct a reign of terror in the area and to eliminate leadership figures.»

Other activities the gang had been indulging in were the looting of shops and the

«smash-

claimed.

«We have heard that the ANC leadership in the Midlands and in Northern Natal have been targeted for elimination,» he said, pointing out that Mr Gwala was the victim of an assassination attempt a few days later.

,Although the strategy was a long-term one it had been heated-up for the mass action cam-

paign.

He added that the day before he was shot he had warned that the Inkatka Freedom Party intended to destabilise Edendale and Imbali during the mass action.

And he anticipated an increase in violence in Natal generally because Boipatong has put the whole international spotlight on the Transvaal.

«There will be a change of pattern and it will be brought back to Natal but probably at a low intensity with small groups of assassins. ..

Mr Hadebe has been recuperating at a friend's house since being discharged from hospital, but says he is not going into hiding.

«I won't go into hiding. I take precautionary measures, but there is no way I can hide.

in the struggle one sort of things to happen, assassinations, assaults, Killin part of the process.

fact that who was involved which vehicle was often an open secret.

says.

5 a  
Ve ey

Reggie Hadebe

«I am not necessarily a brave man ... when one gets involved

He is bitter about the conditions of life in Imbali, saying no |

. investigations are held into incidents of violence, in spite of the |

used were

Â«The new South Africa has  
~ not arrived yet. We are still &l  
volved in a bitter struggle,â\200\235 he | :

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[â\200\23109  
HE PAC and Inkatha  
were working in cahoots  
to scuttle the negotia-

; tion process and it was  
believed that the two had  
agreed that the PAC would not  
spread its armed attacks to  
Natal. : \  
| This is claimed by ANC south-  
v ern Natal information chief  
' Dumisani Makhaye, who said  
that in a series of public and se-



| cret meetings between the PAC  
. and Inkatha late last year, they  
~ discussed their â\200\234common prob-  
. lemâ\200\235 of negotiations and demo-  
cratic elections.

Mr Makhaye was writing in  
the first edition of Inkululeko,  
which has been relaunched as  
the official mouthpiece of the  
ANCâ\200\231s southern Natal region  
after an absence of several  
years.

He said it was the political in-  
decision of the government  
which had led to recent attacks  
on white civilians by the PACâ\200\231s  
. armed wing, the Azanian Peo-  
ples Liberation Army.

. "Torefer to the PAC as leftist  
.-~ |15 not very scientific. Perhaps it  
-+ Isleftist only in terms of its rhe-  
~ toricand clichÃ@s . . . but in terms  
~+ of its actual policy which is  
. | against non-racialism it is on

STEVE MATTHEWSON, Political Staff, repo

FP in cahoots,  
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national liberation movement,â\200\235  
Mr Makhaye said.

The spate of PAC/Inkatha  
bilaterals were â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230a seemingly  
strange political phenomenonâ\200\235  
because the PAC had always  
maintained it would have no  
dealings with â\200\234bantustan lead-  
ershipâ\200\235 while Inkatha was pub-  
licly against the armed struggle  
â\200\224 in which the PAC was still  
engaged.

â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230But during this period Inkatha and the PAC took the cue from each other. They worked in cahoots.

â\200\234During the period of these meetings, the public was told that the objective of the PAC was to reconcile the ANC and Inkatha. But that was only the alibi and we knew that.

â\200\230â\200\234The ANC was inundated with calls from people asking why the ANC seemed reluctant with the so-called mediation role of the PAC. But there was a hidden agenda which we had al- reggy deciphered,â\200\235 Mr Makhaye said.

â\200\234It would not be far-fetched to conclude that out of these discussions emerged a concrete programme of action to scuttle the negotiations process. Are these Apla attacks not part of

q

that programme? / u CHZ:

â\200\234What seems to have missed the publicâ\200\231s notice is the absence of public condemnation of these attacks by Inkatha.

â\200\234If there was any condemnation it was deliberately muted. There is information that the PAC intends to spread its attacks in all the provinces except Natal. Who will take care of Natal?â\200\235

Mr Makhaye said Inkatha and the white right wing had also closed ranks because they both shared a fear of the â\200\234verdict of the people in democratic elections.â\200\235

â\200\234While it (the white right wing) supports everything that can scuttle the negotiations process â\200\224 and the Apla attacks are an example â\200\224 the ultra right had to cry crocodile tears after these attacks to please its supposed constituency.

.â\200\234By threatening cross-border raids, the white extreme right hopes to militarise the entire

political atmosphere and there  
can be no free and fair demo-  
cratic elections under those con-  
ditions,â\200\235 Mr Makhaye said.

The PACâ\200\231s national director of  
information Waters â\200\230â\200\234Bishopâ\200\235  
â\200\230Toboti rejected Mr Makhayeâ\200\231s

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claims regarding i  
with the IFP. e  
â\200\234The ANC itself has met and  
has regular meetings with Ban-  
tu Holomisa of the Transkei â\200\224

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bilaterals B

is he not a homeland leader too

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(like Buthelezi)?â\200\235 1y  
Mr Toboti denied the sugges-

tion that the PAC was in '

cahoots with the IFP, saying -~  
that his organisationâ\200\231s principal .  
mission was to unite black peo-

ple and the organisations which = Â° 2%

represented them, with @  
bilaterals being part of that  
process. i

IFP spokesman Ed Tillett

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said it was the ANC which was |  
in cahoots with the South Afri-.  
can government, which at the |

same time was â\200\230â\200\230selectively . '

demonisingâ\200\235 the PAC. Â\$)

â\200\234We have uncovered evidence ' i |

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that the government and the =  
ANC are collaborating to smear .{: -

IFP and we suspect there is a

joint agreement to also project = .

PAC as the bogeyman . . . thisis .~  
carefully orchestrated paranoia \* .  
to exonerate ANC. f

â\200\234We cannot rule out the possi- =  
bility of forming alliances with  
anyone: It is in the nature of /'  
democratic political activity  
that power blocs inevitably  
build up,â\200\235 Mr Tillett said.

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HE IFP remains at the  
centre of the current po-  
. litical debate.

If the government  
eventually decided to accept a  
constitutional process of which  
the IFP did not form part, it  
would experience â\200\230â\200\230big prob-  
lemsâ\200\235 in its own ranks, said one  
of Rapportâ\200\231s political writers,  
Anne-Marie Mischke.

Especially in Natal, but also  
elsewhere, there was consider-  
able sympathy with the IFP.

Opinions showed that  
countrywide the IFP would not  
fare too well in an election, but  
in KwaZulu/Natal it was

. unquestionably a big factor.

â\200\234If the IFP, with the help of  
the large number of whites in

- the region who support it, tried:

to do its own thing and secede,  
all hope of a speedy peace in

â\200\230Natal would fade â\200\224 because

there is also great support for  
the ANC among blacks in that  
region.â\200\235

Under the headline â\200\230â\200\234Real  
agreement must stand on more  
than two feet,â\200\235 Dawie, political  
commentator of the Nasionale  
group, said that just as a three-  
legged object stood more firmly  
than one with only two legs,  
power sharing among the. NP  
(white and brown people), the  
ANC (Xhosa-dominated) and

Inkatha (Zulus) could form the.

basis for a new dispensation  
that could result in a successful

- country. The chances of success

were small if any of them stayed  
out.

e

THE sombre figure of General  
Tienie Groenewald, former Di-

rector of Military Intelligence  
and now second-in-command of

â\200\230." General Constand Viljoenâ\200\231s

lemsâ\200\231 in the NP if IF

P is rejected

Sayings of the Week

[ |We must return to the good old days when the  
predikants watched over the flocks like shepherds, with  
a bible under one arm and a sjambok under the other.  
â\200\224 Die Volksblad columnist Johan van Wyk.

oyl

[ ]Invite us to your houses and let us chat to you there.  
â\200\224 Mr Peter (â\200\234Kill the Boerâ\200\231â\200\235) Mokaba, as quoted in

A

Beeld.

If Mangosuthu Buthelezi does not catch the train to  
lemocracy, he must be left behind, ranting on the sta-  
tion. â\200\224 Guy Berger, editor of South.

erto attracted little attention.  
However, according to an article  
by Jan Taljaard in Die Suid-  
Afrikaan, he is continuing to  
â\200\234build up his power base.â\200\235

Earlier his name was linked  
with the suggestion that right-  
wingers should demonstrate  
their strength by switching off  
the power supply to big cities.

General Groenewaldâ\200\231s influ-  
ence, says Taljaard, is beginning  
to grow and his hand can be  
espied behind the breakaway of  
the Andries Beyers group from  
the CP a year ago.

â\200\234Many observers regard Gen-  
eral Groenewald as the real  
strategist behind the delaying

tactics employed by Cosas during the negotiations.â\200\235

In the same issue of Die Suid-Afrikaan, which is marked by an attractive new format, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, contrasted General Groenewald with General Viljoen. â\200\234Viljoen wants to talk before he fights, while General Groenewald is not averse to fighting before he talks, if he ever does.â\200\235

Afrikaner-Volksfront, has hith-  
â\200\224â\200\224

. ters and senior officials.

ACKNOWLEDGING that it is his job to be cheeky, Beeldâ\200\231s political columnist, Lood has taken a swipe at the NPâ\200\231s record on human rights.

His particular target was a statement issued by the NP after the ANCâ\200\231s release of the report on its overseas camps. This report, the NP claimed, proved clearly that the ANC could not be trusted to govern the country on its own.

Asked Lood; â\200\234Why not? Or does the NP, believe it needs the help of a partner with just so

much experience as it has in the

denial of human rights?â\200\235

EEEEEE

A SHORT-TERM reassurance to anxious white public servants has come from a member of the ANCâ\200\231s Public Service Unit, Mr Sipho Makana. Little, if anything, has hitherto been heard about this unit.

Mr Makana is one of six experienced ANC members who have spent several months being trained in the workings of the service 'and also meeting minis-

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"The ANC, he told Beeld, realised that it did not have enough trained people to change the present system at one stroke after the election. It therefore wanted the public service to form part of a change



that would be honest and fair  
towards people who expect  
drastic change.

It is very easy to blame

apartheid for everything, said  
Mr Makana with engaging  
frankness, but what will hap-  
pen under a future government?  
Whom will one blame then?

et

FOR fear of being classified as a  
bore or a pedant, I generally re-  
frain from bemoaning the

English language by all 7

branches of the media.

But I feel compelled, after

much suffering, to point out to  
the SABC, if it has ears to hear,

that people are concerned about .  
problems, not by them, and | -  
that the first syllable of the '

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word legislation is pronounced  
ledge, not leg.  
Class dismissed.

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National Congress were nearly killed sends a chill down the spine.

It raises a two-pronged question: will South Africa ever reach election day on April 27 and realise its dream of democracy, or is it heading for Armageddon as many Ordinary folk fear?

The East Rand violence,

and Sunday's shootings in

particular, will be the focal

point of a meeting between

ANC president Nelson

Mandela and State President De Klerk today.

Mr Mandela has said he has

specific proposals which he will outline only at the meeting.

However, he has already said in the past that the government has the capacity and

machinery to stop the violence but lacks the will to do so because it benefits from the dying of blacks.

This capacity and machinery, Mandela has said in as many words, are to send secu-

rity forces to the devastated areas who will do what any normal government would do:

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While the war reached fever pitch yesterday with the National Party and ANC trading insults â\200\224 the ANC has placed itself in a conundrum. On the one hand it demands the SAP be withdrawn from the townships and on the other calls for its protection.

While speculation will obviously abound as to the outcome of todayâ\200\231s meeting, the stark reality of life in the East Randâ\200\231s war-torn townships was underscored by Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Mr Joe Slovoâ\200\231s face-to-face encounter with death.

The irony of it all cannot be ignored. The tour by the two leaders was aimed at adding impetus to the peace process. It was a fact-finding mission ahead of the ANCâ\200\231s request to the Transitional Executive Council to suspend its agenda today to deal exclusively with the violence in East Rand townships.

Mr Slovo himself has described the carnage as a â\200\234scene out of Auschwitz, a disaster and a national emergency.â\200\235

The TEC will obviously recommend drastic measures to contain the violence if the

|Police in â\200\230no-wi

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HE Katleng incci?(

A dent on Sunday in  
- which two important  
| - leaders of the African

ly, but another question is:  
does it have the teeth and will  
it use them?

Indeed, the future role of  
the police in the townships re-  
mains a conundrum for the

TEC law and order sub-coun-  
cil to resolve.

And on the other hand, po-  
litical squabbling continues.

Democratic Party leader  
Zach de Beer said yesterday  
that the ANC is irresponsible  
in continuing to cast asper-  
sions on the SAP. He said the  
ANC position has shifted from  
making allegations that the  
police are -involved in town-

" ship violence directly

â\200\234masquerading as township  
gangs.â\200\235

Now the ANCâ\200\231s position has  
shifted to accusing police of  
not prosecuting with energy,  
said Dr De Beer.

While the police have a poor  
record from the apartheid  
years, said Dr De Beer, there  
has not been evidence of di-  
rect involvement in township  
violence. It was now time for  
the TEC to investigate the al-  
legations of police inefficiency  
â\200\224 which do appear to be true.

â\200\234There is definitely a prob-  
lem with too many people get-  
ting away with violent crime,â\200\235  
he said.

to care about black people.  
Rather than ensuring that po-  
lice are present, they have ac-  
cused the ANC alliance

leaders of provoking violence

by entering an enemy area.

But Law and Order Minister  
spokesman Captain Craig

Kotze said the ANC charge

that the police should be  
present. He said on  
the one hand the ANC is de-  
manding the withdrawal of  
the Internal Stability Units  
while demanding that the po-  
lice be in the townships.

He said the alliance took a  
high-powered mission into  
the area without informing  
the police let alone asking  
for a police escort.

The implications for a free  
and fair election campaign re-  
main extremely negative  
while squabbles over the  
policing of the townships  
continue.

While a non-partisan peace-  
keeping  
way to resolving the problem,  
it will not be deployed until  
the end of March. Even then it

will not be large enough to

carry out the entire peace  
keeping functions and the po:

situation \_  
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/ the National Party of failing |

force will go a long = S

. stop the killers. O o m is to be held peaceful- The ANC yesterday accused lice will have  
to be involved. o  
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 IFP, according to sur- tions. 'Ii-\\201le outcome of the Natali. 1B Qm B 3552â\\200\\2303% â  
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 : the NP 17% and the IFP a dis. SACP, CP/Afrikaner Volks- â\\204¢~ WEIL A me g e O  
 A second poll carried out tant third with 6%. : Tonyand AVE ol itiuEz 2 R ; (\\E 3g8E855 = 2  
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 nationally indicated that the The Conservative Party was The IFP is the second 1 O S| c=Hi  
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 ANC was heading towards the next strongest with 3%, while =~ Popular party am ! i o| & %i-  
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 t(;jhe national assembly to en- 8ressS, AWB and other rightist 23% and the ANCâ\\200\\231s 3%  
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 orse a new constitution. grgrl;i-\\201s trailed with 2%. . NP is heavily dependent on < â  
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 â\\200\\230The surveys, both commis- jco e NP has re-established the substantial support fro  
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 . support for federalism among ~ SPArply from a support level pantly Indian part g ghoml-  
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 . IFP supporters was surpris- of around 30% of whites to port said butpth'g g e Te- B :â  
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 \_ The IFP, which fared badly ~ rence Schlemmer, Prof Bill jpgÂ« ol e NP benefit- Â\$ 5 BB a  
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African orie

OAL government as

an expression of civic

freedom has a long and

strong tradition in  
South Africa, but the new face  
of local government â\200\224 metro-  
politan government system â\200\224  
reflected in the new South Afri-  
can Local Government Transi-  
tional Bill is a new creature in  
â\200\234our country.

Some existing local authori-  
ties are overjoyedl at the pros-  
pect; others view it as a  
necessary evil.

The new metropolitan govern-

ment system provided in the

ing of socio-economic and politi-  
cal differences and shor?â\200\224  
comings found in our countryâ\200\231s  
traditional local government  
system. ;

According to the Bill, city  
councils, small towns; black  
township councils and tradi-  
| tional tribal structures will, un-

! less otherwise amended, be

transformed beyond recogni-  
tion. :

Besides that the Bill is com-

plex and has given rise to confu-

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" recognition to the uniqueness of

the KwaZulu/Natal region as

' compared to other regions. The

| RwaZzulu/Natal situation still

" needs to be attended to. There

' 'is a Zulu kingdom and tribal au-

thorities in this region, and the  
.new Bill, therefore, will have â\200\231to



., be structured accordingly.

Interestingly, the Bill provides, during the interim period

- a formula that will serve as a bridge into the new era of

' Durban-based Leadership Ac-

local government. The double

. a provision is not a belts

and braces approach. This reminds one of the popular

new Bill will result in the surface-

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NGU looks at local government of the future

cord Porum' a scenario.

It has taken the Leadership Accord Forum (LAF) more than a year to be where it is today, and one doubts, therefore, that it will take 90 days to complete the first phase of the new Bill, unless things are rammed down throats, which is a wrong way of doing things.

The mini-multiparty LAF which served as a clearing house for development projects within the Durban Functional Region, though it suffered terrible destructive criticisms from some quarters including right-wing orientated town councils, achieved a lot. About three multi-million development projects were effected without any hassle.

The second biggest achievement will be the implementation of a non-racial Durban council by mid-February next year. The project for the Durban city council took a lot of the LAF's time due to the fact that the statutory and non-statutory

sides failed to reach compromises on many occasions. After that, the LAF, which will be then fully inclusive, will be faced with the challenges of the new metropolitan government system of local government.

Our country is typified in terms of two worlds, which is constantly described in different terms. Reference is made to the First World and the Third World; to the developed world and under-developed world: of the privileged world and the exploited world; of the world of haves and have nots; of the world of ruling class and the world of the oppressed.

South Africa's history has ensured that black local authori-

ntation is

Ofjor/ 2y

: ties have poor fiscal and

administrative capacities. They, in general, lack the economic base to provide sufficient capacity necessary to support local government. The shortcomings are extremely large. There is a school of thought that these shortcomings could only be rectified by transferring revenues from white local authorities. I totally disagree.

The other school of thought is that inter-governmental grants will have to be made available for this purpose. This could be an answer. :

Again, there exists a vast gulf between towns and townships in terms of their interests, perceptions of issues and of one another, and their respective hopes for the future. Policies that will resolve this

polarisation will have to ac-

count for a wide range of variables; material interests, symbolic issues, etc.

The question is: will the two worlds smoothly meet and jointly produce a workable local

government metropolitan  
system?

If proposals for any new system cannot be shown to break with the racial past, they are likely to promise only continued conflict, but it is interesting to note that the new Bill has advocated an effective participation and representation. That could avert any conflict.

On the other hand, if a new system is to be viauie, a â\200\234culture . .

of protestâ\200\235 will have to give wr v to a willingness to take responsibility for effective city government and to temper the expectations created during the mobilisation period.

Very few problems will be experienced during the amalga-

a must

mation period. Attempts at ï-\202f

â\200\234cherry-pickingâ\200\235 are a promi-

nent dynamic in the negotiated

restructuring of all major

metropolises. White local authori- X

ties are already jockeying over

which of them will share re-

sources with which township.

Even where white local au-

thorities have the best possible

motives, resource constraints \ might make it rational for them

to engage in â\200\234cherry-pickingâ\200\235.

The difficulty that will face the metropolitan forums and

councils, as provided in the new =

Bill, is the issue of boundaries. | The boundary issue is not a straightforward case of

amalgamating white towns and = cities with their adjacent black

townships. With the exception |

of small towns, large metropoli- | tan complexes like Durban, Jo-

Johannesburg and Cape Town,  
would have a population of, say, '

more than four million. The .

danger would be that such areas

would not be able to respond to i

local needs and demands.

The new Bill doesn't spell out &  
the kind of relationship local [

governments would have with |

states/provinces/regions (SPRs). |

But in advanced countries of  
the world, local governments

are given reasonable full self-ad- |

ministration to a fresh approach  
to freedom based on the stimu-  
lation of community spirit.

It must be remembered that  
we are of Africa and the local  
government system must be of

African orientation. Everything '

would have failed if it doesn't  
have overtones of who we are  
and where we come from.

John Bhengu is a member of the |  
central committee of the IFP, |

and IFP negotiator on local gov-  
ernment in Durban.

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E are about to see  
the resumption of  
multi-party talks.  
How do you view  
the situation and are you more  
optimistic than you have been?

I do have a certain amount of  
optimism. I demanded a confer-  
ence of review from the moment  
Codesa was frozen when the  
ANC/SACP alliance walked out  
of it last year. However, I am not  
happy that only two days have  
been allocated for it. It is  
strange the Government and  
the ANC can spend so much  
time on bilateral discussions  
but then they confine multilat-  
eral talks to two days. The im-  
pression is that two days will be

~ for no more than discussing

seating and kitchen arrange-  
ments. I cannot help concluding  
the Government and the ANC

" donâ\200\231t want more than two days

because they have already sort-  
ed out things between them. As  
we want progress, however, we  
cannot say no to this confe-  
rence.

The gaps bÃ©tween the posi-

. tions of the IFP and those of the

Government and the ANC have  
widened. The ANC was not pre-

- viously against determining the

boundaries and powers of the  
regions before a constituent as-

ANC and the Government agree

these issues will be decided by a

(tzgpstituent assembly. We reject  
is.

Still, I am not going into  
multiparty talks with a closed  
mind. I hope the talks will en-  
able everyone to convince each  
other that they all have a point.

What are the major sticking  
points, from your point of  
view? :

I'm very worried about  
Umkhonto we Sizwe and I'm  
concerned that the Government  
appears to have backed off its  
previous strong demand that  
MK has to be disbanded. Mem-  
bers of MK are involved in  
smuggling weapons. I ask my-  
self if these are going to be used  
in an election to intimidate us.  
The Government has gone far  
too far in collusion and agree-  
ments (with the ANC). Why else  
has it changed its tune on the is-  
sue of MK?

We also donâ\200\231t want a transi-  
tional arrangement to be open-.

ended. In a situation of volatility  
and low-intensity civil war to  
prolong the transition would be  
playing with fire. The cost of the  
five-year interim government  
deal proposed by the Govern-  
ment and the ANC is that SA  
will be governed under another

what Dr Buthelezi told Political Editor DAVID BRAUN in an interview in Ulundi

â\200\230Iâ\200\231m not going into the {

in some ways, than the 1910 con-  
stitution â\200\224 while the two gov-

erning parties, neither of them democratic, will have every incentive to cut new deals to keep themselves in power.

The citizens of SA, after years of struggle and with the sacrifice of thousands of lives, refuse to be subjected to another demoralising dictatorship which will strip them of their freedom and their basic civil rights. The IFP and the KwaZulu Government will do everything in their power to stem the flow of abuses and corruption emanating from shady behind-the-scenes deals.

The KwaZulu Government was the first and only interested party to table a constitution which will protect the interests of society and guarantee democracy for all. This pluralist constitution of SA for the state of KwaZulu/Natal, approved by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on December 1 last year, we hope will be ratified by a referendum of the people of KwaZulu/Natal. 2

I am confident that this region can set the example and make democratic participation a reality. The success of our region will provide the needed

erc s

cess to provide for sufficient mechanisms to allow other regions of SA to express their desire to choose a federal system as their own form of government.

We donâ\200\231t want a constituent assembly to determine federal boundaries and powers. We have learned to our cost how Parliament can make or unmake any law so that to say a constituent assembly would be sovereign and not bound by whatever happened before would be wrong. It would be very undemocratic and quite unacceptable to let the ultimate decision be made in terms of the whims of whichever party happens to be the majority in the constituent assembly.

Other societies have been able to negotiate constitutions on the basis of consensus of all the groups and I donâ\200\231t see what makes us so different.

What is the status of your meet-

ing with Mr Mandela?

He responded to my letter of February 1 agreeing with me that we need to address rallies in the strife-torn regions. We have had the five-a-side discussions to work out how we can have a meeting and President Kaunda has been here to adju-

alks with a closed mindâ\200\231

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Dr Mandela has set up a lot of pre-conditions for our meeting and in his interview with Sir David Frost he foul-mouthed me. I have never attacked him personally out of our past friendship, respect and love. But the TV interview wounded me spiritually. I was angry at myself for liking someone like that and for putting him on such a high pedestal and then he said such untrue things about me. There has been no major progress on this matter.

Assuming the Government and the ANC press on regardless and an election is proclaimed towards the end of the year would the IFP take part in it even though you might not have reached consensus on all the issues?

I will cross that bridge when I get to it. I have various options and I will consider them more seriously when the time comes. I do not see myself as a caged animal not knowing what to do. I have some latitude to do whatever will serve the cause of my people best. I'm not disclosing my options at this stage.

What do you say about claims that you are badly advised by certain white consultants and that you 2are in bod with the

It implies that I am fip-

squeak, wet behind the ears and a minion of people like Mr Walter Felgate. When the press says this it is using ANC propaganda which seeks to destroy me. I am over 60 years of age and I have

been a politician in my own right for more than 40 years. I

am my own man. Mr Felgate

wasn't here when I opposed Vorster. I regard this attack as racist. People seem to think that because I have a black face

I'm a little nigger boy and a |  
minion of anyone with a white skin next to me.

My constituency is: very wide, right across the political spectrum. The Press has made out that I am turning to the CP because I have been sidelined but they forget I was prepared to

talk to Vorster, P W Botha and |  
De Klerk and then I was called - a stooge of the government. It is

2 01 that I am inhibited with &

the CP. I speak to people. That , is consistent. I spoke to the

ANC when it was taboo to do so. I have always talked to everybody.

Anyway, when one is negotiating a constitution there can be no talk of left and right. A constitution is for everybody so one







sembly was elected. Now the defective constitution is worse, pressure on the transition pro- dicate in a dispute between us. CP? talks of consensus. 5 e T  
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